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HISTORY

OF

ARIANISM

By M. MAIMBOURG

SHEWING

Its Influence upon CIVIL AFFAIRS: And the Cause of the Declination of the Roman EMPIRE.

VOL. II.



LONDON

Printed by W. ROBERTS on Ludgate-Hill.

THE

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VOL. II.

LONDON,
Printed by W. ROBERTS on *Lambeth-hill*, 1729.

TO

The Reverend Dr. *GODOLPHIN*,

PROVOST of EATON;

Who, though eminent for his many excellent Qualities, and valuable Actions, has yet made it the *diſtinguiſhing* Glory of his Character, that, in an Age when the DIVINITY of our BLESSED SAVIOUR has been vigorouſly oppoſed, its Enemies encouraged, and its Advocates diſcountenanced, he has conſtantly ſhewn a particular ZEAL for That moſt important *Article of Faith*,

THIS HISTORY

OF

Arianiſm and *Socinianiſm*

Is addreſſed, with the utmoſt Reſpect, by

His moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

W. WEBSTER.

PREFACE.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE

PREFACE.

I Will not trouble the Reader with a long Preface to a Work already very large, but, in juſtice to my ſelf, I am obliged to give ſome Account of the Undertaking, and of the Execution of it.

The Tranſlation of Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Arianiſm *was undertaken, and begun by Dr.* Herbert, *the Perſon who was concerned in the Tranſlation of* Fleury's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. About thirty Sheets of the Work were printed, and then it ſtood ſtill for a conſiderable time. Partly by the Importunity of the Doctor, but chiefly at the Requeſt of Dr.* Waterland, *I was induced to join in the undertaking, without knowing any thing more of it than that it had the Approbation of ſo learned and judicious a Perſon, who had acquired ſo much Glory to himſelf, and done ſo much Service to our Chriſtian Faith, by his excellent Defence of it. After I had entred into Articles of Agreement with*

Dr. Herbert, *he ſoon obliged me to conſent that another Gentleman ſhould ſucceed to his Share in the Work, and, inſtead of forwarding the Succeſs of it by his Recommendation, he thought fit to expreſs great Satisfaction in having ridded his Hands of it. His Succeſſor (whoſe Name I have not the Liberty to mention) has tranſlated a conſiderable part of the Hiſtory, and, in reſpect to his Knowledge of the* French *Tongue, was perfectly well qualified for it. If, for want of Uſe, he ſometimes ſeems to want a familiarity with the* Engliſh Idium *and* Phrazeology, *the ſenſe of the Author is nevertheleſs preſerved, and therefore the Tranſlation is equally uſeful, though not always ſo elegant as a nice Critick in our Language might expect.*

But there is another more material Objection which it concerns Me alone *to anſwer. When I firſt delivered out Propoſals, I undertook to give an Account (by way of Appendix) of the* Engliſh *Writers in the* Socinian *and* Arian *Controverſies. Promiſes of This kind ought as religiouſly to be regarded as any others; but, like all others, they are not binding to Impoſſibilities, or in ſuch Inſtances where it may* reaſonably be preſumed *that the perſons, to whom they are made, would not inſiſt upon the performance of them. This I apprehend to be my Caſe; I ſhall fairly ſtate it, and ſubmit my ſelf to the Opinion of the Publick. When I gave out Thoſe Propoſals, I did not foreſee the length of the Work, or the great Difficulty of getting Encouragement*

to

to it. But the Expence having already ſo much exceeded my Expectation, by an Enlargement of the Hiſtory, and the number of Subſcribers falling ſo much below it, I did not think it would be expected by my Friends that I ſhould injure my own Circumſtances, *only to gratify* their Curioſity.

As to the Hiſtory it ſelf, I ſhall leave the Reader to make his own Judgment of it, after having cautioned the Unlearned *againſt* Maimbourg's *frequent, but groundleſs Inſinuations againſt the* Proteſtants. *His natural Temper ſeems to be warm, but his Paſſions are ſo ſtrongly engaged in the Cauſe of* Popery, *that little Credit is to be given to his own Judgment and Authority when he aſſerts any thing in favour of his Religion, or makes Reflections upon Ours; and yet in ſuch Points he ſeldom pretends to any better Authority than a bold Aſſertion, and an heavy Charge. But that the* Arians *may not take advantage from hence, and repreſent This Hiſtory as a Collection of Falſhoods, I muſt obſerve, that the main Series of Facts relating to* Their *Conduct is ſupported by good Authorities appeal'd to by the Hiſtorian, and agreeable to other Hiſtories of thoſe Times.*

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ARIANISM.

PART II.

BOOK VII.

WHILST Theodoſius was labouring with ſo much reſolution and ſucceſs to deſtroy Arianiſm in the Eaſt, the Empreſs Juſtina was uſing her utmoſt endeavours to reſtore it in the Weſt, and trying all means of being revenged for the affronts which ſhe imagined that ſhe had received of St. Ambroſe, who continued to oppoſe her deſigns. (*a*) As ſhe was inveſted with the authority of young Valentinian, who, at that time, was yet under her Government, though he was then ſeventeen years of *A. D.* 383.

(*a*) Idal.

A. D. 383. age, ſhe was reſolved in order to ſatisfy her paſſion, to manifeſt her power by edicts and open force: But the ſtrange revolution, which hapened in the Empire by the revolt of the tyrant Maximus, and the deplorable death of Gratian, obliged her to ſuſpend her rage, and diſguiſe her intentions, till ſuch time as ſhe had ſecured her own and her Son's fortune. (*b*) Maximus, who was a Spaniard born, and claimed affinity with Theodoſius, commanded the Roman Forces in England, where he found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the minds of the Soldiers, and take advantage of the diſlike they had to Gratian, that they proclaimed him Emperor. The people of Germany and Gaul ſoon followed this example, and acknowledged the tyrant, being furiouſly provoked againſt Gratian, becauſe he preferred the Alani and other Barbarians to the Roman ſoldiers; he intruſted them with his ſecrets, conferred his favours on them, and was even ſo condeſcending as to take delight in dreſſing himſelf often after their manner. By this conduct, he became ſo odious to his people, that Maximus had no ſooner entered into Gaul, but the greateſt part of the army went over to him; ſo that this unfortunate Prince, finding himſelf forſaken, was forced to retire to the Alps for ſafety, being attended only by three hundred horſe. But ſeeing that all the paſſes were guarded by people, whom he did not dare to confide in, he came back to Lyons, where he was ſurprized and killed by Count Andragatius, general of the horſe, whom Maximus had ſent in purſuit of him; and this was done in a treacherous manner, becauſe that Gratian looked on him as one of his beſt friends, and conſequently did not miſtruſt him. Thus falling unhappily into the hands of this infamous traytor, he was barbarouſly maſſacred on the twenty fourth of September, in the ſixteenth year of his Empire, and the twenty third of his age.

He was a Prince whom the Pagans themſelves did allow to be moſt accompliſhed, in all the perfections both of body and mind; he was of a noble ſtature, and extremely handſome, his Eyes were bright and ſpritely, his complexion exceeding fair, the features

(*b*) Zoſ. l. 4. Pac. in Pan. Theod. Victor. Zoſim. l. 4. Socr. l. 5. cap. 11. Sozo. lib. 7. cap. 13.

of

of his face were beautiful; and his mind was ſublime, polite, and cultivated with ſtudy and exerciſe. (*c*) He had acquired a great capacity, and was become very learned in all the fineſt accompliſhments, chiefly in eloquence, wherein he rivaled the greateſt maſters of his time, having joined the inſtructions, which he had received of the celebrated Auſonius, to thoſe extraordinary advantages which nature had given him in writing well either in proſe or verſe, and in ſpeaking in publick (as it was his talent) with a moſt wonderful grace, on all kind of ſubjects. But the excellent qualities of his ſoul far exceeded thoſe of his bodily perfections. This Prince was endued with the nobleſt inclinations, and had ſo natural a propenſity to good, that virtue ſeemed to be born, and to grow up with him, without being at the trouble of any improvement. He was polite, obliging and generous; his friendſhip was ſincere, and he excelled in liberality and magnificence; he was bold and daring in fight, and fearleſs in danger; commendable for his temperance and chaſtity, having an averſion to all voluptuouſneſs. He ſlept moderately, and took much exerciſe; his humanity was great, and he was compaſſionate to the ſufferings of his ſoldiers, whoſe wounds he would often dreſs with his own hands: But above all things, his piety towards God was exemplary, being extreamly Zealous for Religion, and for the purity of the faith, wherein he ſurpaſſed all the Princes his predeceſſors. (*d*) In ſhort, all thoſe, who have written concerning this Prince, do agree, that he would have equalled in glory the greateſt of Emperors, had he been able to break himſelf of one failing, which was even encouraged for their own ends by thoſe who had the honour of being near him, whilſt they ought to have endeavoured to divert him from it. (*e*) For inſtead of applying himſelf to the affairs of the Empire, to which he had a natural averſion, and for that reaſon left them to the management of his miniſters, he uſed to employ moſt of his time in ſhooting of arrows, and lancing of javelins, killing wild beaſts in a park, and other exerciſes of this kind, for which he had an extraordinary paſſion. All his glory conſiſted in this way of

A. D. 383.

(*c*) Ammian. l. 27. Victor. in Grat. Rufin. l. 2. c. 13. Ambroſ. or. in obit. Valent. (*d*) Auſon. Grat. act de ſuo Conſul. (*e*) Vict. in Grat. Ammian. l. 31.

A. D. 383. living, following his own inclinations, and letting himſelf be ſeduced by the deceitful complaiſance of his neareſt courtiers, who flattered and indulged him in theſe trifling amuſements, whilſt they governed the Empire in his name. Thus Princes, who generally have but few friends, and often many enemies, have none more dangerous than thoſe, who, under a falſe appearance of friendſhip, encourage them in their faults, in order to take advantage of their weakneſs.

Maximus, after the death of Gratian, being acknowledged Emperor in Gaul, Spain, and England, it was thought, that he would have marched directly, with all his forces into Italy, in order to attack Valentinian, who was not at that time in a condition to make any defence; but he reſolved before hand to diſcover the intention of Theodoſius, and find out, whether he would be his friend or his enemy. (*f*) To this purpoſe he ſent one of his braveſt and oldeſt officers to him, who had orders to make him an offer of his friendſhip, and of all his forces jointly to defend the Empire againſt the Barbarians, if he would accept of him as his collegue, or if he refuſed his propoſal, immediately to declare war with him. Theodoſius, who after the general peace in the Eaſt, had reſerved but a ſmall number of Troops, and who, beſides, could not then defend Valentinian, if the tyrant ſhould at once fall upon Italy, concealed artfully his ſecret intentions, and made anſwer to the Ambaſſador, that he received with joy the offers which he brought him in the name of Maximus; that as he had ſucceeded Gratian with the approbation of the Army, he would willingly accept of him in his room, for his collegue to the Empire with Valentinian.

But Juſtina was ſtrangely perplexed at the immediate danger to which ſhe was expoſed; ſhe feared that Maximus while he was amuſing Theodoſius, would invade Italy, which was not able to reſiſt him; and therefore, ſhe found herſelf obliged to apply to St. Ambroſe in ſpite of all the hatred ſhe bore him, and to entreat him in the name of the Emperor her Son, to go Ambaſſador to Maximus, in order to divert the ſtorm, and to manage affairs in ſuch a manner, as to perſuade the tyrant to be ſatisfied

(*f*) Zoſim. l. 4.

with

with the Dominions that lay on the other ſide of the Alps. This holy Biſhop performed the articles of his (*g*) commiſſion with ſo much art and power, that he put a ſtop to the courſe of this impetuous torrent, and prevented Maximus (who complained of it afterwards) from executing the reſolution which he had taken, to improve ſo favourable an opportunity, and carry his forces forward, whilſt he was treating with Theodoſius. So that Maximus for this time, leaving Valentinian in peaceable poſſeſſion of his ſhare of the Empire, and being contented with that which Gratian had poſſeſſed, he remained in Gaul, and there eſtabliſhed at Treves the ſeat of his new ſovereignty, aſſuming the Title of Auguſtus, with the conſent of the two Emperors. *A. D.* 383.

In the mean while the affairs of Religion, concerning Arianiſm, were carried on in a very different manner in both Empires. For Theodoſius, being informed by Letters, which St Gregory wrote from his ſolitude of Arianze to Nectarius, that there were Arian Biſhops concealed in Conſtantinople, who ſtill continued to teach privately their abominable doctrine (*b*). He iſſued out a new edict againſt them, (*i*) whereby he gave an abſolute charge, that a ſtrict enquiry ſhould be made after them throughout that city, and that, having found out their retirements, they ſhould be expelled, and ſent to ſome remote place, where it would be no more in their power to deceive any one. The Empreſs Flaccilla was not a little inſtrumental in this affair; for ſhe uſed continually to inſpire Theodoſius with that moſt ardent Zeal, which filled her breaſt, for the glory of the Son of GOD, againſt the Arians, whom ſhe abhorred as much as ſhe did the very Pagans: (*k*) For ſhe uſed often to ſay, that it was as great an impiety to hold the perſon whom we worſhip for a Creature, as to worſhip an Idol made of gold or ſilver, for our GOD. And as ſhe had gloried during her life in the profeſſion of that faith, which teacheth Chriſtians to worſhip one only GOD in the three Perſons of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST; ſo likewiſe ſhe died ſtedfaſt in the ſame faith, which made her appear perfectly pure in the preſence of GOD, as St. Gregory of Nyſſe expreſſeth himſelf *A. D.* 384. *A. D.* 385.

(*g*) Ambroſ. or. in fun. Valen. Ep. 33. ad Sor. (*b*) Gregor. ad Nectar. (*i*) Leg. 13. de Hæret. Cod. Theod. (*k*) Gregor. Nyſ. orat in funere Flac.

A. D. 385. self, who, being at Constantinople at the time of her death, preached her funeral oration before Theodosius, who paid unto that deceased Princess all the honours that were due to the memory of so great and religious an Empress. She was also a Spaniard born, (l) and of the illustrious family of the Ælians, from which the Emperor Adrian descended; and it seemed to be the will of GOD, that she should be placed on the throne, in order to repair (through her zeal for the faith, and her eminent piety) the wrongs which the three Arian Empresses, her predecessors, had done to the Eastern Church; as likewise to oppose Justina, who, at the same time, was using her utmost endeavours to restore Arianism in the West.

For this Princess thought she might now live in peace with regard to Maximus, whose furious designs St. Ambrose had just put a stop to; and on the other hand, having nothing more to fear on the account of Gratian, who never would have suffered any attempt to be made against this holy Bishop, whom he honoured like a Father, and had declared himself his protector, she resolved to re-establish her Arians, and ruin her benefactor. To this end, as she had such an absolute power over her son, that he acted only by her directions, she persuaded him on the twenty third of January in the year following to publish an edict, whereby it was made lawful for those persons to meet, who professed the doctrine, which was constituted by the Council of Rimini, and confirmed by that of Constantinople under Constantius, (m) that is to say, the Arians; and it was farther declared, that whosoever A. D. 386. should undertake to oppose this order, should be punished with death, as the author of sedition, a disturber of the peace of the Church, and a traytor, reserving also to himself the punishment of those who would endeavour, under hand, even by prayers or humble representations, to prevent the execution of this edict. The Empress ordered Benevolus, first minister of State, to draw up this edict; but he desired to be excused, protesting generously, that, being a Catholick, he would die sooner than write any thing to the prejudice of that faith which he owed unto GOD. (n) And

(l) Claud. de Laud. Seren. Spart. (m) Leg. 4. de fide Cath. Cod. Theod. (n) Ruffin. lib. 2. cap. 16. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 13.

as

as the Empreſs was preſſing him with promiſes to promote him to greater employments, if he would grant her the ſatisfaction which ſhe expected from his loyalty; this brave Chriſtian, pulling off the marks of his dignity, he flung them down at Juſtina's feet, with his ſword, ſaying to her, "Madam, I not only reſolve not "to forfeit my conſcience for the ſake of thoſe new titles of ho- "nour, which you offer me; but in order to convince you, that "nothing of that kind is able to tempt me, I willingly reſign up "the employment which I now enjoy, thinking it an honour "great enough to bear the name of a Catholick, if I can be ſo "happy as to preſerve it during my life, which I propoſe to do "with the aſſiſtance of GOD, preferring it to all the dignities of "your Empire. *A. D.* 386.

Having expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms, he departed from court, and retired to a houſe which he had at Breſſa; where, after having received Baptiſm, which he had deferred till then, he led a life perfectly conformable to the heroick action he had juſt performed, paſſing his days in the conſtant practice of Chriſtian virtues, as we are informed from the writings of St. Gaudantius Biſhop of Breſſa, (*o*) who makes the Elogium of that great man, in dedicating his Sermons to him. For this holy and learned Biſhop choſe rather to dedicate his Works to a private perſon, who by his virtue deſerved the praiſe, which he muſt have given him in his dedication, than to addreſs ſome great and worldly courtier, whoſe want of merit would have convinced him that he had placed falſe encomiums and adulations at the head of thoſe Chriſtian truths which he had preached.

Juſtina nevertheleſs executed her deſign; for ſhe found, without much difficulty, an officer, who (as it is the cuſtom at court) was ſo mean ſpirited, as to make himſelf a ſlave to her paſſion, and would not ſtick at committing a crime, to purchaſe the employments of Benevolus. So the edict, which was made in January, in behalf of Arianiſm, was publiſhed at Milan, in the year three hundred and eighty ſix. But the Arians were not ſatisfied with having the liberty only to meet in aſſemblies; they likewiſe wanted a Church for that purpoſe; and in order to obtain one,

(*o*) Gaudent. in Præfat. Serm.

they

A. D. 386. they muſt have found means to oblige St. Ambroſe to reſign one to them. After having deliberated upon this affair, Juſtina perceived, that there was no other plauſible way, conſiſtent with the reputation of the Arians, to compel him to it than by contriving, that their falſe Biſhop ſhould get the better of him in a publick diſpute, in the preſence of ſuch judges as would undoubtedly be on his ſide. (*p*) This falſe Biſhop was the young Auxentius, a Scythian by birth, who went by the name of Mercurinus, becauſe he had made his name infamous in his own Country, for the abominable crimes which he had acted there, and likewiſe, becauſe he feared, that his own name would render him odious to the people of Milan, who abhorred the memory of the late Auxentius, predeceſſor to St. Ambroſe. As this man had a larger ſhare of impudence than the reſt of the Arians, and had a free and bold manner of expreſſing himſelf, appearing to thoſe who were very ignorant, to have a greater capacity; Juſtina had cauſed him to be elected Biſhop by the ſmall number of Arians, who remained with her at Milan, and who, for the moſt part, fled thither from the eaſtern provinces, where Theodoſius's officers would not ſuffer them to appear. This Princeſs was therefore of opinion, that he was a proper perſon to execute the deſign which ſhe had laid; and accordingly Auxentius having received his inſtructions from Juſtina, and being fully aſſured of ſucceſs in this undertaking, through the meaſures which ſhe had taken, he ſent a challenge, in a ſolemn manner, to St. Ambroſe, ſummoning him to meet him at this conference, which ſhould be held in the preſence of the Emperor and his Council, before judges agreed upon by both parties, in order, that the perſon, who ſhould be judged the conqueror by the Emperor, and by the votes of thoſe who ſhould be preſent at this diſpute, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the principal Church, as being the true and lawful Biſhop of Milan,

St. Ambroſe was highly incenſed at this propoſal, whereby it was attempted to expoſe the cauſe of that faith, which had been ſolemnly decided by the Nicene Council, to the judgment of Lay-men, and perhaps perſons of a prophane opinion. For, in-

(*p*) Ambroſe in Auxent.

deed

deed, Auxentius, (q) who had taken care in the challenge not to name the judges whom he propoſed to chuſe, had made choice of four or five Pagans to give their judgment in this diſpute concerning the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. The holy Biſhop, having therefore refuſed to accept this challenge, as thinking it highly improper; Auxentius took occaſion to upbraid him with his refuſal in the preſence of the Emperor, turning it all to his own advantage; and afterward entreated him, in a moſt urgent manner, to compel his rival, either to accept of the propoſal, which he could not refuſe with honour, or to deliver him up his Church. Valentinian, who was unwilling to diſoblige his mother, who openly protected Auxentius, granted them whatever they required, and ſent the tribune Dalmatius to St. Ambroſe, to ſignify unto him the day which was appointed for the meeting at the imperial palace, with the judges whom he ſhould chuſe to be on his ſide, in order to diſpute with Auxentius in his preſence. Whereupon St. Ambroſe, having conſulted with the Biſhops who were at that time with him, wrote that excellent epiſtle to the Emperor, wherein he repreſents to him, with equal reſpect, and force of argugument, that by divine authority, as well as by the rules of the Church, and the cuſtoms of the foregoing ages, as alſo by the example and ordinances of the great Valentinian his father, it was not lawful for lay-men to determine eccleſiaſtical matters, and much leſs matters of faith; that theſe things muſt be decided by the Biſhops only, and that whenever our belief is concerned, the Chriſtian Emperors are to be judged by the Biſhops, and not the Biſhops by the Emperors. From thence he concluded, that if he muſt diſpute in a Council againſt Auxentius, though it were no wiſe neceſſary to call one upon his account, he was very ready to do it; but that he could not repair to the palace, That not being a proper place wherein to treat of matters of faith. He even begs to be excuſed if he does not go himſelf to return him an anſwer, as he would have done, had not the Biſhops and the people prevented him on this occaſion, by not ſuffering him to leave his Church, for fear it might look as if he yielded it up to the Arians, who perhaps would improve the opportunity, and take poſſeſ- *A. D.* 386.

(q) Ambroſ. Epiſt. 32. ad Marcel. Sor. Ambroſ. or. contr. Aux

A. D. 386. ſion of it. He then ſays, that his Church ſhall be open to all people, and that That was the place (and not the palace) where they ought to come, in order to hear him diſcourſe upon the myſteries of faith. After this he continued to preach, according to his cuſtom, with an incredible power, and GOD even concurred with him in a moſt extraordinary manner. For it is ſaid, that one of the moſt cunning and obſtinate Arians, (*r*) having heard him preach ſublimely on the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and perceiving at the ſame time an Angel, who ſeemed to dictate to him in his ear the things which he was expounding to the people, he was immediately converted, glorifying GOD, and declaring openly what he had ſeen.

But the Empreſs was in deſpair, ſeeing herſelf diſappointed in her firſt deſign, by the reſolution of this holy Biſhop, for whom the people had declared themſelves; and not finding it an eaſy matter to oppreſs him by violence, ſhe was forced to uſe art, and by the means of promiſes and preſents to bribe ſome perſons to carry him off by ſurprize. There were ſeveral who endeavoured in vain to gratify her deſire; but at laſt, a man, whoſe name was Euthymius, and who was more bold and daring than the reſt, undertook to execute this deſign at noon-day. For this purpoſe, he hired a houſe joining to the Church, and there kept for ſeveral days a chariot and horſes ready, in order to ſeize on this holy Prelate and his attendants, at his coming out of the Church, after divine ſervice was over, and the people were retired; then to carry him off at once, and convey him with ſpeed to the place which Juſtina had deſigned for him. But he always found this holy man ſo well attended by his people, who were ever watchful of his perſon, that he miſcarried in his deſign; and GOD, by a juſt judgment, in order to puniſh him for his attempt, (*s*) permitted (before the year was at an end) this wretched man to be apprehended in that very houſe, and carried away in that ſame chariot, to the baniſhment which he was condemned to for other crimes.

(*r*) Paulin. in vit. Ambroſe. (*s*) Ambroſe. or. in Auxen. Paulin in vit. S. Ambr.

Juſtina

Juſtina, ſeeing all her hopes fruſtrated, fell into ſo exceſſive a rage, that ſhe could not help breaking out into open violence. She procured a new edict in favour of Auxentius, which he drew up as he thought fit, whereby it was ordered, upon pain of death, that all catholick prieſts ſhould abandon their Churches, and deliver them up to him. There was even a rumour ſpread throughout the city, that ſoldiers were ſent to the principal Church, with orders to murder St. Ambroſe, in caſe he refuſed to deliver it up to thoſe who were ſent to demand it of him in the name of the Emperor. Thereupon the people, from all parts, repaired to the Church, and ſhut the doors, with a reſolution to defend it and their Biſhop, whom they carefully watched day and night; expreſſing no other fear, but that, being overcome by the ſollicitations and threats of the Emperor, he would deliver up his Church to him, in order to diſpoſe of it to the Arians. But the people's courage encreaſed beyond expreſſion, when they heard the wonderful diſcourſes which the good Prelate made daily upon the holy Scriptures, to give them aſſurance of the divine protection; and when they ſaw his invincible courage and ſteady reſolution, to periſh a thouſand times rather than willingly to ſurrender his Church. *A. D.* 387.

(*t*) And indeed ſome days after, on the wedneſday before Palmſunday, the Tribunes, having inveſted the Church with ſoliders, preſented the edict to him, in virtue whereof, they commanded him in the name of the Emperor, to deliver up his Church to them, with all the ſacred veſſels, permitting him to retire whereever he pleaſed, with thoſe who were diſpoſed to follow him; to which he generouſly anſwered, with a holy freedom and calmneſs of mind: "That, having on that very day explained unto his "people the Hiſtory of Naboth, he was firmly reſolved to follow "his example, and to ſhed his blood like him, rather than yield "up the inheritance of his fore-fathers, that is to ſay, his Church, "which he had received of the Dionyſius's, Euſtorges's, and the "Miracles's, his illuſtrious predeceſſors, to whom JESUS CHRIST "himſelf had intruſted it as his patrimony. That he would "never betray his miniſtry, nor his Maſter, in delivering up

(*t*) Ambroſe, Ep. 32.

A. D. 383. " ſo ſacred a truſt, becauſe he was in greater fear of the Lord " of the whole world, to whom that eſtate belonged, than of the " Emperor of Rome, who had no claim to it. That the prince " might take from him his perſonal eſtate and poſſeſſions, his " gold and his ſilver, if there was any of it left that was not " in the hands of the poor, and even the lands of his Church if " he had a mind for them; that, tho' in ſo doing, it would be " an act of injuſtice, nevertheleſs he would not attempt to op- " poſe him; but to leave voluntarily his Church and the ſacred " veſſels thereof to be given up to the Arians, was a thing " which he would never agree to, were he to loſe a thouſand lives. " That indeed he had no other defenſive arms but his tears, his " lamentations and his prayers before the Lord, and that were they " even to cut him into pieces, he would not reſiſt; but that he " likewiſe knew how to ſtand his ground, and not forſake his " Flock, nor his Church, out of any apprehenſion of death; and " that, if the Emperor was reſolved on this occaſion, to act all " the violence he could againſt him, AMBROSE would ſhew, " on his ſide, that he could bravely ſuffer, like a Biſhop, all " the ſevereſt torments, ſooner than quit his poſt, and abandon " his Church.

The holy Biſhop having acquainted the people with what had paſſed, they filled the Church with acclamations; though in the mean while, the Arians repreſented him at court as a ſeditious perſon, and as a ring-leader of the rebels, who had ſeduced the people, by diſtributing amongſt them the income and treaſure of the Church under the ſpecious pretence of Alms: And as one who was ſtirring them up by extraordinary canticles which he made them ſing daily in the Church, and were like ſo many trumpets of ſedition. For they ſpoke in this manner of the verſe of glorification in honour of the moſt holy Trinity, which he cauſed to be ſung at the end of all the Pſalms, Hymns, and Canticles, in order to confound Arianiſm. And this the people uſed to perform with ſo great a fervency, that St. Auguſtin, who was then at Milan, and whom St. Ambroſe had converted within the ſpace of two years, confeſſed, that it ſenſibly affected him, and inſpired him with an ardent devotion, which was attended with a flood of comfortable tears.

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The court being informed of St. Ambroſe's reſolution, it was thought fit to make ſome abatement in the demands, which were firſt made upon him, in order to diſpatch the buſineſs with the more expedition and without noiſe. To this end, the prefect of the city went the next day to St. Ambroſe, and aſſuming a more civil and reſpectful air than he had done the day before, he endeavoured to perſuade him that, for the ſake of peace, as the Prince was willing to mitigate the Affair on his part, he ought to do the ſame for his ſatisfaction. That he was therefore come to tell him, that he ſhould peaceably poſſeſs his church, and that the Emperor would be contented, if he would immediately, as it was expected, deliver up in a handſome manner the *Baſilica Portiana*, which was a beautiful and ſtately Church in the ſuburbs. At this propoſal the people, who knew the intentions of St. Ambroſe, and were reſolved to periſh, ſooner than deliver up any Church to the Arians, cried out aloud with one voice, without waiting for his anſwer, that, as that Church belonged to the Catholicks, no body could take it from them without committing a ſacrilege, and that he himſelf could not without impiety, yield it up to the Enemies of JESUS CHRIST. Hereupon the prefect, ſeeing that he could not be ſucceſsful in his negotiation, replied only, that he would acquaint the Emperor with this reſolution. *A. D.* 383.

At this report, Juſtina loſt all manner of patience, and being blinded to all conſideration but that which flattered her paſſion, and inſpired her with a deſire of Revenge, ſhe reſolved immediately to have recourſe to open violence, and ſeize the Church ſword in hand. Therefore, on the ſecond day after which was Palm-ſunday, in the morning, as St. Ambroſe, after his ſermon, was preparing ſolemnly to celebrate the divine myſteries, he was informed, that a body of ſoldiers were come out of the palace with their officers, and going to ſeize on the *Baſilica Portiana*, and that a great number of the people armed were likewiſe repairing thither, in order to oppoſe them. The ſaint, tho' ſurprized at this news, nevertheleſs began his office; but as he was at the oblation of the holy gifts, one of the Deacons came to acquaint him, that the people, paſſing through the great place, as they were going to the *Portiana*, had ſeized an Arian prieſt, who was

in

A. D. 387. in danger of being cut to pieces, if they purſued their deſign againſt that Church. St. Ambroſe hearing this, could not refrain his tears; he prayed unto GOD, that all the evil which would happen through this diſorder, might fall upon his head, being ready to attone for it with his blood, which he offered up for the Arians themſelves; then he immediately ſent his Prieſts and Deacons in order to deliver the Arian prieſt out of the people's hands, by which means he ſaved his life.

As on one ſide the tumult encreaſed, ſo did the perſecution of Juſtina on the other, and the whole city being in a terrible confuſion, the Tribunes, the Counts, and even the Captains of the Goths, who were in the Emperor's ſervice, came to St. Ambroſe to deſire, that he would keep the people in their duty, and put a ſtop to the ſedition; that in order to ſhow an example of obedience to others, he ſhould deliver up, without delay, the Church which the Emperor required of him, and which he had a right to, ſince, being abſolute maſter in his Empire, every thing was his. The holy Biſhop replied, " That it was neither lawful for " him to deliver up the Church, nor for the Emperor to take it: " That far from having any right to the houſe of GOD, he " had not even a right to that of a private perſon, which he could " not ſeize by force, without violating the rights of juſtice: That " nevertheleſs, if the Prince would have his gold and ſilver, and " all that he poſſeſſed, though, as a Biſhop, he had nothing but " what belonged to the poor; he might take it, without giving " him much concern. If he requireth my life, *ſaid he, with an* " *incredidible reſolution*, he may take it from me without " oppoſition, I ſhall not fly to the Altars to beg it of him; to the " contrary, I ſhall ever feel an extraordinary joy in offering it " up a ſacrifice, for the defence of thoſe very Altars which are " required of me, in order to be prophaned by the impiety and " ſacrileges of Arianiſm As to the tumult raiſed amongſt the " people, I am not the cauſe of it. I may very well avoid pro- " moting it, and even endeavour to ſuppreſs it, in exhorting " them, as I have already done, to defend themſelves with no " other arms but tears and ſupplications unto GOD; but when " they are once incenſed, nothing but GOD alone can pacify " them". Beſides this he made uſe of many ſtrong and moving

arguments

arguments to perſuade them not to become the miniſters of Arian impiety, nor of the paſſion of a woman, who made an ill uſe of the authority of a young Emperor, to deſtroy a religion, which the great Valentinian his father had always ſo religiouſly profeſſed, and ſo vigorouſly protected. After this the Counts and Tribunes withdrew in ſilence, appearing to be very much affected with his diſcourſe; and St. Ambroſe, having paſſed the reſt of the day in another Church, called the *Antient Baſilica*, in order to give ſome conſolation to the people of that neighbourhood, retired home to his houſe, where he remained all night, and would not ſuffer it to be guarded, that the world might ſee how ready he was to undergo all the violence that they could act againſt him, for the defence of the cauſe which he was reſolved to maintain. *A. D.* 387.

Nevertheleſs they did not dare to aſſault his perſon: But on the monday early in the morning, as he was going from his houſe to the Church, he was informed, that the ſoldiers had taken poſſeſſion of the *Ancient Baſilica*, though it was already full of people, and that if he would advance a little farther he might hear (as he accordingly did) the lamentations and woful complaints of thoſe who implored his aſſiſtance. The holy Biſhop being moved with compaſſion, mixed his lamentations with thoſe of his people; but he would not on any account let himſelf be perſuaded at the ſame time to go into that Church, in order to oppoſe the ſoldiers: "It doth not belong to me, *ſaid he*, to oppoſe "force with force, nor to fight againſt ſoldiers in that Church, "as it were in a field of battle. It is my duty never to ſubmit "either to the prayers, threatnings, or violences of thoſe who "would oblige me to deliver it up to them; for I muſt act againſt "them as a Biſhop, with ſpiritual arms". Hereupon they told him, that the Cathedral was more crowded than was ever ſeen in time of peace, and that the people, who expected his preſence, deſired with a loud voice, that the holy Scriptures might be read to them. So he immediately repaired thither; and though it was already ſurrounded by military men, he entered it very peaceably, without any one's ſeeming to oppoſe him. Being in the Church, in order to ſhew that he did not pretend to fight as a general, but that he was reſolved to exert all his Epiſcopal power in the defence

A. D. 387. fence of his rights, he solemnly declared, that he excommunicated all the soldiers who had taken possession of the *Basilica's*.

Now it seemed as if all things were reduced to the utmost extremity, and that the Arians, backed by all the forces of the Empire, were going to be the masters in Milan, when GOD by an extraordinary token of his grace, and by a miraculous change, which could proceed only from the hand of the most high, restored, as it were in one moment, peace and tranquility to that Church, to the confusion of Justina and her Arians. For in the first place, the soldiers who had invested the Cathedral, hearing what St. Ambrose had just done, began to enter quietly two by two into the Church; and as they perceived that the people were afraid, they protested openly, that they did not come thither, as enemies to molest them, but as their brethren, in order to assist at the divine mysteries, under the same pastor. Hereupon the holy Prelate having received them as part of his flock, he ascended the pulpit, and began his sermon upon the book of JOB which had just been read. He was not far gone on with his subject, when he was agreeably interrupted by a person who came to acquaint him, that they were carrying back to the palace the imperial canopy, which had been set up in the *Ancient Basilica*, for the reception of the Emperor, whom Justina would have persuaded to go thither in order to take possession of it in behalf of the Arians, and that the affairs had taken a quite different turn from what was believed. For indeed the soldiers of the Emperor, who had taken possession of that Church by his orders, had no sooner entered it, but they were changed from being persecutors into lambs, and they deputed some of their officers to tell him, " That he might " come to the Church when he pleased, that they would not omit " doing their duty, and would serve him according to their em- " ployments, upon condition, that they could see him communi- " cate with the Catholicks; but that if he would side with the " Arians, they would likewise do what GOD commanded them, " in joining with those who acknowledged the Bishop Ambrose for " their Pastor. This adventure, which was unexpected at court, surprized Valentinian, who not daring to trust himself amongst them, ordered his Canopy to be brought back. And the Arians, who had none of their sectaries in town, and were but few in number

number in the palace, not daring to appear without the Emperor and Juſtina, whom they attended, took great care not to expoſe themſelves. *A. D.* 387.

Beſides, there happened another affair which deprived both Juſtina and the Emperor of all hopes of ſucceeding in ſo ill manag'd an undertaking. For the firſt officers of the Empire, and all the great men at court, on whom Juſtina had relied, went in a body to Valentinian, humbly to entreat him in the name of the whole Army to appear at Church on thoſe holidays, which were conſecrated to the memory of the paſſion of JESUS Chriſt, in order that the people might ſee, that he was reſolved inviolably to preſerve that unity of faith, which the few remaining Arians were endeavouring to deſtroy by ſo ſcandalous a Schiſm. The Emperor, being ſurprized and highly offended at this diſcourſe, made them the following anſwer: "I underſtand your meaning; "the biſhop Ambroſe has ſo great a power in Milan, that ſhould "he command you to deliver me up to him in chains you would "obey him". In the heat of his paſſion he immediately ſent one of his ſecretaries to Ambroſe, to ask him how he had dared to oppoſe his orders, and whether he pretended to uſurp the Empire like a tyrant, that he might prepare himſelf to make war againſt him? To which the holy Man anſwered coolly: "That in "doing his duty, which would not ſuffer him to deliver up his "Church to the Arians, who were the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, "he had not acted againſt the reſpect and fidelity which he owed "to the Emperor. That as to his asking him, if he pretended to "ſet up for a tyrant, That queſtion might eaſily be reſolved by "Maximus, who daily complained of him, for having prevented "him by his perſuaſive arguments, from coming into Italy in "order to oppoſe Valentinian.

At the ſame time there came to St. Ambroſe a Gentleman from the Eunuch Calligonus great Chamberlain to the Emperor, who, affecting to be zealous for the ſervice of his Prince whom he ſaw in ſo violent a paſſion, ſent an impertinent meſſage to the Biſhop; telling him, that ſince he was ſo inſolent as to deſpiſe the Emperor, he ſhould find that the Emperor had people who would puniſh his inſolence, and that he himſelf, who gave him this advice, would go and cut off his head in his own houſe. The holy

A. D. 387. Bishop, who shewed little regard to these brutish expressions, sent the person back, saying to him, Go to to your Master, and tell him precisely what I say. "I pray unto GOD, that he may permit thee to put thy threatnings in execution; for I shall "then have the pleasure and honour to suffer like a Bishop "in the cause of GOD, and thou shalt bear the shame of acting "like a brute, such as are thy Fellow-Eunuchs. Let those infamous wretches cast all their rage on me, and glut themselves "with my blood, I heartily offer it to them, provided it may "please GOD by That means, to deliver his Church from the persecution it hath so long laboured under, through those Arians "who are but half men". (*r*) This generous reply was sometime after authorized with the justice of GOD, who permitted This wretched Calligonus to be convicted of an infamous crime, which none but an Eunuch could be guilty of, and his head was cut off for the same, by the command of That very Valentinian, whose passion he would have indulged when he threatned to cut off St. Ambrose's head.

But all these threatnings and violent proceedings at court were like the last efforts of an expiring flame, which, when it is towards its end, blazeth up into the air with the greater force, but at last ceaseth, and is suddenly lost in its own smoke. For the wisest persons in the council represented expressly to the Emperor, that on the one side the whole city being dissatisfied; and on the other hand, the army having declared, that they would live in the communion of St. Ambrose, it would be dangerous to expose his authority, in persisting to deliver up the Churches into the possession of those few Arians who remained in the palace. This young Prince, who began to perceive that his power was abused, resolved at last to submit to those remonstrances, in spite of all the passionate endeavours of Justina. So that on the holy tuesday, as St. Ambrose was explaining the History of Jonas in his Cathedral Church, the news was brought him of a happy reconciliation, after so great disorders; and a calm succeeded the storm which was just at an end. For he was informed, that the Emperor had then given orders, that all things should be restored to the

(*r*) Aug. contr. Jul. l. 6. c. 4.

state

ſtate they were in before, that the priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; (*s*) that reſtitution ſhould be made of what had been ſeized; that what was paſſed ſhould be forgotten, and that the ſoldiers ſhould retire from the *Baſilica* which they were in poſſeſſion of. Theſe orders were executed with ſo great a joy, that the ſoldiers crowded about the Altars, and kiſſed them as a token of their ſatisfaction and thankfulneſs unto GOD for the peace newly reſtored to the Church, for which they had been ſo fortunate on this occaſion to declare their zeal. And thus Juſtina, in ſpite of all the violent endeavours which ſhe had uſed by the inſtigation of the Arians, had the mortification to ſee all the orders of the city both in particular and in general, the clergymen and lay-men, the court and common people, the citizens and ſoldiers, the great officers of the Empire, and the meaneſt of the Plebeians, the Earth, and even Heaven itſelf; all theſe, I ſay, had declared in favour of St. Ambroſe againſt the Empreſs Juſtina. For at that time he diſcovered the bodies of the holy martyrs, St. Gervaſus and Proteſus, in the Church of St. Nabor and St. Felix; and the miracles which GOD was pleaſed to perform by the means of thoſe holy relicks, in the preſence of all the people, highly exhalted the virtue of St. Ambroſe, and the truth of That faith which he defended with ſo much zeal and vigour againſt the Arians. *A. D.* 387.

(*t*) And indeed, as theſe relicks were, by the Biſhop's orders, conveyed to his Baſilica, with an extraordinary pomp and magnificence, in a general proceſſion of all the people, where even St. Auguſtin himſelf was preſent, and a witneſs of theſe wonders, ſeveral perſons who were poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits, roared out aloud in a moſt hideous manner, that they were tormented by the martyrs and by Ambroſe; and that ſuch people as the Arians, who would not acknowledge the unity of Eſſence in the Trinity, might ſuffer the ſame torments to confirm the faith of That myſtery, which the Devils themſelves confeſſed, and in defence of which theſe ſaints had glorioufly ſhed their blood. Theſe poſſeſſed people had no ſooner touched the ſacred ſhrine of the Martyrs, but they were immediately delivered of their evil ſpirits; the ſick like-

(*s*) Auguſt. Confeſ l. 7. c. 7. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 85. Paulin. in vit. Ambroſ.
(*t*) Ambroſ. Serm. 91. Aug. lib. de Cur. Ag. pro. Mort.

A. D. 387. wiſe were perfectly recovered by touching the cloath which lay over the ſhrine; and a blind man, who was known throughout the whole city, recovered his ſight only by touching the fringe of That cloath. The Arians, who were almoſt in deſpair to ſee their Party thus confounded by ſuch evident teſtimonies, had the impudence to ſay, that all this was an impoſture and a cheat contrived by Ambroſe, who had ſet up falſe martyrs, and had bribed people to counterfeit the poſſeſſed, the ſick and the blind. But though they were ſtrangely expoſed for their impudence in publiſhing ſo notorious a falſhood; yet, beſides, it was the will of GOD to confound them ſtill more by a ſurprizing accident which compleated their ruin. (*u*) For one of the moſt furious men of their Party, having thruſt himſelf into the crowd, in order to ſpread thoſe calumnies which he aſſerted with as much aſſurance as if they were manifeſt truths, was ſuddenly ſeized with an evil ſpirit, which made him cry out aloud in a moſt horrible manner amongſt the people, with ſtrange and frightful diſtortions: "In this manner will thoſe be tormented in Hell, who deny that the ſaints "are martyrs, whoſe relicks are now carried about, and will "not believe the unity of ſubſtance in the Trinity as it is "taught by Ambroſe". This accident was very diſagreeable to the Arians; but their hearts were ſo heardened, that, far from making a proper uſe of it, they became more wicked, and carried their rage to ſuch an extremity, that they privately flung this wretched fellow into a pond of water, where he was drowned, in order to ſuppreſs ſo invinſible a teſtimony of their malice and perfidiouſneſs.

In the mean while Juſtina, having it no longer in her power to act openly againſt this holy man, applied to the moſt black and abominable means ſhe could think on to deſtroy him. She firſt employed a wicked ungodly man, who having concealed himſelf in St. Ambroſe's chamber, drew his ſword and was going to kill him, when on a ſudden, his arm remained without motion; whereupon he flung himſelf at the holy Biſhop's feet, and having diſcovered the whole truth of this affair to him, St. Ambroſe reſtored his arm to the ſtate it was in before, and ſent him away very much

(*u*) Paulin in vit. Ambroſ.

reformed

reformed from what he was, deteſting his crime, and the cruelty of the Empreſs. But this was not the only attempt ſhe made, as we have been informed, ſince her death. For a certain ſooth-ſayer, who was a pagan, and a famous magician, being put to the torture, for the crime of witchcraft, which he was accuſed of; inſtead of anſwering to the queſtions which were made him, he cried out aloud with all the ſtrength of his voice, that he ſuffered much greater torments from the angel to whoſe guardianſhip St. Ambroſe was committed. He perſuaded the ſpectators by his lamentable cries that he was inviſibly and ſeverely ſmitten by that angel, becauſe that in order to indulge the paſſion of Juſtina, he had ſacrificed unto the devil at midnight, on the top of the roof of the Church, by which means he propoſed to ſtir up the hatred of the people againſt their Biſhop: But that the more he put theſe abominations and witchcrafts in practice, ſo much the more did the zeal and love of the people encreaſe for the catholick faith and for St. Ambroſe its defender. He, beſides, declared that having one day invoked the devils and ſent them to kill the holy Biſhop, they turned back, confeſſing their want of power, and ſaid that they could not even approach his door, becauſe his whole houſe was defended by an inviſible fire which ſtopped them even at a great diſtance, and tormented them by the heat of a flame which was yet more inſupportable to them than the very flames of hell. *A. D.* 387.

But at laſt, tho' ſo many prodigious things had not been able to put a ſtop to the raging paſſion of Juſtina againſt St. Ambroſe, a much more powerful paſſion effected it. And this was the fear of the tyrant Maximus, who, as ſhe was informed, was then making great preparations of war, in order to paſs the Alps and invade Italy and the reſt of the weſtern Empire. For, indeed, Maximus being at that time powerfully armed, and ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, he began to repent of having ſo eaſily acquieſced to the perſuaſions of St. Ambroſe, and was now waiting only for a favourable opportunity of falling on and ſurpriſing Valentinian whilſt he was the leaſt apprehenſive of it. (x) He had written to him in favour of the Catholick religion, againſt the Arians, adviſing him to continue ſtedfaſt in the faith of the great Valenti-

(x) Theod. l. 5. c. 4. t. 1. Epiſt. Rom. Pont.

nian,

A. D. 387. nian, and entreating him to put an end to the unjuſt perſecution which was carried on againſt Biſhop Ambroſe, who ſo generouſly defended the cauſe of truth. He behaved in this manner in order to draw in the Catholicks, and be able to juſtify his arms, under the fair pretence of piety, againſt the prince whom he intended to oppreſs. Juſtina, being terrified at the threatning danger, had no other thoughts at this time but to find means to avoid it; and, as the firſt embaſſy of St. Ambroſe had prevented Maximus from coming into Italy, (y) ſhe perſuaded the Emperor her Son to ſend him a ſecond time to him, with the pretence of demanding the body of Gratian, under This colour artfully to diſcover his deſigns, and uſe his endeavours to divert him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the treaty of peace.

This holy Biſhop, who preferred the ſervice of the Emperor, his maſter, and the publick good, to all other conſiderations, both as to the injuries he had already received, and the ill-treatment he might then expect from Maximus, who complained highly of him, ſet out immediately for Treves, where, in the midſt of the Council, (z) he uſed the ſtrongeſt arguments he could think on, in anſwer to his complaints; and withal endeavoured to perſuade him not to violate the peace, but to deliver up the body of Gratian to Valentinian, in order that the funeral ſolemnities might be paid him, which could not well be denied him without the utmoſt barbarity. But tho' on this occaſion, St. Ambroſe uſed all the force of eloquence, and the prudence of an experienced ſtateſman, yet he could get no other anſwer at That time from Maximus, but that he was very willing to treat with Valentinian: And ſome days after, hearing that St. Ambroſe refuſed to communicate with the Biſhops of his court, he ordered him to retire. Therefore at his return, he gave an account of his negociation to Valentinian, adviſing him at the ſame time to be aware of the deceits of Maximus, who, under the colour of a new treaty of peace, propoſed only to conceal the deſign he had formed to make war againſt him. But This prince made no advantage of the wiſe councils of This great man: (a) For, having ſent Dominus, one of his principal miniſters, to treat with Maximus; This tyrant inſnared him ſo artfully by his deluding

(y) Ambroſ. or. in ob. Valen. (z) Ambroſ. Ep 27. ad Valent. (a) Zoſ. l. 4.

words

words and the extraordinary honours he had paid him, as likewiſe by magnificent preſents, and even troops which he ſent to his maſter againſt the barbarians, who then threatned Pannonia, that Dominus was eaſily perſuaded that Valentinian could never have a better friend than Maximus; and hereupon, expreſſing all the ſatisfaction imaginable, he ſet out again and made his way towards the Alps. But the tyrant at the ſame time, following him cloſe with his whole army, marched with ſo much expedition, that he reached Italy immediately after him, and in the firſt place took poſſeſſion of Aquilea. Then deſcending from the Alps, like a raging torrent, he over-run the plains of Lombardy, where he cauſed moſt horrid devaſtations. But now, finding that all yielded to his fortune, and ſubmitted without reſiſtance to his power, he took upon him to behave with more humanity: So acting artfully like a man who makes every thing ſubſervient to his intereſt (even religion) he reſolved to draw into his party the Pagans, Jews, and Chriſtians; the firſt, by re-eſtabliſhing the ſacrifices which Gratian had aboliſhed, and permitting them to reſtore the altar of victory in the capitol; (*b*) the Jews, by rebuilding their ſynagogues at Rome; and the Chriſtians, by writing to Siricius, Biſhop of Rome, that he would inviolably maintain the catholick faith, and not admit of any hereſy. *A. D.* 387.

But in the mean while, Valentinian, ſeeing This ſudden irruption of Maximus into Italy, and not having power to reſiſt him, ſet out immediately, and, for ſafety, retired by ſea to Theſſalonica with Juſtina his mother, from whence he ſent an expreſs to Theodoſius at Conſtantinople, entreating him, by the memory of Gratian his benefactor, to revenge his death, and take his brother into his protection, whom That cruel tyrant would have treated after the ſame inhuman manner, had he fallen into his hands. Theodoſius, who ſometime before had eſpouſed Galla, ſiſter to Valentinian, was extremely concerned to hear the deplorable condition this young Emperor was in, who was his colleague and brother-in-law. He came to him at Theſſalonica, where, after having offered him all the comforts imaginable in his preſent misfortune, and expreſſed his tenderneſs and affection for the family of the great Va-

(*b*) Ambroſ. Epiſt. 29. To. 1. Ep. Ro. Pont. Zoſ. l. 4.

lentinian,

A. D. 387. lentinian, he ſaid to him in the ſtile of a father, and Chriſtian Emperor: (*b*)" That in order to bring a remedy for ſo great an evil, which had " reduced him to This deplorable extremity, he muſt find means to " deſtroy the cauſe; which was nothing elſe but the hereſy and " war which he had maintained againſt JESUS CHRIST, in up- " holding the Arians, and perſecuting the defenders of his divinity. " That, if he had not JESUS CHRIST on his ſide, who had given " the Victory to Conſtantine over all the tyrants, all the forces of " the Empire would only ſerve to render his loſs more conſiderable, " and his overthrow the more compleat. That he needed not to ſeek " any where but in his own houſe for the proofs of a truth " which he ought particularly on This occaſion, to make the rule " of his conduct. That the great Valentinian his father, having " conſtantly preſerved That faith which he had ſo generouſly confeſ- " ſed under the Empire of Julian, had likewiſe on all occaſions " been victorious over the Barbarians; and that by his great and " glorious actions, he had acquired the ſame name which had ren- " dered the memory of the Alexanders, and the Conſtantines ſo " renowned in the world: That on the contrary, his uncle Valens " having renounced That faith, to give himſelf up to the impieties " of Arianiſm, which he had maintained with the perſecution of " the Catholicks, had likewiſe miſerably loſt, with his Empire, " both his honour and life, and died a moſt horrible death in the " midſt of thoſe flames which were lighted, by the very Goths, " who had but juſt cut his whole army into pieces: That indeed " Maximus was a tyrant, but that notwithſtanding his being a tyrant, " he nevertheleſs acknowledged JESUS CHRIST to be truly GOD; " that, beſides, it was to be feared leaſt the true GOD, who was " the Lord of Hoſt, ſhould ſooner favour the party of a catholick " tyrant, than That of a Prince, who from being a catholick was " become the protector of the Arians. Therefore, if he propoſed " from the aſſiſtance which he would endeavour to give him, to " obtain all the ſucceſs he wiſhed for, he muſt have JESUS " CHRIST in his intereſt, by abhorring Arianiſm, which was " the cauſe of his misfortunes, and ſincerely re-imbracing the " Religion which he had abandoned, more through the crimes of " others than his own, having been deceived by the artifices of " thoſe who had deluded his youth.

(*b*) Suidas, V. Valent.

This

This admonition given to him so timely, and expressed in so strong a manner, by a Prince on whom, at that time, the fortune of young Valentinian mostly depended, made so great an impression on his mind, that, abjuring his error, he protested, that for the future he would (as indeed he did) inviolably adhere to the belief of the Catholick Church, and to that faith which St. Ambrose had maintained with so much courage and zeal, even in oppositions to him. Justina, to whom this discourse was not agreeable, in as much as it particularly concerned her, dissembled her dislike to it; and, as the present emergency of affairs had more power over her than the interest she had in the party of the Arians, she seemed, as it were, to forsake them, and used all the art she was mistress of, together with prayers and tears, to persuade Theodosius, her son-in-law, to make war against Maximus. And accordingly he resolved to do it; for, after having for some time held in suspence the ambassadors of that tyrant, who were making him considerable offers, he set out with his army at the beginning of the spring in the year three hundred and eighty eight, having first of all prepared himself by solid acts of piety, in order to bring down the blessings of GOD on his forces. For, before he departed from Thessalonica, he renewed his edicts against the Hereticks, and chiefly against the Arians, (*c*) to whom he forbad all manner of meetings either publick, or private, in houses where they used to meet under divers pretences, in order to celebrate their sacrilegious mysteries. (*d*) He ordered solemn prayers for imploring the assistance of heaven, and sent even into Egypt to recommend the success of his arms to the prayers of those famous solitaries, who were mostly renowned for their holiness. (*e*) Instead of consulting profane oracles, he applyed to the holy and eminent abbot John, whom he knew to be indowed with a spirit of prophecy, and who foretold him that he should obtain victory. But, what chiefly procured him the mercy of GOD was, the clemency which he himself showed in imitation of JESUS CHRIST, at the latter end of Lent, on a very nice occasion, wherein he resolved gloriously to conquer himself, before he made the conquest of his enemies. A. D. 388.

(*c*) Leg. 14, 15, 16. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.
(*d*) Aug. de Civ. l. 5. c. 26.
(*e*) Ruff. l. 2. Cap. 32.

A.D. 388. The people of Antioch, being enraged at a new tax which was laid on them, in order to provide for the neceſſities of ſo important a war, made a ſedition in which they behaved with ſo much fury, that, in order to affront and provoke Theodoſius, *(f)* they pulled down and ſhamefully dragged about the ſtreets, and publick places, the ſtatues of the empreſs Flaccilla, for whoſe memory he had a ſingular veneration. He was juſt going utterly to deſtroy that great city which was in the deepeſt conſternation, (being deprived of its privileges, and ornaments, by the proclamations of the commiſſaries whom he had ſent thither with ſoldiers in order to puniſh their horrid attempt) when on a ſudden he was moved to clemency by the prayers and tears of the patriarch Flavian, who was come to Conſtantinople to beg pardon for his people, to whom Theodoſius ſaid theſe fine words, (which St. John Chryſoſtom, who in the mean while was comforting that wretched city with his admirable ſermons, hath immortalized, by an elogium worthy of the virtue of ſo great a prince). "If JESUS CHRIST, as great a GOD as he is, "hath vouchſafed to forgive men who were his enemies, and crucified him: Why ſhould I want a heart to forgive my ſubjects who "have offended me; for tho' I am an Emperor and maſter of all, "nevertheleſs I am a man as they are, and their fellow-ſervant. "Depart, biſhop, it is my will that you go immediately, and that "you carry unto them for their Eaſter holy-days the entire forgiveneſs of their crimes. Let them only pray unto GOD for the "proſperity of my arms; and as ſoon as this war is happily ended, "as I hope it will, I ſhall go myſelf and give them as much joy "and as many aſſurances of my affection for them, as I created "in them fears and ſorrow by my indignation." By ſuch glorious actions as theſe he was preparing himſelf for war, and endeavouring to move GOD himſelf to be on his ſide, after having put his army into a good condition, which he took care to ſtrengthen, chiefly with good French and Saxon troops whom he had hired, (g) thoſe very troops who behaved the moſt bravely in all his engagements.

(f) Sozom. l. 4. Theod. l. 5. c. 19. Sozom. l. 7. c. 23. Chryſoſt. in hom. ad Pop. Anti. (g) Ambr. Ep. 29.

On

On the other part Maximus, who plainly perceived, by the treatment which his ambaſſadors had met with, that he had nothing to hope for on the part of Theodoſius, was likewiſe making great preparations, and putting himſelf in a condition even to attack him. He ſet out a powerful Fleet by ſea, *(b)* which was commanded by Andragathius, not knowing whether Theodoſius might not come into Italy by ſea, and diſpatched his brother Marcellinus with a potent army, towards the ſtreights of the Alps, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of any troops into Italy, whilſt he himſelf, with the major part of his forces, advanced into Pannonia, and came to Seiſcia upon the river Savia, in order to march up to Theodoſius, *(i)* and give him battle, in caſe he came by land, or to make diverſions throughout the Country up to the gates of Conſtantinople, if he ſhould come by ſea. But Theodoſius was before-hand with him by his extraordinary diligence; for having conveyed Valentinian and Juſtina by ſea to Rome, which had declared againſt the tyrant, he marched with great ſpeed by land; and, having reached Seiſcia, whilſt Maximus thought him yet at a great diſtance, he fell upon him at once with ſo much courage and reſolution, that the tyrants men, being ſurprized at an attack ſo vigorous and unexpected, and not being able to ſuſtain the firſt charge of the French and Saxon troops, who began the engagment, his whole army was almoſt put to the rout, with little reſiſtance; and he himſelf, being obliged for ſafety to fly, retired to Acquilea, in order to gather up the remains of his defeated forces, whilſt his brother Marcellinus endeavoured to ſtop the conqueror at the paſſage of the Alps. *A. D.* 388.

But the good fortune and valour of Theodoſius ſoon deſtroyed all his deſigns. He had no ſooner gained that firſt victory, but turning ſuddenly all his forces towards the right, he marched up to, and defeated Marcellinus, who was incamped near Poetovium, upon the river Dravus; ſo that without giving time to be informed of his brother's overthrow, *(k)* or to retire into the Streights, he without difficulty gained a ſecond victory. After which, purſuing his conqueſt and thoſe who were put to the flight, with an

(b) Zoſ. l. 4. *(i)* Kovvacz, in Sclavonia. Pacat. in Panæg. Ambr. Ep. 29.
(k) Pettau in Styria.

A. D. 386. equal vigour, and preventing by his diligence the report of his coming, he arrived unexpectedly at Aquilea, where Maximus, (*l*) not knowing what he was a doing, had ſhut himſelf up, inſtead of retiring into Gaul, as if he had deſigned to reſerve himſelf for the triumph of Theodoſius. And indeed, the few ſoldiers who were in the place, ſeeing the victorious troops already at the gates, inſtead of defending themſelves, joined with thoſe who marched in without reſiſtance; and having ſeized the tyrant, whom they pulled down from his tribunal, and ſtripped off his imperial robes, they bound him in chains, (*m*) and thus delivered him up to Theodoſius, who, after having reproached him with his perfidiouſneſs, in a manner nevertheleſs which expreſſed more compaſſion than anger, was forced at laſt to give him up to the fury of the ſoldiers, who cut off his head on the twenty fourth of Auguſt. Andragathius, being informed of what was paſt, and fearing the ſoldiers would deliver him up likewiſe to Theodoſius, caſt himſelf into the ſea; and Arbogaſtus, (*n*) colonel of foot, who had been ſent into Gaul in order to ſecure it, ſurprized and killed Victor, whom he found there, his father Maximus having left him there with the title of Ceſar.

This victory was the finiſhing ſtroke which cauſed the deſtruction of Arianiſm, till the Barbarians, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, made it revive again by their conqueſts. The ſmall number of Arians, who were at Conſtantinople, deſpairing to ſee themſelves ſo much oppreſſed by the rigour of the ordinances which had been publiſhed againſt them, contrived maliciouſly during this war, to ſpread a report, that Theodoſius had been defeated by Maximus who had deſtroyed his whole army, and that with much difficulty he had eſcaped falling into the hands of the conqueror, who was ſtill in purſuit of him. This news, which at firſt was given out by a few people, became by degrees ſo publick, and ſeemed in a little time ſo probable, by the addition of particular circumſtances, which even mentioned the number of the killed and wounded on both ſides, that the very perſons who had invented it, hearing it reported in a poſitive manner by people

(*l*) Ambroſ. Epiſt. 29. Zoſim. lib. 4. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 14. (*m*) Pacat. (*n*) Idat. Zoſ. l. 4.

who

who really believ'd it, (o) and related it with new particulars, began to perſuade themſelves that it was actually true. Therefore, as there are in all parts people, who, through a natural propenſity to evil, are always enemies to a preſent government, whatever it be, and that the world is eaſily inclined to believe the worſt, when they are fond of a change, it happened that ſo many people publiſhed it for a certainty, that no body dared to contradict it. *A. D.* 383.

Hereupon the Arians believing themſelves free, and delivered from the fear of an Emperor, whoſe loſs they looked upon as certain, becauſe they wiſhed it, could no longer contain themſelves; but, ruſhing furiouſly out of their houſes, like the unruly waves of the ſeas, which having broken down the dikes that kept them in their bounds, force their paſſage, to the deſtruction of the country; ſo I ſay, theſe ſeditious Arians in a moſt horrible confuſion and diſorder, ran with torches in their hands like madmen to the palace of the Patriarch Nectarius, which they ſet on fire, in order to be revenged of the Catholicks, who were in poſſeſſion of all the Churches. But their rage was ſoon quelled, and the fire extinquiſhed, which had no farther conſequence. For about the ſame time news was brought of the Emperor's certain victory, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Arians, that changing ſuddenly from one extremity to another, they ran and flung themſelves at the feet of Arcadius, whom Theodoſius had left during his abſence at Conſtantinople, and conjured him to interceed for them with his father, and procure them a pardon of their crime, which they heartily abhorred, proteſting to attone the ſame by a behaviour which ſhould be very contrary to that which they had ſhewn hitherto. (p) Arcadius, who was moved by their prayers and tears, promiſed to comply with their requeſt; which he did in ſo effectual a manner, that Theodoſius at laſt granted him the favour he demanded for thoſe wretched men, who from that time daily ſaw their party loſing ground, and made no more noiſe in the Eaſt.

(q) In the Weſt likewiſe religion reaped great advantages from the glorious ſucceſs of Theodoſius, who ſo entirely dimini-

(o) Socr. lib. 5. cap. 13. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. (p) Ambr. Ep. 29. (q) L. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. Cod. Theod. Idat. Soz. lib. 7. cap. 14. Auguſt. l. 5. de Civit cap. 26. Ambroſ. in fun. Theod. Auguſt. l. 5. de civit. Prud. adv. Sym. l. 1. Hier. cont. Jovin. l. 2. & Ep. 7. Hier. Præf. in Ep. ad Gal.

ſhed

A. D. 389. shed the remains of Arianism by the new ordinances which he published against hereticks, that scarcely was there any memory of them retained in Italy. After this, as he had passed the whole winter and part of the spring at Milan, he set out in order to make his entry in triumph at Rome, which he did in the month of June, with his son Honorius and Valentinian, to whom he restored the whole Empire which he was in possession of, before that Maximus had compelled him to abandon it. He now could no longer endure to see the remains of idolatry which the Emperors had tolerated out of a policy, that appeared to him mean, and contrary to Christianity; he therefore abolished the pagan feasts and sacrifices, and caused the temples, which remained in the capitol, to be demolished, and the idols pulled down; as likewise the altar of victory, with all other altars which were then consecrated to false deities. All which was performed with so great an applause from the people of Rome, that the triumphs of the Cæsars, his predecessors, were never attended with so much glory, as that which appeared on this occasion, with publick rejoicings, praises which they gave unto GOD, and blessings to the Emperor, in the very temples which had been for so long a time profaned by the impious worship of devils. And as he bore as great an aversion to heresy, as he did to idolatry, he soon purged the city of it, by giving orders to the prefect Albinus to expel all the hereticks he could find there, (*r*) and forbidding all men to have any manner of correspondence with them. Valentinian likewise, being delivered from the persecution of Justina, who died before this triumph, and being on the other hand obliged to Theodosius for his life, honour and Empire, he chearfully contributed to these glorious actions, and detesting the principles of Arianism, which his mother had unfortunately instilled into him, he continued stedfast from that time in the catholick faith, under the conduct of St. Ambrose, whom he honoured as a father, till about three years after, when Theodosius was returned to Constantinople, he was miserably murdered, by the treachery of Arbogastus.

(*s*) This Arbogastus was one of those french captains, who had entered into the service of the Romans, and who, after the death

(*r*) Leg. 18. de Hær. Cod. Theod. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. Ambr. Ep. 57. Ambr. Ep. 34. (*s*) Zos. l. 4. Paulin. in vit. Ambr.

of

of Gratian had ſtedfaſtly adhered to the intereſt of Valentinian againſt Maximus. (*t*) He had acquired ſo much honour and credit by his valour and courage, and his wiſe conduct, as alſo by his good fortune, and the contempt he bore to riches, giving all to the ſoldiers, and reſerving only for himſelf the honour of his great actions, that he took upon himſelf, thro' his own authority, the employment of field maſter general, which the whole army, who was at his command, agreed to, the court not daring to oppoſe him; and Theodoſius, who was acquainted with his great qualifications, had ſent him into Gaul in order to take poſſeſſion of it, and to command the forces there, after the defeat of Maximus. He performed in thoſe parts ſuch glorious actions againſt the Barbarians, and even againſt thoſe of his own nation, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements, (*u*) that in an entertainment which he gave to ſome of their kings, after the peace was made, they told him that what he had done ſurpaſſed even nature; and that ſo many victories which he had gained, could proceed only from the friendſhip of Biſhop Ambroſe, who could even command the ſun to ſtop. Indeed the holy man bore a great love to him, as he likewiſe was beloved by Abrogaſtus. But ſo many diſtinguiſhed qualities were alſo mixed with a multitude of imperfections; and above all things his ambition and vanity were inſupportable; for they led him to that pitch of inſolence, (*x*) that he acted with an abſolute power, deſpiſing the commands of his prince, reforming them as he thought fit; and would never put any of them in execution, but in ſuch a manner as was agreeable to himſelf. Valentinian, whoſe ſoul was perfectly great, being come into Gaul where Arbogaſtus commanded thus like a ſovereign, ſhewing the utmoſt contempt to his authority, could no longer bear this indignity; and, as he was one day ſeated on his throne, ſeeing him approach him with his uſual haughtineſs, he caſt an angry look on him, and at the ſame time gave him a written paper, whereby he diſpoſſeſſed him of the command of the army; which Arbogaſtus had no ſooner read, but he told him with a moſt inſolent air, tearing the paper as he withdrew, "As you are not the perſon who gave me

A. D. 389.

(*t*) Suid. V. Arbog. Socr. l. 5. c. 64. Soz. l. 7. c. 22. (*u*) Paulin. in vit. Ambr. (*x*) Zoſim.

"that

A. D. 389. "that command, you never shall be the person, who shall take it "from me." And from that time he never ceased to cabal and plot against him; (*y*) till at last, having bribed some of Valentinian's officers and Eunuchs, he caused him to be strangled at Vienna, in the night time as he was sleeping in his bed. This happened on a Saturday at night, the fifteenth of May, and the eve of the Pentecost.

This prince, who was then in the twenty sixth year of his age, was master of all those perfections both of body and mind, which were sufficient to make one of the greatest Emperors that ever reigned. He had an extraordinary fine shape, with a comely mien, accompanied with a noble and majestick air, whereby he was easily distinguished from all other persons. (*z*) He had strong and well proportioned limbs, and was extreamly active in all exercises; his genius was lively, and he had a penetrating judgment in business, which he applied himself to with so much solidity, and discretion, that even the wisest and oldest of his council were astonished at it. In a word, he seemed to be born a friend to every virtue, and an enemy to vice, so noble and great were his natural dispositions. (*a*) He was chaste, generous, liberal and magnificent; meek, civil, obliging, and a great protector of innocence against the malicious endeavours of calumny, to which he had declared war; and, (which is rare, even in men of a low rank in the world, and much more in princes, who believe that their condition ought not only to justify, but even to immortalize their imperfections,) this young prince used to take so great a care to correct whatever was found amiss in his behaviour, that he was even willing to debar himself of the most innocent amusements of life, such as the publick entertainments of the circus, and hunting, of which exercise he deprived himself rather too severely, because it was thought that he had too great an inclination to it. But, what gave the greater lustre to his virtues, was his incomparable piety towards GOD, and the zeal which he shewed for the true religion as soon as he was delivered from out of the hands of his Arian mother, who alone was guilty of all the disorders which were acted

(*y*) Socr. Epiphan. de Mens. & Ponder. Idat. (*z*) Zosim. l. 7. c. 22
(*a*) Ambr. in fun. Valent.

durin

during his minority: For he then followed the counsels of Theodosius and the instructions of St. Ambrose, for whom his affection daily encreased from the time that he began to act for himself; whereas on the contrary he had born an extraordinary hatred to him, through the persuasion of Justina, whilst she had the administration of affairs for him; so that whatever good was acted during his reign, was owing to him, and whatever evil, may justly be ascribed to his mother. *A. D.* 392.

As he was at that time a catechumen, and just going to make war against the Barbarians, he had entreated St. Ambrose to come immediately in order to baptize him, being resolved to receive baptism from his hands. (*a*) He was then expecting him with impatience, and shewed an extraordinary desire to receive that divine sacrament from the hands of his master, and father; for thus he stiled the holy Bishop, who had already passed the Alps in his way to Vienna, when he heared the dismal news of the fatal death of this prince, which gave him an incredible sorrow. He returned half dead to Milan, continually lamenting his loss, as well as that of the empire, and Church, which was robbed of its benevolent protector. And the only comfort he had was, that his body being sold by the treacherous regicides, who barbarously and villainously, without foundation, reported that he had strangled himself, (*b*) he, by the express commands of Theodosius, celebrated his funerals in a most magnificent manner, and in the excellent funeral oration, which he pronounced on that occasion, (*c*) he found some ease to his grief, from the tears, he shed, and the true elogium, which he gave to his virtues; as likewise because he was assured that the baptism, which that prince had desired and demanded in so pressing a manner, having purified him from all the stains of his sins, he and his brother Gracian were both admitted to the heavenly enjoyment of an everlasting life; declaring nevertheless that he would not pass one day without offering up divine oblations for them, nor a night without giving them a share in his prayers. I thought that this protestation, which I ought not to omit, might serve to convince such protestants as would give ear to reason, that the holy fathers of the fourth century prayed as we do for the dead.

(*a*) Ambros. in fun. Valent. (*b*) Hieron. Ep. 3. Sozom. (*c*) Ambros. or. in fun. Valent.

A. D. 392. After this cruel parricide, (*d*) Arbogastus, (as he had contrived it before-hand with the prefect Flavian, and some other Pagans of his cabal) caused one Eugenius to be proclaimed Emperor. This man had been a grammarian, and, having quitted the schools, which he formerly held, was become a courtier, and had entered into the service. Ricomerus, who had an esteem for him, and when he set out for Constantinople left him with Arbogastus, to whom he recommended him as a man of sense and learning fit to be employed on any useful occasion. Arbogastus therefore believed that this man being his creature, he might dispose of him according to his own pleasure; and this wretched fellow, tho' a Christian, (having a strong disposition towards Paganism, (*e*) and being by Flavian persuaded into a belief that certain omens promised him the Empire, with the destruction of christianity) he resolved to take upon him the purple robes and diadem, tho' in reality he was but a tool, they made use of, and bore only the name of Augustus and Emperor. The first action he did was, the restoring of sacrifices, and rebuilding the altar of victory, which Valentinian, by the instigation of St. Ambrose, had positively refused to the prefect Symmachus: (*f*) After which he sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, in order to know of him whether he would acknowledge him for his collegue to the Empire, or for his enemy. But Theodosius, having amused the ambassadors some time, whilst he was under-hand making necessary preparations, he at last sent them away very well satisfied, made them rich presents, and gave them many fine words, which made them believe that he intended to live in peace with their master. At the same time he gathered up all his Roman forces under the command of Stilico, (*g*) who had married his niece Serena, and the auxiliaries of the barbarian nations, chiefly the Goths under the command of Gainas, Saulus, and Bacurius. This being done, (after having implored the assistance of God, according to custom, (*b*) with fasting and exercises of Penance, and by new edicts, which he caused to be published against Hereticks) he marched with all diligence towards the Alps, where his enemies had made themselves masters of the passages, in order to fight him

(*d*) Zos. l. 4. Sozom. l. 7. c. 22. Paul. in vit. Ambros. (*e*) Sozom. (*f*) Zos. (*g*) Ruff. lib. 2. cap. 32. Leg. 21. de Hæret. Cod. Th. August. Epist. 50. (*b*) Prosper. Marcel. Petau.

with

with the more advantage to themſelves, and prevent his coming into Italy. *A. D.* 393.

The army of Eugenius, which the Pagans were abſolute maſters of, as well as of their Emperor, beſides the Roman legions who had ſerved under Valentinian, was compoſed of a prodigious number of Gauls and French (*i*) who had followed Arbogaſtus their country-man; and, after having placed an advanced body of men at the paſſage of the Julian Alps, they appeared in order of battle on the tops of the hills, bearing at the heads of their lines, amongſt their ſtandards, the ſtatues of Hercules and of thundering Jupiter. (*k*) The forces of Theodoſius conſiſted of two powerful bodies, which he had divided, the one was compoſed of the old bands of Roman ſoldiers, who had fought under him, with ſo much glory and good fortune, againſt the Barbarians in the Eaſt, and againſt Maximus in the Weſt; and the other, of thoſe foreign nations, who inhabited the countries lying on the borders of the Danube; and of ſome French, who had remained in his ſervice from the time of his war with Maximus; and of old Iberian ſoldiers under the conduct of that brave Chriſtian Bucarius their General; but above all of Arian Goths, who had given themſelves to him after the death of Athanaricus, (*l*) and who were commanded by Gaïnas. He immediately fell upon thoſe who were guarding the paſſes, and charged them ſo unexpectedly, that being ſtruck with terrour and diſordered, (*m*) he made himſelf maſter of them at the firſt attack without meeting with much reſiſtance; and being afterwards advanced with all his army he drew it up in order of battle before the enemy, who, after having recovered from the fear, which ſo reſolute an action had given them, put themſelves likewiſe in a poſture of defence.

(*n*) Thus they fought for the ſpace of two days, which were the fifth and ſixth of September, ſome of them on the hills, and ſome in the vales on the border of the river Frigidus with various turns of ſucceſs. On the firſt day Theodoſius, ſeeing that the innumerable body of Barbarians, whom Arbogaſtus had brought

(*i*) Marcell. (*k*) Auguſt. 5. de Civ. cap. 26. (*l*) Ruf. l. 2. cap. 33. (*m*) Zoſ. lib. 4. Ruf. lib. 2. cap. 33. Socr. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*n*) Marcell. Proſper. Ruff. l. 2. Oroſ. lib. 7. cap. 35. Victor. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 24. Theod. l. 5. cap. 24. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 24. Idat.

A. D. 394. with him out of Gaul, filled up all the vales, and that they were ſuſtained by the Roman legions, which were in order of battle with Eugenius on the hills, propoſed to obſerve the ſame order and begin the fight with thoſe foreign troops, to whom he had, given the vanguard, reſerving himſelf with the body of Roman ſoldiers to ſuſtain them. Gainas, to whom he gave the head of the right wing, made the firſt attack with the Goths, who at firſt fought bravely, followed by the other foreign troops, and chiefly the Iberians, who on that day behaved the beſt of all, encouraged by the example of Bacurius, who commanded at their head. But Arbogaſtus being a brave and skilful officer, and his troops extremely well diſciplined, and much more numerous than thoſe who were fighting againſt them; the Goths at laſt, after a long and obſtinate combat, wherein moſt of their braveſt men were cut off, being no longer able to reſiſt the multitude of freſh enemies, who ſuddenly poured down upon them, gave way, and falling foul on their own people, cauſed a general diſorder, which gave occaſion to the enemies, (*n*) who purſued them very cloſe, to make a moſt horrible maſſacre amongſt them, who, in this confuſion, being a hinderance to each other, were no longer able to defend themſelves. Theodoſius, (*o*) who from a riſing ground whence he could diſcover what paſſed, ſaw the danger he was in; and that, if Eugenius ſhould fall upon him, whilſt he was attacked at the ſame time by thoſe foreign victorious troops, his defeat was inevitable, he with a loud voice invoked JESUS CHRIST, whoſe glorious name was ſeen on all his ſtandards. Then he ſo bravely encouraged his officers, but particularly the valiant Bacurius, who perceived that he was lifting up his hands to heaven, that having rallied thoſe who were running away, they ſtopped the fury of thoſe who were purſuing them, whilſt the Romans, headed by Theodoſius, advanced in order to ſuſtain their people, and engaged the troops commanded by Eugenius. (*p*) Thus they fought without giving the leaſt ground to each other till night, which putting an end to the combat, cauſed them to retire. Eugenius, who thought himſelf victorious by the defeat of the vanguard of his enemy, (*q*) made great rejoicings in his camp, and was in

(*n*) Zoſ. Theod. (*o*) Ruff. Sozom. (*p*) Socr. (*q*) Soz.

no

no doubt but that Theodoſius had made his eſcape with the remainder of his army, by the help of the night, leaving him entirely maſter of the camp, with the honour of the victory. *A. D.* 394.

In the mean while Theodoſius being retired to his own camp on the hill, held a council of war, wherein moſt of the generals were of opinion, that after the loſs which he had received of a great part of his vanguard (*r*) which was cut to pieces, the troops that remained, were too ſmall in number, and too much diſheartened, to be expoſed to the hazard of a ſecond engagment againſt an enemy ſo much ſtronger, and fluſhed with the ſucceſs of a battle, wherein he had obtained an advantage; that it would be more prudent to retire into the ſtrong places of the Empire, in order to gather up leaſurely freſh troops during the winter, and begin again the war with equal forces in the ſpring. But the Emperor rejected this advice, and endeavouring with a reſolute air to inſpire his captains with the ſame courage which he himſelf was maſter of, he ſaid to them, "GOD forbid that the Croſs, "which appears on my Enſigns, ſhould by our conſent yield to "the ſtatues of Hercules and Jupiter, which our enemies bear at "the head of their army. We muſt fight to morrow, and we ſhall "conquer, like unto Conſtantine, in that ſign, which promiſes me "the victory". After This he gave orders for the next day, and he himſelf retiring to a chappel, which happened to be near the place where he was incamped, he reſolved there to paſs the remaining part of the night in prayer. It is reported that falling aſleep during his oration, whether it was only a dream occaſioned by the ideas of the firſt battle, and that his imagination was filled with the deſire of conqueſt; or, that during his ſlumber he had one of thoſe celeſtial viſions, which, according to the Pagans themſelves, were allowed to come from GOD, I ſhall not ſay; but he thought, That he ſaw two men mounted on two white Horſes, who encouraged him to give battle to the enemy early in the morning, ſaying they were John the Evangeliſt, and Philip, an Apoſtle of JESUS CHRIST, who were come by his command to attend him in marching before his Enſigns. Be this as it will, as he was going by break of day, to draw up his army in order of battle, they

(*r*) Theod.

preſented

A. D. 394. preſented a ſoldier to him, who had juſt told his officer that he had the like viſion in a dream; and Theodoſius would not omit the occaſion of ſo favourable an incident to encourage his army. For he told his officers, " That the ſame thing was repreſented to " his mind, promiſing him victory, that it was not for him, but for " them that GOD had ſent That viſion to the ſoldiers, leaſt they " ſhould imagin that it was an artifice of their Emperor, who had " already, contrary to their opinion, reſolved on a battle. Let " us fight therefore (ſaid he to them) in the name of GOD under " ſuch great commanders, who will be at our head, and let us ra- " ther obſerve our guides than the multitnde of our enemies, who " will not be able to ſtand before them ". This ſpeech being ſpread throughout the army, it inſpired the ſoldiers with ſo much courage, that there was not one of them, who was not eager for the fight, and ready to go to battle as to a certain victory. Hereupon Theodoſius, willing to lay hold of their preſent diſpoſition, marched down into the plain, in order of battle, with a reſolution to go up ſtreight to the enemy.

This at firſt ſurprized Eugenius, who had no other thoughts but thoſe of enjoying the fruits of his victory. But as from the top of the hill, where they had fixed his tent, he could diſcover the ſmall number of forces which the Emperor had left, comparing them to his own, who the mean while were drawing up for battle; he ſaid, That Theodoſius was coming like a deſperate man to looſe his life, and that he charged them not to kill him, but to bring him alive to him bound in Irons. The two armies being in preſence of each other, the Emperor placed himſelf at the head of his Horſe; and having given orders for the ſounding of the charge, (*s*) he made the ſign of the Croſs, which he looked upon as an invincible armour, then rode up directly to the enemy, with his men whom he had inſpired with equal courage; Bacurius followed him, (*t*) who on this occaſion performed wonderful actions, in order to retrieve the loſs which the foreign troops had ſuſtained in the firſt combat. Arbogaſtus on his ſide did all that could be expected from a great and a valiant commander, tho' without ſucceſs; for GOD ſoon declared himſelf openly for Theodoſius, by a

(*s*) Oros. l. 7. (*t*) Ruff. Socr.

miracle

miracle which was known to the whole world, (*u*) and which the very Pagans themſelves could not entirely conceal, though a certain Writer of theirs, through a baſe malice, altogether unworthy of an Hiſtorian, hath endeavoured to ſuppreſs it, (*x*) contrary to the teſtimonies of all thoſe who wrote in thoſe days. (*y*) Both armies were no ſooner cloſely engaged, when ſuddenly on the ſide of the camp of Theodoſius, between the Eaſt and ſouth point, there roſe a moſt furious wind, which carried the arrows of his ſoldiers with more force againſt the enemies, and drove back theirs againſt themſelves in ſuch a manner, that none of their arrows reached the Emperor's ſoldiers. Beſides This ſtorm raiſed clouds and whirlwinds of duſt, which flying directly into the faces of Eugenius's men, obliged them to ſhut their eyes, ſo that they remained uſeleſs, and without defence, expoſed to the darts and ſpears, which flew at them from all parts. Hereupon the Imperialiſts, ſeeing the aſſiſtance of GOD who viſibly fought for them, fell upon the enemy ſword in hand, (*z*) and made a moſt horrible ſlaughter of the foreign troops, who had gained ſuch great advantages the day before, (*a*) whilſt the Romans, after that Theodoſius had promiſed their officers to ſhew them favour, laying down their arms, ſurrendered themſelves, and delivered up Eugenius bound in chains to him, whom the Emperor, after having reproached him with his crimes, cauſed immediately to be beheaded, whilſt at the ſame time That wretched man was ſhamefully begging his life on his knees. *A. D.* 394.

Arbogaſtus, who had made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf for the ſpace of two days in the hills, deſpairing to find means of avoiding thoſe who were in purſuit of him, in order to bring him to Theodoſius, who was reſolved to revenge, on his head, (*b*) the Parricide of Valentinian, killed himſelf with the wounds of two different ſwords, which he thruſt into his body. The Emperor being ſatisfied with the death of theſe two criminals, ſhewed mercy to all the reſt, and gave all the plunder to the ſoldiers, chiefly Jupiter's (*c*) Golden thunderbolts and ſtatues, which the (*d*) enemies

(*u*) Claudian. in Pan. 3. Hon. Conſ. (*x*) Zoſ. lib. 4. (*y*) Oroſ. Aug. 5. de Civit. cap. 26. Ruff. Socr. Theodor. Sozom. Socr. (*z*) Oroſ. Sozom. Theod. (*a*) Socr. Sozom. (*b*) Zoſ. Socr. Sozom. Claudia. in 3. Conſ. (*c*) Auguſt. 5. de Civ. cap. 26. (*d*) Oroſ.

had

A. D. 394. had erected againſt him, by a ſacrilegious ceremony which they performed on the hills. There was not much Roman blood ſhed in this remarkable victory; but in the firſt fight the Emperor loſt a great number of his foreign troops, and among the reſt ten thouſand Goths, who were killed upon the ſpot. It was obſerved from that time, that the loſs of theſe people was eſteemed as valuable as the gaining of a battle to the Empire, which was delivered from ſo many enemies; (*e*) and that GOD permitted that they ſhould all be deſtroyed in the firſt engagement, not intending that Theodoſius ſhould loſe the victory, but to convince the whole world, that he had ſo glorioufly overcome the enemy by the divine aſſiſtance, (as he did the next day) and not at all by the help of the Arians and Barbarians.

Therefore, as we may properly ſay, that this great action was chiefly the victory of GOD; it was alſo his will that it ſhould be proclaimed after a manner that was worthy of himſelf. For the ſame day, on which it was gained, at the paſſage of the Alps, as they were exorciſing an evil ſpirit in the Church of St John the Baptiſt, near Conſtantinople, (*f*) (where Theodoſius, before he went to the war, made a fervent prayer,) the devil, I ſay, cried out in a moſt lamentable manner, ſpeaking injuriouſly to that divine fore-runner of CHRIST: "Wretched man who art beheaded, is it "then decreed, that thou ſhalt overcome me, and deſtroy my "army"? This ſaying ſurprized thoſe who were preſent, and having ſet down the day and hour, they found afterwards, that this was the very time in which Eugenius loſt the battle: But what the famous Abbot John ſaid on the ſame occaſion was yet more remarkable, and we can no ways be doubtful of a thing which we have received from the very perſon who ſaw it, and to whom that holy man addreſſed himſelf. (*g*) The Emperor having again conſulted the holy Abbot concerning the ſucceſs of this war, he foretold his victory, and his death in Italy. Some time after as Evagrius and his companions, who were then viſiting the Monaſteries of Thebaides, were taking their leave of this wonderful Hermit, he bleſſed them in theſe words: "Depart hence in peace, my be-"loved Children, and be it known unto you, that This day at

(*e*) Ruff. (*f*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*g*) Evag. p. 1. cap. 1.

"Alex-

" Alexandria, is publiſhed the happy news of the victory of the " Emperor Theodoſius over the tyrant Eugenius: After which, it " is decreed, that in little time that admirable Prince muſt leave " this life. And ſoon after they were confirmed in the truth of this prediction; for they were informed, that the news was actually come, which gave an account of the defeat of the tyrant, which happened at the very time mentioned by the holy Abbot. *A. D.* 395.

About four months after, Theodoſius being at Milan, where they were celebrating, with extraordinary rejoicings, a victory which had made him the abſolute maſter of both Empires, (*b*) he was taken ill, and did not doubt, but that according to the prophecy of Abbot John, it was a call from GOD in order to triumph in Heaven: And after having aboliſhed all the ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm, deſtroyed the remains of Arianiſm, provided, by the counſels of St. Ambroſe, (*i*) for the ſafety of the Churches, freed the people from their taxes, extinguiſhed by his laſt will and teſtament the memory of all the crimes which were committed againſt him under the tyranny of Eugenius; divided the Empire of the Eaſt and Weſt between his two Sons, who were then with him, and to whom he chiefly recommended the obſervance of piety towards GOD, and zeal for Religion, having firſt appointed St. Ambroſe for their ſpiritual guide, and Stilico for the temporal affairs; after having done all theſe things, and, by a conſtant good fortune peculiar to himſelf alone, and which did not deſcend to his ſucceſſors, having likewiſe overcome the Barbarians, deſtroyed the tyrants, obliged the Perſians to keep within bounds of reſpect, ſuppreſſed rebellions, maintained his ſubjects in peace, whilſt religion flouriſhed throughout his Empire; and, what raiſed his glory to the higheſt degree, having reſtored the Empire of JESUS CHRIST in the whole extent of it, by the total ruin of the Arians, who never could re-eſtabliſh themſelves during his life; after all this, I ſay, he calmly gave up the ghoſt, on the ſeventeenth day of January, in this ſame year of our LORD, three hundred and ninety five, the ſixteenth of his Empire, and the fiftieth of his age (*k*). Forty days after his death, his funeral was

(*b*) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 28. Ambroſ. in fun. Theod. (*i*) Theodor. l. 5. c. 25.
(*k*) Proſper. Marcel. Socr. lib 5. cap. 25.

A. D. 395. ſolemniz'd in a magnificent manner at Milan, where St. Ambroſe ſpoke the oration in the preſence of the young Emperor Honorius, (*l*) who was then but twelve years of age; and in the ſame year his body was carried over to Conſtantinople, where his eldeſt Son Arcadius, who was Emperor of the Eaſt, received him on the eighth of November, and, after a pompous funeral worthy of ſo great an Emperor, he placed him in the ſepulchre of Conſtantine.

I am of opinion that whoever reads this hiſtory, will intereſt himſelf ſo far in all that concerns the deſtroyer of Arianiſm, that he will be very deſirous of having his Picture, in order to preſerve, with the more delight, the memory and idea of ſo wonderful a Prince. (*m*) As he held it for a great honour to be deſcended from the race of Trajan, he had likewiſe the good fortune to reſemble him in the ſize of his ſtature, the beauty of his hair, the proportion of his limbs, as alſo in the likeneſs and features of his face; and, excepting that his eyes were not ſo large, nor his complexion ſo fair and delicate, and that he had not ſo majeſtick a preſence as that of Trajan, no man ever did reſemble him more. But if he was inferiour to him in thoſe points, he on the other hand was ſuperiour to him in the beauties of the mind, ſince, it is certain, that he poſſeſſed all the perfections of that Emperor, and was not guilty of thoſe failings which are imputed to him. For Theodoſius was bountiful, generous, magnificent, and obliging; reſpectful to every one according to his rank, but chiefly perſons of vertue and merit, to whom he ever ſhowed a great affection and regard; admiring men of learning and skill in arts and ſciences, of which he himſelf had as much knowledge as was well conſiſtent with the character of a Prince, but without affecting a ſuperiority over others; tho' nevertheleſs he maintained his authority on all occaſions without oſtentation, and enjoyed the ſweets of a ſociable life with his friends, without diminiſhing the grandeur of his Majeſty, which he knew how to ſoften, without expoſing it to contempt. He was wiſe, skilful, laborious and vigilant, expoſing himſelf to dangers, and ſharing the fatigues of war, with the private ſoldiers; he was chaſte and ſober, yet nevertheleſs ſumptuous and ele-

(*l*) Victor. Ambr. in obit. Theod. Socr. lib. 6. cap. 1. (*m*) Victor. in Theod.

gant

gant in the friendly entertainments which he uſed to make with ſuch perſons as he was pleaſed to admit into his company, when he had a mind to paſs a few agreeable hours. He had ſo much gratitude, as to publiſh even the leaſt good offices that he had received from private perſons in his primitive fortune; he was a declared enemy to traitors, and ungrateful people, and uſed publickly to deteſt the pride, ambition, cruelty, and tyranny of Cinna, Marius, Sylla and others of the ſame ſtamp, who had inhumanly made an ill uſe of their power; and this he did, as he ſaid, in order to lay himſelf under the happy neceſſity of obſerving a conduct intirely oppoſite to theirs, of which he declared ſo openly to have an abhorrence; and, what is ſtill more uncommon, particularly amongſt great men, (to whom great proſperity is frequently more dangerous, in reſpect to their morals, than great adverſity) he uſed always to be more meek, more humane, and more obliging, as his power encreaſed by his victories; but above all things he was to be admired in his domeſtick capacity, when he uſed to lay aſide, as it were with pleaſure, his princely Majeſty, (which he looked upon as a burthen), in order to give himſelf up to the tender cares and endearments of a husband, a father, and a maſter. *A. D.* 395.

Theſe, in part, are the praiſes which were given to him, not only by the holy fathers, who were well acquainted with him, as St. Ambroſe and St. Auguſtin, whom, poſſibly, we might ſuſpect of having too much flattered his picture: *(n)* But likewiſe by the Pagans of his time, who examined his conduct without any partiality in favour of him, becauſe he was an enemy to their idols; *(o)* as, amongſt others, the famous prefect Symmachus, the moſt bigotted defender of Paganiſm, and who, writing to Flavian, (who was alſo a Pagan, and the ſame that had made war againſt Theodoſius under Eugenius) declared ingenuouſly that the virtues of That Prince far excelled all that he could ſay upon That ſubject, in a publick oration, and that the picture, which he had given of him, was painted only with dead colours. This plainly ſhews the inſolent and baſe malice of that famous impoſtor Zoſimus, who ſeems to have written his hiſtory, only for the ſake of abuſing the

(*n*) Aur. Vict. Themiſt. or. 5. (*o*) Symm. l. 2. epiſt. 13.

A. D. 395. Chriſtian Emperors. For in order to be revenged, in particular, of the great Theodoſius, who (as we may ſee by his bitter complaints) aboliſhed the worſhip and ſacrifices of his idols, he blackens all his virtues, repreſenting them as criminal exceſſes. Therefore, becauſe he was humane, agreeable, beneficent to all the world, and deſirous to gain the affections of mankind, by diverting them with polite entertainments, he boldly repreſents him, (without having any knowledge of him, contrary to the authority of cotemporary authors) as an idle, voluptuous, diſſolute and prodigal Prince, who relaxed all diſcipline, giving himſelf up to the management of his Eunuchs, and of thoſe who ſupplied him with money, which (as he tells us) he inſatiably thirſted after; and nevertheleſs, becauſe this bold impoſtor was manifeſtly confuted by the teſtimony of ſo many glorious actions and victories, he finds himſelf obliged to own, that during the war he became, by a kind of prodigy, a quite different perſon, worthy of admiration, tho' he has at other times affirmed the direct contrary. I thought it my duty to offer this publick vindication of the truth of hiſtory, ſo ſcandalouſly traduced by this calumniator; and that he could not be more effectually puniſhed for his detraction than by ſhewing the world on this occaſion, by ſo many authentick teſtimonies to the contrary, with how much aſſurance, and with how little ingenuity he has aſſerted ſo groſs and palpable a falſhood, without any apprehenſion of the puniſhment which he might well have expected from poſterity, who, ſoon or late, will be revenged on ſuch authors as have attempted to impoſe upon the world.

I do not ſay but that this Prince had his failings, the chief of which was this, that he was too paſſionate, tho' at the ſame time his anger was generally occaſioned by ſuch things as deſerved a juſt indignation: (*p*) Beſides, when this happened he immediately recollected himſelf, and ſhewed a becoming ſenſe of ſhame, as alſo a readineſs to forgive the offenders proportionable to the exceſs of his paſſion, which in a good meaſure attoned for it. So that when any perſons offended him they generally found their account in his reſentment, provided no evil councellors interfered to prevent the effect of his natural goodneſs, for he ſometimes uſed to let himſelf

(*p*) Vict. Ambroſ. in fun. Theod.

too

too eaſily be over-perſuaded as well by evil, as by good advice, out of a natural propenſity which inclined him to give credit to thoſe whom he thought his friends. *A. D.* 395.

This too plainly appeared in the dreadful maſſacre of the Theſſalonians, (*q*) who, thro' the greateſt piece of injuſtice imaginable, had barbarouſly murdered the governour of Illiria. The Emperor, being juſtly provoked at this wicked action, had ordered, in the heighth of his anger, that a certain number of theſe ſeditious people ſhould be put to death: (*r*) But St. Ambroſe by his ſupplications having obtained mercy for them, he pardoned them; at the ſame time his principal officers, and chiefly Ruffinus, who was great maſter of the palace, and had an extraordinary influence over him, repreſented to him, that having forgiven the inhabitants of Antioch and the Arians of Conſtantinople, he would daily be expoſed to the contempt and inſults of his ſubjects, if he did not ſeverely puniſh the horrible crime of the Theſſalonians. Whereupon he put himſelf into ſo violent a paſſion, which encreaſed at theſe freſh remonſtrances, that he gave immediate orders to his Lieutenants to deſtroy thoſe ſeditious criminals. This command was executed with ſo much inhumanity, that the ſoldiers, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, ran ſword in hand, through the ſtreet, into the houſes, and into the Circus, where the people were aſſembled at the publick games; (*s*) and thus barbarouſly maſſacred ſeven thouſand ſouls, without any diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, wickedly confounding the innocent with the guilty in this moſt cruel revenge. It is true indeed, the crime was great: But at the ſame time it is well known to the world, that this great prince reaped a glorious advantage from it, for his religious improvement, and for the inſtruction of the greateſt monarchs, and the edification of the whole Church, by the remarkable penance which he performed on that account. This is the character of the great Theodoſius whom JESUS CHRIST made choice of in thoſe days to ſubdue Arianiſm; and it may be obſerved that this monſter never would have raiſed his head, had not the weakneſs of the ſons of that Emperor, and the ambition of thoſe who governed them, gi-

(*q*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*r*) Paul in vit. Ambroſ. (*s*) Ruff. l. 2. c. 18. Sozom. l. 7. c. 24. Paul in vit. Ambroſ.

ven

A. D. 395. ven occaſion to the Barbarians, who were infected with that hereſy, to reſtore it by fire and ſword; as likewiſe by the entire deſolation of the Weſt, and by their conqueſts, which were equally fatal to the Church, and Empire. I muſt now inform you of the cauſes and conſequences of ſo deplorable a change.

After the death of Theodoſius, Arcadius, (who was a young Prince, (*t*) between eighteen and nineteen years old) returned immediately to Conſtantinople, attended by Ruffinus, who had formerly governed him under the late Emperor, and being then made prefect of the pretorium, had taken upon himſelf the ſole direction of all the affairs of the Eaſt. Honorius, to whom was left the Empire of the Weſt, continued there under the guardianſhip of Stilico, who being intruſted with the care of his infancy, had aſſumed likewiſe the abſolute government of his Empire. Ruffinus was a Gaul by birth, of the province of Aquitain, and Stilico was a Vandal; and, tho' the latter was a man of more skill and capacity than the other; yet they bore a pretty near reſemblance with reſpect to their vices, which had hitherto been reſtrained thro' the fear they had of the great Theodoſius: (*u*) But that obſtacle being now ſet aſide, they broke out, in a moſt furious manner, to the deſtruction of the two Empires. For they were both of them extremely ambitious, proud, cruel, avaritious, ſelling, equally, both juſtice and injuſtice, (*x*) oppreſſing the rich people under falſe pretences, and heaping up treaſures at the expence of thoſe who, to avoid their inhumanity, were forced to ſacrifice to their avarice. In ſhort, they were both watching for an opportunity to betray their maſters, and aſſume a tyrannical power; and in order to ſucceed in their ſcheme, they, each of them, under hand, applied to the ſame meaſures, the calling in thoſe Barbarians, who profeſſed Arianiſm, which, by a juſt judgment of God, occaſioned their ruin before the deſolation of the religion and Empire, which theſe wretched men haſtened by their deteſtable ambition.

This was what firſt occaſioned their intimacy, and afterwards their diſagreement: For Ruffinus was reſolved to govern abſolutely in the Eaſt, without adviſing with Stilico; and, as he aſpired even to the Empire, he was uſing all poſſible means to oblige Ar-

(*t*) Zoſim. l. 5. (*u*) Claud. l. 1. adv. Ruffin. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 38. (*x*) Zoſ. l. 5.

cadius

cadius to marry his daughter. But Stilico, who had all the forces, which Theodosius had left, under his command, and had sent but very few troops along with Arcadius, (and those none of the best,) opposed him in a very resolute manner, insisting, that the Emperor had honoured him with the sole care of his two sons, and that it belonged to him only to have an inspection over both the Empires. On the other hand, the Eunuch Eutropius, who was high chamberlain to Arcadius, (y) who placed a great confidence in him, having a strong suspicion of Ruffinus, whose humour and ambition were well known to him, had formed a secret correspondence with Stilico; and immediately took proper steps to prevent Ruffinus from becoming his master's father-in-law, which he did without much difficulty, having first inspired that young prince with sentiments of love for Eudoxia, whom he espoused because of her excellent beauty. In the mean while Ruffinus, (who dreaded the power of Stilico, and was resolved to have forces which he might dispose of as he pleased) in order to bring his design to bear, had already treated with the Huns and the Alani, and invited them into the territories of the Empire on that side of Asia, (z) which accordingly they marched into, and caused most horrid devastations where ever they came. He treated likewise with Alaricus king of the Goths, who was dissatisfied, because the general command of the troops of his nation had been given to Gainas. This king, after having pillaged Thracia and Macedonia, marched into Greece, by the treacherous connivance of the proconsul Antiochus, and Gerontius, who delivered up to him the passage of the *Thermopylæ*; and this army of Barbarians, meeting with no resistance, according to the orders which Ruffinus had given to those traitors, who were in the plot with him, entered into Morea, where they acted such barbarities as cannot sufficiently be deplored; and destroyed all the cities which lay without any other defence but the Isthmus, which was likewise left defenceless. *A. D.* 395.

Stilico, seeing the design of his enemy, who intended to make use of these Barbarians against him, carried all his forces with him by sea into Greece, from whence he expelled them; then per-

(y) Claud. l. 2. adv. Ruffin. Ruffin. Zozom. l. 5.

(z) Hieron. Epist. 3. & 4. Claud. 1. & 2. in

ceiving

A. D. 388. ceiving that Ruffinus was breaking his meaſures by perſuading Arcadius to demand the Eaſtern army of him, with the pretence that he had occaſion for it againſt the Barbarians, he very artfully improved this opportunity to get rid of him. For having ſent that ſmall army back, under the command of Gainas, who was entirely at his diſpoſal, and acted in concert with theſe officers, to whom Stilico had given inſtructions; Arcadius, according to cuſtom, went out of Conſtantinople in order to receive the army, which having ſaluted him with great acclamations of joy, a ſignal was given, and the troops extending themſelves to the right and left, as it were to form a circle, ſurrounded Ruffinus at once, (*p*) and pierced him with a ſhower of darts, which flew at him from all parts: And thus he was torn to pieces, in the preſence of the Emperor, who was not very much concerned for the loſs of a man, who held him under an inſolent government; (*q*) after which they marched, as it were in triumph into Conſtantinople, bearing the head of this wretched man on the end of a pike; whilſt one of the ſoldiers was ſhewing his right hand to the people, which by way of a cruel reproach for his inſatiable avarice, he contrived to ſhut and open, by drawing and looſening the Nerves; which artful management gave a fine diverſion to the people, to whom this tyrant was become unſupportable for his pride and barbarous extortions. A memorable and uſeful leſſon, which ought to teach favourites and miniſters of princes not to abuſe, either the weakneſs or good nature of their maſters, in order to uſurp a tyrannical authority, to the ruin of the people, for whom, as they are not their lawful princes, they never can feel the tenderneſs of a father. But this is a leſſon which is more generally ſeen in the misfortunes of thoſe men, than practiſed by their ſucceſſors, becauſe they are commonly ſo blinded by their ſucceſs, that they cannot ſee the precipice which they are led into, by following the ſteps of thoſe who went before them, without any apprehenſion of their tragical end.

Arcadius was no ſooner delivered from one tyrant, but he fell into the hands of another, as wicked as the firſt. This was the Eunuch Eutropius, who, being as much addicted to avarice, ambi-

(*p*) Claud. l. 2. adv. Ruffin. Zoſ. (*q*) Hieron. Epiſt. 3.

tion,

ambition and cruelty, as Ruffinus had been, ſoon cauſed the like diſorders throughout the Empire. (*r*) As he was well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of Stilico, with whom he had plotted againſt Ruffinus, and that he thought himſelf in danger of being treated by him in the ſame manner, as that wicked man had been, he perſuaded the Emperor, his maſter, over whom he had an abſolute aſcendant, to declare him in open ſenate, an enemy to the Republick. Beſides, he drew into his party Gildonus, who had already for ſome time begun to act the tyrant in Africa. This was one of the ſons of Nubelus, an ally of the Romans, (*s*) and one of the moſt potent Princes amongſt the Moors. As he had faithfully ſerved the father of Theodoſius againſt his own brother, the tyrant Firmus, that Prince being come to the Empire, gave him the government of Africa, during which he acted all manner of violences; and, adding his ingratitude to ſo many crimes, he refuſed to ſend the aſſiſtance, which Theodoſius required of him againſt Eugenius. (*t*) Therefore, fearing the reſentment and valour of Stilico, he declared himſelf againſt him in favour of Eutropius, and prevented the tranſport of corn from Africa, in order to famiſh Rome, and oblige it to riſe up in rebellion. But Stilico, without being at all concerned at the revolt of Gildonus, ſent immediately a body of men againſt him, commanded by Maſcezilus, a brother of that tyrant, who had inhumanly cauſed his children to be put to death. This Maſcezilus was ſo fortunate, that, with five thouſand men, he defeated Gildonus, who had an army of ſixty thouſand, and, being taken priſoner, ſtrangled himſelf with his own hands, and thus died in a deſperate manner.

A. D. 396.

A. D. 397.

It is reported, that three days before the battle was fought, as Maſcezilus was juſt going to enter into a deep vale, where he found himſelf obliged to incamp, at night he ſaw in a dream St. Ambroſe, who died on the Eaſter-eve of the foregoing year, and that this holy Biſhop ſaid to him three times, ſtriking the ground with his Croſier, *This is the place, this is the place, this is the very place*; which obliged him to ſtop there, in order to form his camp

A. D. 398.

(*r*) Zoſ. lib. 5. (*s*) Ammian. l. 19. (*t*) Claud. de Bello Gildon. Auguſt. contr. Lit. Petil. & cont. Parm. Claud. in Eutrop. Claud. in 6. Conſul. Hon. Claud. de Bello Gildon. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 36.

A. D. 398. for a battle: That on the third day, the enemy appearing, he marched up directly to them with his small army; but first had prepared himself, by partaking of the holy mysteries. At the first attack with his sword, he obliged the next man to him that carried the colours, to surrender them, which persuaded the Romans, who were with Gildonus, that the soldiers, who were in the first ranks, had surrendered themselves to Mascezilus; so that they immediately marched up and joined his army; which caused so great a surprize in the Barbarians, that, though their numbers were still infinitely greater than all the Romans joined together, their heart failed them, and they ran away almost without striking a stroke. (*u*) As the writers of those days have related this adventure, and that Mascezilus himself, being returned to Milan, (*x*) published it in all places, and in the presence of judicious persons, who declared that they had received it from his own mouth, and had taken some pains to enquire strictly into all the circumstances of that affair, it would, in my opinion, be looked upon as too scrupulous a nicety, to reject it as one of those visions, which are delivered down to us without either proof or authority; and since it does contribute so much to the glory of St. Ambrose, who bore so considerable a share in the History of *Arianism*, I thought myself obliged to insert this small account of an event which made so great noise, and was, after the death of that eminent Prelate, the testimony of his Holiness, and the crown of all the glorious actions of his life.

But after all this it unfortunately happened, that Mascezilus, who had done so great a piece of service to the Empire, was miserably cut off by the treachery of the very person, (*y*) for whom he had done the kindest offices, and who, likewise, seemed reciprocally to treat him with the greatest marks of honour. For Stilico, who was now become father-in-law to the Emperor, and absolute master of the Empire, whether he envied the merits of Mascezilus, or feared least he should one day follow the steps of his brother; or whether it were through the false insinuations of others, that he grew jealous of him; I say, whether it were for these, or any other reasons, no-body can tell, neither could any of

(*u*) Oros. (*x*) Paul. in vit. Ambr. (*y*) Zos. l. 5.

them

them have juſtified ſo black an action; but, as Stilico was paſſing over a bridge in his way to a country-ſeat, in company with Maſcezilus, he gave a certain ſignal to his guards, who ſuddenly ſeized on that unfortunate prince, and flung him into the river; whilſt Stilico at the ſame time ſet up a prodigious laughter, as if the thing had been done out of a merry joke, though nevertheleſs poor Maſcezilus, who was ſtrugling in vain with his hands and feet againſt the rapidity of the ſtream, was drowned in his preſence. This ſhews how dangerous it is to perform great things, when we ſerve ambitious men, who cannot even bear thoſe very virtues which are of uſe to them, when they give too great a luſtre, and are apt to create jealouſy. *A D.* 399.

In the mean while the Emperor Arcadius, who ſuffered himſelf to be over-ruled, and to whom the often changing of maſters proved fatal, was moſt barbarouſly treated by the moſt dangerous of all, who laid a ſcheme to ruin him, and to reſtore Arianiſm in the Empire. (z) This was Gainas, who was general of the Goths in the Roman army, and a moſt inveterate Arian. He could no longer bear the overgrowing power of the Eunuch Eutropius, who aſſumed every thing to himſelf, and who, to the reproach of the Romans, had obtained the conſulſhip this year; (a) therefore he reſolved not only to deſtroy him, and take his place, but even to invade the Empire of the Eaſt. In order to effect this deſign, after having agreed on proper meaſures with Trigibaldus, a relation of his who commanded the auxiliary troops of Arian Goths, who were quartered in Phrigia; this Trigibaldus, having declared himſelf diſſatisfied with the government, cauſed ſuch great devaſtations throughout Aſia, that Arcadius ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of ſending the beſt general he had to oppoſe him; and this was Gainas who was an experienced warrier, and profeſſed an extraordinary zeal for his ſervice. But, far from oppoſing this rebel, he underhand gave him aſſiſtance againſt the other generals, and by this means became ſo formidable, that he began already to threaten Conſtantinople.

Hereupon the traytor Gainas, pretending it was impoſſible to reſiſt the power and conduct of Trigibaldus, whom he highly com-

(z) Zoſ. l. 5. (a) Oroſ. l. 7. Soer. lib. 6. c. 6. Proſp. Marcel.

A. D. 399. mended, gave the Emperor to understand, that he could not possibly save the state, but by granting to that general what he demanded with seeming justice; and this was the head of Eutropius, who was the cause of all the calamities, which were then brought upon the Empire. As Eutropius was abhorred by all the people, and even by Arcadius, for the insolent treatment, which he had received from him; and chiefly for his behaviour to the Empress Eudoxia, (*b*) whom he had threatned to send back to the place, from whence he had taken her. This Princess, from being an abject creature of his, was grown a proud and implacable enemy to him. All these reasons, I say, were sufficient to make the Emperor resolve, without hesitation, to sacrifice him immediately to the publick good, and deliver him up to Gainas, who, as it plainly appeared, had underhand persuaded Trigibaldus to act in this manner. Therefore the Emperor, having divested Eutropius of all his marks of dignity, he first expelled him the palace, with a resolution to send guards instantly after him, in order to seize on him in his house. (*c*) But this wretched man, who, not long before, had caused laws to be published against the rights of the Church, was no sooner come out of the palace in this miserable condition, but, instead of going home to his house, he ran with all speed to the great Church, in order to take sanctuary at the feet of the altars.

On this occasion it was that St. John Chrysostom shewed his generosity, and force of eloquence in a wonderful manner. In the foregoing year he had succeeded Nectarius in the pontifical chair of Constantinople, (*d*) after having been five years a deacon, and twelve years priest of the Church of Antioch. As the people were assembled in a tumultuous manner, requiring this wicked man to be brought out of the Church, in order to be delivered up to Gainas, and to the rebels who demanded him, this holy bishop in the first place prevented the soldiers from entering the Church to take him: Then, as he saw the Church full of people, who were come from all parts to see this wretched fellow embracing the altars, and begging his life, which no body was willing to grant him; he went up

(*b*) Sozom. l. 8. c. 7. Niceph. l. 13. c. 4. (*c*) Sozom. ibid. L. 3. de his qui confugiunt ad Eccl. Cod. Theod. Zos. (*d*) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 2. Marcell. in Chron.

into

into the chair, and without deliberation ſpoke an admirable homily, (*e*) which may be ſaid to be the maſter-piece of a moſt conſummate eloquence. For, after having made ſome conceſſions to the people, and artfully given ſome ſatisfaction to their juſt reſentment, to give a little vent to the violence of it, reproaching Eutropius with the number of his crimes, which brought down upon him the vengeance both of heaven, and earth; he ſo induſtriouſly turned their minds to the merciful ſide, by every conſideration, divine, and human, that could excite compaſſion towards an unhappy man, who from ſo high a ſtation was fallen into an abyſs of miſery, that he drew tears from the eyes of the whole aſſembly, who now in a lamentable manner beg for that life, which a few moments before they were ſollicitous to deſtroy. For, indeed, St. Chryſoſtom did not deliver up Eutropius into the hands of the Emperor's officers, (*f*) till they firſt had taken an oath, that his life ſhould be ſaved, tho' upon condition that he ſhould be ſent into baniſhment in the Iſland of Cyprus. But Gainas, who had not heard St. John Chryſoſtom's oration, and who, being a hardened Arian, was not naturally of a merciful diſpoſition, tho' it was afterwards repeated to him, yet he preſſed the Emperor ſo urgently to have this unfortunate Eunuch, whoſe death he ſought, delivered to him, that he found himſelf at laſt obliged to ſend him to him at Calcedonia, where he cauſed him to be beheaded. *A. D.* 399.

The affairs of Arcadius, notwithſtanding, were not retrieved: (*g*) For the perfidious Gainas, having obtained what he required, cauſed greater diſorders than before; and, having made himſelf maſter of Bythinia and Helleſpont, he reduced the Emperor to ſuch extremities, that he even obliged him ſhamefully to come to him at Calcedonia, where this Barbarian would make him appear in perſon in order to treat with him upon articles of a peace: Which were, that Aurelianus Saturninus, a man of a conſular dignity, and John, who was firſt ſecretary, and a favourite of the Emperor's, ſhould be delivered up to him; yet, nevertheleſs, he granted them their lives, contenting himſelf with ſtriking them ſlightly with the flat ſide of his ſword; beſides that Gainas, and Trigibaldus, ſhould march with their forces up to Con-

(*e*) Hom. in Eutrop. (*f*) Zoſ. (*g*) Zoſim. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

ſtantinople,

A. D. 400. ſtantinople, that Gainas ſhould be appointed Generaliſſimo of all the Emperor's armies, with an abſolute power equally over the Romans, and Goths. This was directly putting the Empire into his hands: And accordingly he did not omit to take all the ſpeedieſt meaſures he thought proper to ſecure it to himſelf, under the favour of ſo great an employment, and to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor with the reſtauration of Arianiſm.

To this end, as ſoon as he was arrived at Conſtantinople, where all ſubmitted to his power, he diſperſed his Arian Goths throughout all the parts of the town, in order to have people ready at all times, and in all places, to execute his commands, according to the ſcheme he had laid. And under the pretence of making new recruits, and filling up the companies of that nation, which had been very much weakened by the war, he cauſed a great number of them to come into the city at different times, ſo that, being ſuperiour to the Romans, the latter would be compelled to obey; when his deſign ſhould be ready to be put in execution. Beſides, in order to be the more ſecure, he ſent moſt of the Roman ſoldiers to diſtant garriſons, under colour of reinforcing them, and providing for the ſafety of the provinces, whilſt at the ſame time he was gathering up all the Goths, whom he had quartered round about the city. Having taken theſe meaſures, he reſolved to go directly to Arcadius, and demand a Church of him, wherein the Arians might freely and publickly exerciſe their religion; that, in caſe of a refuſal, he might have a good pretence, being backed by a ſtrong army, to make a party, who would be glad to acknowledge him for Emperor. This requeſt ſeemed ſurprizing to Arcadius, who abhorred the thoughts of delivering a Church to him, being a Prince of extraordinary piety, and a good catholick. But as he was very weak, he had not reſolution enough to reſiſt this Barbarian, *(b)* to whom he promiſed to grant what he demanded, deſiring only a little time to conſult with the Patriarch, whoſe conſent he would endeavour to obtain. And accordingly he uſed his endeavours to perſuade him that there was a neceſſity to comply with the Goth, leaſt he ſhould be provoked to anger, who, having the power in his own hands, might make himſelf maſter of the Em-

(*b*) Theodor. l. 5. cap. 32. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

pire,

pire, and then destroy the religion. But St. Chrysostom, whom nothing was able to dishearten, when the glory of JESUS CHRIST was concerned, encouraged this weak Prince, who was in great fear; and told him with wonderful resolution that he ought, on no account to be afraid of this Barbarian, whom, GOD would undoubtedly confound, because he was an Arian. But that, if he would summon them both to come and debate the matter in his presence, he should have the pleasure of seeing how he would handle that subject. *A. D.* 400.

Arcadius, who was over-joyed to find this resolution in the bishop, sent to give notice to Gainas, that he should come the next day to the palace where St. John Chrysostom would meet him; and accordingly he was no sooner entered into the Emperor's presence, (*i*) but he demanded the performance of the promise, which he had given him of granting a Church for his Arians: To which the holy prelate answered, "That all the Churches of Constantino-"ple were open to every one, and that no body was hindered from "going thither to offer up their prayers. The Barbarian repli-"ed, that, being of a different belief from his, he required like-"wise a Church which was convenient for those of his communi-"on to assemble with him, in order to serve GOD after their own "way." And as he expressed himself in a bold and haughty manner, saying, "That this was the least reward that was due to him "for the considerable services, which he had rendered unto the "Empire, St. Chrysostom said with an undaunted courage, since "you mention reward, only remember what you was before, "and consider what you are now: Formerly a private soldier, in "a mean habit, with poor diet, and even in want of all necessa-"ries, when you passed the Danube; and now general of the Ro-"man forces, blessed with plenty and riches, loaded with honours, "and cloathed in gold and purple; enjoying, thro' the favour of "the Emperor, all the advantages of the greatest fortune that ever "befel a subject. Only consider, as I said to you, these two ex-"tremities, and compare the one with the other; and then you "will be forced to own, in spite of the great opinion you have of "your services, that the reward, which you have received, does

(*i*) Theodor.

"infinitely

A. D. 400. " infinitely exceed whatever you might deſerve by your actions. " Take care that you do not fall into the higheſt ingratitude, by " forgetting ſo many favours, and remembring only your ſervices, " for which you demand a reward. (*k*) Remember only the oath " which you ſwore to the great Theodoſius, when he gave you the " command of the troops of your nation. Did you not ſwear to " him before the great GOD, that you would be for ever faithful " to him, to his children, and to the Empire, and that you would " always inviolably keep thoſe laws, which you would now vio- " late? Did he not forbid, by his edicts, all aſſemblies of Here- " ticks, and particularly thoſe of the Arians? Then, addreſſing himſelf to the Emperor, he ſaid to him, with a very majeſtick air; " Did you not, likewiſe, publiſh the ſame laws immediately af- " ter your father's death? Nay moreover, Sir, I declare to you, in " the name of GOD, that, altho' neither you, nor the great Theo- " doſius, your father, had made thoſe laws, you could not, with- " out a crime, give up the houſe of GOD to the declared enemy of " his ſon; and that, in ſpite of all the political maxims of men, it " would be better for you to reſolve on the loſs of the Empire, " rather than betray, ſo ſhamefully and ignominiouſly, the intereſt " of the true religion.

This was a ſtrong repreſentation; and Gaïnas, who probably might have been offended at it, and ſeemed to be ſo reſolute at the beginning of the conference, made no manner of reply: (*l*) But retired quietly, without inſiſting on his demand. This perhaps he did, either becauſe he was then convinced by the reaſonings of the holy biſhop, or out of reſpect to his perſon: But it is more probable that he was not ſorry to have a pretence to execute the ſcheme he had already laid of rendring himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, and of the Empire. For indeed, in a few days after this conference, he attempted to ſeize all the money of the bankers, who, being informed of his deſign, had taken care to conceal it; he alſo would have ſet fire to the palace in the night-time, (*m*) but, being prevented, he retired to a country ſeat, in order, as he pretended, to be attended in a fit of illneſs. And at the ſame time he gave orders to a party of the Goths to follow him privately, as

(*k*) Sozom. l. 3. c. 4. (*l*) Theod. (*m*) Sozom. l. 8. c. 4. Zoſim. Sozom.

it

it were by way of paying a visit to their general, but the real intent was, to conceal their arms, which they sent out in covered carts, and empty casks, that they might prevent any suspicion. And as for the other Goths, whom he had placed in all the different quarters of the city, and who were in number much more superiour to the Romans, (*n*) he commanded them, on a certain day, to seize suddenly on all the principal places of the city, and to fall upon the soldiers of the guard, and those who kept the gates, whilst he himself, at the same instant, would come with the whole army in order to scale the walls. And he certainly would have succeeded in his design, had he not destroyed it by his own brutish impatience. For being too sanguine in his opinion of the success in this undertaking, and not doubting but his people, whom he had left in the city, would second him as soon as he should appear at the gates, he came before the time, which he had appointed, and marched up directly in order to attack the walls. It happened, likewise, that about the same time, as one of the carts, with arms in it, was going out, it was discovered by chance; and that some of the Goths, who were watching it, seeing themselves surprised, (*o*) they fell sword in hand upon the guard. Thus the conspiracy being discovered, the people of the city gave the alarm, and immediately took arms, and by the Emperor's orders they all fell at once upon the Goths, who were not ready, and did not expect this sudden attack. Thus some of them were killed with swords, and others stoned to death, without distinction of persons; whatever came in their way, men, women, and children, they were all massacred without mercy, or resistance, the Goths not being able to form themselves into a body. In the mean while the pretorian soldiers, followed by some of the boldest of the citizens, ran to the walls, and there repulsed the soldiers of Gainas without much difficulty; for they had no engines with them, and they attacked the walls without, only in expectation that their companions would at the same time seize on the city within. So that Gainas, being thus disappointed on all sides, for not having taken his measures right, was forced to retire, and leave behind him the bravest of his men lying dead at the foot of the walls. A. D. 400.

(*n*) Zosim. (*o*) Sozom.

A. D. 400. But this was not the end of his disgrace; for the Emperor, being encouraged by this success, and provoked, as he had just cause, at the perfidiousness of this traitor, and the horrid conspiracy which he had contrived with his Arians, he declared him an enemy to the Empire, and gave orders that what remained of the Barbarians should be put to the sword. So that the whole city, (*p*) who had no more enemies to fear without, embracing this opportunity of being revenged, after having killed all the Goths, whom they found in the streets and houses, and set fire to those places, where they used to meet for the celebration of their mysteries, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, they put to death upwards of seven thousand more, who fled for refuge to a great Church, where they were partly burnt, and partly destroyed with arrows, which were shot at them from the roof, which was demolished in order to kill them more expeditiously, and without resistance. (*q*) Thus ended that bloody day of the general massacre of the Goths at Constantinople, which happened on the twelfth day of July in this year four hundred, which included the fourth century.

Gainas being heartily afflicted at his having missed his aim, by his precipitation; and inraged at the loss of his people at Constantinople, ravaged the whole country, and caused dreadful devastations throughout Thracia, in order to be revenged; and, tho' he had received St. John Chrysostom with great respect, (*r*) who came out to meet him with a view of making up this affair, and bringing it to some kind of accommodation, he resolved, seeing that the towns of Thracia were in a good state of defence, to carry the war into Asia, where he was in hopes of making considerable conquests with as much ease as he had done before by the means of Trigibaldus. Therefore turning off suddenly to the right, he marched with all his forces into Chersonesus, in order to pass the Hellespont over against Lampsacus; and, as he had no ships, he had so much temerity and presumption as to cause his troops to pass over upon floats of timber, (*s*) in defiance of the Roman army, which was at his head, under the command of general Flavitta, to whom, tho' a Goth and Pagan, Arcadius had committed the care of his troops both by

(*p*) Sozom. (*q*) Chronic. Alex. (*r*) Theod. l. 5. c. 33. Zosim. Socr. lib. 6. c. 6. (*s*) Zosim. Socr. 1.

sea,

ſea, and land, becauſe he was a great warrior, and had given convincing proofs of his fidelity, particularly upon this occaſion. For, having feigned an intention to retire and lie by, as it were, on the defenſive, till the greateſt part of the enemies were advanced, he then made up to them ſo timely, with good ſhips, which he had prepared for that purpoſe, (*t*) that the wind declaring in his favour againſt the Barbarians, they were all ſunk to the bottom, on the twenty third of December, ſome by the ſtorm, and others by the ſtrength of his ſhips; all which was done in the ſight of Gainas, who was deſpairing on the ſhore. And at laſt, as this traitor was endeavouring to make his eſcape on the other ſide of the Danube, with the ſmall number of troops, which were left him, tho' ſtill purſued and defeated by the Romans, paſſing thro' Thracia, (*u*) he was killed, after having fought bravely in a battle, which he loſt againſt Uldes, king of the Huns, who would not admit of theſe new viſitors, in a country which he had taken, by conqueſt, from the Goths. *A. D.* 401.

After this action, Uldes, in order to make the moſt of his victory, ſent the head of the perfidious Gainas to the Emperor Arcadius, who acknowledged himſelf ſo greatly obliged to him, that, beſides the magnificent preſents, which he ſent him, he made an alliance with him. Thus the mighty expectations of the Arians, not only of being reinſtated, but likewiſe of governing, under the favour of Gainas, on whoſe fortune they depended, were all deſtroyed with the loſs of that wretched man; and ſoon after they found themſelves ſo much the more humbled, becauſe they had inſolently attempted to domineer during his tyranny. For, according to the genius of hereticks, who always aſſume authority when they think their party the ſtrongeſt, ſo the Arians of Conſtantinople, as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves ſupported by ſo powerful a protector, they firſt took the liberty to aſſemble near the walls of the city, and there, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, in open day, were ſo bold as to exerciſe their pretended religion, and as their boldneſs encreaſed, (*x*) they met together in the very city, on all the vigils of holy-days, and on every Saturday, where, under large

(*t*) Socr. Chronic. Alex. (*u*) Zoſim. (*x*) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8.

A. D. 401. portico's, in the night-time, they ſung hymns and canticles, in favour of their hereſy, in oppoſition to the doctrine and truth of the catholick religion. Nay, they did more; for, not being contented with theſe nocturnal ſongs, they were ſo bold as to continue them in the morning, both in the ſtreets and other places, ſinging the ſame things in a chorus, as they paſſed thro' the city two and two, in order to go to the place of their aſſembly; and they carried their impudence ſo far as to add this horrible impiety at the end of ſome of their verſes, which they repeated all together with a loud voice on purpoſe to inſult the catholicks: "Where are theſe "people, who ſay that three are but one Godhead?" As the government was then in fear of Gainas, they did not dare to ſuppreſs theſe hereticks by main force; but St. John Chryſoſtom thought on a pious ſtratagem, to ſuppreſs them by the ſame methods, by which they had reſolved to provoke the catholicks. For this purpoſe he compoſed two glorious hymns in honour of JESUS CHRIST, the true GOD, conſubſtantial with his father; which he ordered his people to ſing in the night-time; and accordingly they ſhewed an extraordinary zeal, and ran in crowds to theſe holy aſſemblies, where the office was celebrated with a much greater concourſe of people than that of the Arians, and with much more pomp and magnificence, thro' the care and bounty of the Empreſs Eudoxia.

This Princeſs, who was not as yet entirely at variance with St. John Chryſoſtom, took ſo great a delight in theſe new canticles, and ſhewed ſo much zeal for the glory of the Son of GOD, that, in order that he ſhould triumph over the Arians, in the celebration of theſe feaſts and praiſes, ſhe appointed one of her principal officers to take care that all things ſhould be performed with order and magnificence, and that nothing ſhould be omitted that might render the ceremony compleatly glorious: which was accordingly done. For the Church, where this feaſt was held, was richly adorned; and amongſt other ornaments were ſeen a prodigious number of ſilver croſſes ſparkling with lights, which were carried before the ſingers, divided into ſeveral ranks. This highly provoked the Arians, whoſe aſſembly (which was only compoſed of ordinary people) could not perform any thing equal to the ſplendour and majeſty of theſe holy ceremonies of the orthodox party. Therefore not being able, either to do any thing that was equal to that magnificence,

magnificence, or to ſee it done by the others, they reſolved to diſturb them, by a dreadful tumult which they raiſed; and in the night time they fell upon the Catholicks in which diſorder the officer belonging to the Empreſs, as mentioned before, received a wound in his head from a ſtone, which was flung at him, and there were ſeveral citizens of both ſides killed on this occaſion. *A. D.* 401.

But as the maſſacre of the Goths, and deſtruction of Gainas, happened immediately after, Arcadius, being now become abſolute maſter, and having a juſt cauſe to be incenſed againſt the Arians for their attempt, he prohibited thoſe meetings, whilſt the Catholicks from that time continued theirs quietly at Conſtantinople; (*b*) and at the requeſt of St. Chryſtoſtom, he even turned out of that City the principal ring-leaders of thoſe hereticks, who would not be converted. So that ſince that time, having neither power nor protection, and the holy Biſhop by his exhortations and eloquence having every day brought ſome of them back into the Church, their party at laſt became ſo low, weak and deſpicable in that imperial city, that they were ſcarcely taken any notice of. Which ſhews that when hereſy is once ſupported by authority, it ever carries its inſolence to the higheſt pitch, without keeping any meaſures; and that, for the ſame reaſon, when we have the upper hand of it, we ought vigouroufly to ſuppreſs it, and not give it time to find means to raiſe its head. But, tho' the Arian Goths were ſo entirely cruſhed, in the Eaſt, by the maſſacre of Conſtantinople, and the defeat of Gainas, yet thoſe evils, which Ruffinus had occaſioned by arming them againſt the Romans, were too conſiderable to be cured with that remedy, which how ſtrong ſoever, yet it was nevertheleſs the means of their falling more heavily on that other part of the Empire, as we ſhall immediately perceive.

(*b*) Metaph. in vita Chryſoſt.

The End of the Seventh BOOK.



THE HISTORY OF *ARIANISM.*

BOOK VIII.

STILICO, after having driven Alaricus, King of the Goths, out of the Morea, being obliged to return into Italy, this Prince, who had escaped falling into his hands in the manner before-mentioned, was now at liberty to carry his forces into Thessalia, Greece and Epirus, where he caused strange devastations during the disorders, which happened at Constantinople. But the defeat of Gainas, and the massacre of all his Goths having put an end to them, he thought that, being no longer privately supported by Ruffinus, who had persuaded him into his measures, all the forces of the Eastern Empire would soon fall upon him, and that there was no possibility of resisting them. On the other

A. D. 402.

A. D. 402. other hand, as he perceived that all things were quiet in Italy, where Stilico governed without opposition, and thought himself secure from any invasion, he imagined, that he might surprize him, and even fall upon Rome without much difficulty, the Romans not suspecting that any one, at that time, could make such an attempt. Besides, he ever flattered himself with the thoughts of fortune's calling him to Rome, and believed the time was now come, which would make him master of the Empire, (*a*) as it had been foretold him by a false oracle that had appointed the year following for this event, which was the 30th year from the time of his passing the Danube; during which he had sometimes made war against the Romans, and at other times fought for them. Alaricus being brave and resolute in the execution of any enterprize, when once he had determined it, he re-united all his forces, which were increased with a prodigious number of Barbarians, who were come to him from all parts, in hopes of sharing the plunder; and having marched through Illiria with all the expedition imaginable, he seized on the passage of the Julian Alps, which he found unguarded, and entered into Italy by the way of Triuli, when it was the least expected. So that without difficulty he ran over the country, which he laid waste as he pleased; and made himself master of several cities, which he took without resistance, and thus carried his conquests very far in a little time, both on this and the other side of the Po, by reason that the Roman army, being then empolyed against some of the people of Rethia, (*b*) and Vindelicia, who had risen up in rebellion, he met with no enemy to oppose him.

This sudden irruption struck the whole country with terror, and caused a general disorder, but particularly at Rome, where, because of the long peace which they had enjoyed, and the safety wherein they thought themselves, all things were in a defenceless state. They already believed this new Hanibal at their gates, and the chief men of the city, instead of thinking on proper means to defend themselves, were preparing to abandon it, in order to find safety in their flight. (*c*) But the wise conduct, bravery, and re-

(*a*) Claudia. de bell. Get. (*b*) The Country of the Grisons Suabia. Bavaria. (*c*) Claud. de Bell. Get.

solution

ſolution of Stilico, ſoon reſtored the affairs into a good condition, and gave him an opportunity of acquiring more honour and power than ever. *(d)* As ſoon as he heard that Alaricus's had invaded Italy, he gave neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the city by new fortifications, and raiſing freſh forces; then repaired with a ſmall attendance to Milan, from whence, having marched immediately to Coma, he paſſed over the lake, and the Alps, in the middle of the winter, and joined the Roman army, which was making war againſt the rebels. *(e)* Here he ſo artfully prepoſſeſſed the minds of theſe people, and ſo entirely terrified them by his preſence and reſolution, that he not only brought them back to their duty, but even perſuaded them to join his army. To theſe he likewiſe added the auxiliary troops of the Huns, and Alani, whom he had ordered to be ready in Pannonia for another deſign; and, having repaſſed the Alps in the beginning of the ſpring, he marched directly to Alaricus, who was not a little ſurprized to ſee ſo powerful an army at his back, whilſt at the ſame time the freſh forces, which had been raiſed in a hurry at Rome, during the winter, were advancing, in order to oppoſe his paſſage. He had taken up his winter quarters in that part of Liguria, which is now called Piemont, and at this time he was encamped in the neighbourhood of Pollentia, *(f)* which in thoſe days was a conſiderable city, ſituated on the borders of the Tanarus, and Stura, and is now but a ſmall village, where you may to this day ſee the ruins of an Amphitheatre, not far from Ceriſoles, which appears ſo memorable in Hiſtory, by the compleat victory which the Duke D'Anguien obtained over the Spaniſh army, then commanded by the Marquiſs du Guaſt. *A. D.* 403.

In this very place it was, that Alaricus drew up his army in order of battle, and ſeeing that Stilico was marching directly to him, without waiting for the new levees, whom he had no mind to expoſe, and that he himſelf could neither advance, nor retire, being between the two armies, he gave battle in hopes of gaining the victory, having but one foe to deal with; *(g)* and indeed the advantage at firſt was on his ſide, having broke the horſe of the Alani, who began the attack, and killed the general that commanded

(d) Claud. de 6. con. Hon. *(e)* Claud. de Bell. Get. *(f)* Polenza. *(g)* Claud. de Bell. Get.

A. D. 403. them. But Stilico advancing timely with the Roman Legions, rallied the Alani, with fresh vigour, who, seeing themselves so well supported, engaged the Goths a second time, and repulsed them in their turn; and as they were ashamed to have stained their honour, by being at the head of those who turned their backs to the enemy, as likewise enraged to have lost their commander, fought with more fury, in order to revenge his death. Hereupon Stilico, without giving the enemy time to consider, fell upon them with the Roman legions, who fought with so much courage, that there scarcely ever was seen such a slaughter; not a soldier would even stop to plunder the chariots, which were loaded with the spoils of so many ruined provinces, till the victory was compleated. *(h)* Alaricus, seeing himself undone if he persisted to fight any longer, retired with the major part of his horse, to that part of the mountains, which joins the Alps to the Appenine, but Stilico immediately marched after him with his whole army, (*i*) and surrounded him amongst the rocks. So that he must of necessity, either have perished, or surrender'd at discretion, had not Stilico himself saved him from the danger he was in, contrary to his expectation, in order to make use of him in the design he had formed to satisfy his own ambition, which action not only blasted all his glory, but even cost him his life, and the intire ruin of his whole family.

As it is peculiar to ambitious men to despise what they possess, be their possession ever so large and insatiably to thirst after accumulated honour and power; This man, who had married the niece of the great Theodosius, and was father in law to Honorius, (*k*) whom he governed with more power than any favourite ever governed his master before, did not think himself happy enough, unless he could secure the Empire to his own family; and to this end he laid a scheme, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, in order that his only son Eucherius should be proclaimed Emperor; he had caused this youth to be brought up in Paganism, which he thought would engage the Pagans to adhere to his interest, when occasion should require it; and in or-

(*h*) Prud. adver. Symmach. Claud. de Bell. Get. (*i*) Claud. de 6. Consu. Hon. (*k*) Oros. l. 7. c. 28. Marcell. in Chron. Sozom. l. 9. c. 4. Sozom. ib. & l. 8. c. 25. Oros.

der

der to ſucceed in his deſign, he reſolved to promote a war between the two Emperors, and to bring into the Empire as great a number of Barbarians as he could, that they might be uſeful to him, when he wanted their aſſiſtance; and that when all things were in a confuſion, and reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he might then form the ſpecious pretence of a neceſſity for creating a new Emperor. *A. D.* 403.

Having fixed on this reſolution, (*l*) he would not by any means utterly deſtroy Alaricus, as it was in his power to do, with a great deal of eaſe. On the contrary, he made uſe of this opportunity to befriend ſo powerful a prince, and ſo great a general, who at all times would have a ſtanding army ready to obey his commands. He therefore treated ſecretly with him, by the means of ſome perſon in whom he could confide, and received a promiſe from him that he would always continue in his intereſt, if he would not only favour his eſcape, but likewiſe ſupply him with means to put himſelf in a better condition than ever. After this, in order to diſguiſe the affair, he made a publick treaty with him, (*m*) by which this prince obliged himſelf immediately to depart from Italy, and to retire with the remainder of his troops into Epirus, till his aſſiſtance was called for in the war againſt Arcadius, for the reſtitution of Sclavonia, which that Emperor unjuſtly poſſeſſed, contrary to the right of Honorius. For this was the pretence, which Stilico had taken, to create a difference between theſe two Emperors. Thus the power of the Arians was reſtored by the very man, who had juſt overthrown them by ſo compleat a victory; and an enemy, whoſe intentions were to triumph over Rome, was preſerved by the perſon who intended, by his means, to make himſelf maſter of the Empire. For thus ambition, that prompts men to act all manner of crimes, when ſubſervient to their ends, is whimſical in its conduct, and unſucceſsful in its ill contrived deſigns.

Nevertheleſs there happened ſeveral obſtacles to this civil war, which Stilico was not inclined to begin, till firſt he had treated, under hand, with the other nations, whom he propoſed to invite into the territories of the Empire, in order to put his project in execution. But he was prevented by other Barbarians, with whom he had not treated as yet, and whoſe defeat only ſerved to raiſe

(*l*) Oroſ. l. 7. c. 28. (*m*) Claud. de 6. Conſu. Hon. Zoſ. l. 5.

A. D. 403. him ſtill higher, that his fall might prove greater and more fatal. *(n)* Rhadagaiſus, king of the Oſtrogots, and a Pagan, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the Chriſtians, having followed the ſteps and example of Alaricus, invaded Italy with a dreadful army of above two hundred thouſand men, compoſed partly of Arian Goths, and partly of Pagans, whom he had drawn out of all the Barbarian nations, who inhabited the territories on the other ſide of the Danube. This prince, without making any ſtay in the Ciſalpin Gaul, as Alaricus had done, marched directly towards Rome, vowing to his GODS, to whom he daily offered up ſacrifices, that he ſoon would make them a more agreeable offering of Chriſtian blood in the capitol. The Romans, who were ſtruck with terrour at the approach of this prodigious multitude of Barbarians, who left in all places moſt horrible marks of their fury, which they ſaw no poſſibility of reſiſting, thought themſelves now utterly undone. And the Pagans, believing their time was come, repaired to Rome from all parts; and joining with thoſe of the city, and ſenate, who ſtill retained their ancient ſuperſtitions, they ſaid aloud, in an inſolent manner, that if the approaching enemies were powerful, and to be feared for their numbers, and for the ſtrength of their troops, they were much more ſo by reaſon of the protection of the GODS whom they worſhipped, *(o)* and by whom they were called to Rome, in order totally to deſtroy it; and by that means, revenge the injuries which the Chriſtians had acted againſt them, when they pulled down their altars, and aboliſhed their ſacrifices, on which depended that everlaſting ſtate which had been ſo often promiſed to their city by the oracles. *(p)* In ſhort, ſcarce any thing was heard but the blaſphemies of the Pagans, whoſe inſolence the Romans did not dare to ſuppreſs, and who boldly demanded the reſtauration of their ſacrifices, which they openly ſaid, was the only means left to pacify the GODS, and ſave Rome.

In the mean while the Barbarians were marching on with diligence, along the Apennine, laying waſte all the country where

(n) Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 37. Auguſt. l. 5. de Civit. cap. 23. Proſper. Marcell. in Chron. Zoſ. lib. 5. Auguſt. Serm. 29. in Luc. *(o)* Oroſ. ibid. *(p)* Aug. 5. de Civ. cap. 23.

they

they passed, till they came into the neighbourhood of Florence, where GOD had resolved to destroy them at once, in the most strange and surprizing manner that ever was known, in order to confound Paganism, (*q*) and to shew the world that the punishment, which he had designed Rome for its sins, should not be ascribed to the wrath of the false deities, nor inflicted on them by the hands of Pagans. For Stilico, having advanced towards Florence with the Roman army, re-inforced by the auxiliary troops of Huns, and Goths, who were paid by the Romans, and commanded by Huldinus, and Sarus, two famous captains of those nations; GOD (if I may express myself in scriptural terms) poured down such a spirit of terror and giddiness on this dreadful army of Barbarians, and particularly on Rhadagaisus himself, that, having intirely lost his reason, he ran away in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, as if he had been pursued by a superiour number of people, and concealed himself in the mountains of the Apennine, near Fiesoli, without having made any provision for subsistance. So that Stilico, having placed a strong guard at all the passages and roads by which they could go, and come; the Barbarians found themselves blocked up amongst the rocks, (*r*) as the Romans had formerly been by the Samnites in the *Furcæ Caudinæ*. And soon after, being thus surrounded by the Romans, who were feasting and rejoicing in their camp, whilst the Barbarians were oppressed with hunger and faintness, they all fell into the hands of Stilico, without the expence of one drop of Roman blood; nor could even Rhadagaisus himself make his escape, tho' he had endeavoured it, with his children, who being retaken, the victorious army sometime made sport with him, then cut off his head. (*s*) The number of the captives being prodigious, they were sold, like ordinary cattle, at a crown a head; (*t*) and at last there was so little value set on them, that even whole troops of them were disposed of for the very same price, looking on them as miserable abandoned herds; and as it was the will of GOD, (to the greater confusion of the Pagans) they all perished within a few days after their captivity, (*u*) so entirely that there was not one of them left to carry the news of their misfortune to their country, which was situate be- *A. D.* 406.

(*q*) Oros. August. loc. cit. (*r*) Oros. (*s*) Marcell. (*t*) Oros. (*u*) Oros.

yond

A. D. 406. yond the Danube. So that their death put their masters to a greater expence, (they being obliged to bury them) than that which they had been at in the purchase of them.

This victory rendered Stilico more glorious than any action that he had ever performed before. (*w*) He was led in triumph through all the towns he passed, saluted with acclamations, and looked upon as the man who had saved the Empire from ruin, whilst at the same time he was undermining its foundations by his treacherousness, and reducing it to so deplorable a state, that soon after it was totally destroyed in the West. (*x*) For on the last day of that same year the Vandals, the Alani, and Suevi, whom he had invited, passed over the Rhine, and were followed by other Barbarians who held a correspondence with him, (*y*) and who, making incursions throughout Gaul, as far as the Pirenees, and ocean, committed most horrible devastations. All the most flourishing cities were destroyed; Reims, Amiens, Arras, Tournai, Terouenne, and several other towns on the borders of the Rhine, and Maese, in the Belgick Gaul, being taken by these Barbarians, who were partly idolaters, and partly Arians, they underwent all the violences and cruelties that could be expected from a race of people, who seemed to live only for the destruction of mankind. Mayence, which in those days was a catholick city, and very famous, was totally demolished. Many thousands of people, who had retired to the Church in order to find a sanctuary at the feet of the altars, were all sacrificed by the sword of these unmerciful enemies both of GOD, and man. They carried desolation with them where-ever they passed, putting all to fire and sword on this, and on the other side of the Rhone, as far as the Narbonian Gaul, leaving behind them the sad marks of their barbarity. Then they forced their way thro' the Pyrenees, which were defended by a small number of Roman troops, and soon after marched into Spain where they acted the like cruelties.

(*w*) Zosim. 5. (*x*) Oros. l. 7. c. 3. Hier. Ep. 10. Rutil. Itin. lib. 2. Prosper in Chron. (*y*) Oros. Hier. Ep. 2.

Stilico,

Stilico, on the other hand, (z) as if he had been in concert with the Barbarians, was bringing a famine into the whole country, having appointed officers in all the sea-ports to prevent the importation of corn from Egypt, and from the East. So that they began already at Rome to suffer very much, whilst he was at Ravena, making his preparations at leisure for the war which he had intended against Arcadius, in order to bring his designs to bear. But he was obliged to set this affair aside for some time, being immediately sent for to Rome by Honorius, upon the account of fresh disorders which were occasioned by the tyranny of Constantine. This man had been a common soldier in the English army, who in about four or five months time had created, and put to death, two new Emperors, Marcus, and Gratian; (a) and they took it into their heads, out of a meer whim, to proclaim him by the title of Augustus, tho' he had nothing to recommend him, but the name of Constantine, which they looked upon as a happy omen, being of opinion, that coming out of England, as Constantine the great had formerly done, he might deliver the Empire from that inundation of Barbarians, to whom they thought the Romans were going to yield themselves up. This man was fortunate in the beginning; for, having marched into Gaul, the Roman forces acknowledged him; and having joined his troops, which were exceeding good, and commanded by old officers, he defeated the Barbarians in a battle, and would have entirely destroyed them, had he not, by his neglect, given them time to rally their men, and render themselves more powerful than ever, by the arrival of fresh recruits which were come to join them. *A. D.* 407.

Hereupon Stilico, seeing himself under the necessity of opposing this new enemy, who was overthrowing all his schemes, ordered part of his army to march against him, under the command of Sarus, who happened not to be very successful; at the same time, as if all things were conspiring the desolation of the Empire, Alaricus, who was then believed to be in Epirus, having seized on the passage of the Alps of Trent, appeared suddenly with an army in Italy, (b) and sent Ambassadors to demand territories, and

(z) Leg. 1. de Litt. & Itin. Custod. Cod. Theod. cap. 11. (a) Zosim. 6. Sozom. lib. 9. (b) Zos.

money,

A. D. 407. money, to pay his men who had waited ſo long and to ſo little purpoſe in expectation of a war in the Eaſt. The ſenate was highly offended at the inſolence and contempt which this prince ſhewed to the imperial majeſty, and would have ſent troops immediately to fight him; but Stilico, who had premeditated a ſecret deſign of being revenged of this affront, ſaid, that ſince the expedition on Sclavonia had been ſet aſide by the expreſs orders of the Emperor, it would be more prudent to ſupply him with money, than give him ſo fair a pretence of making war. (*c*) Whereupon it was reſolved that four thouſand pounds of gold ſhould be paid him in order to have peace: At which Lampadius, who was one of the chief members of the ſenate, not approving this reſolution, cry'd out aloud with a generous ſpirit, that this was not a peace, but a ſlavery to which they bound themſelves. And the company being broke up, he immediately retired to the Church, which was neareſt to the palace, for a ſanctuary: (*d*) For the power, or more properly the tyranny, of Stilico was ſo great in thoſe days, that people were not at liberty even to complain of their ſufferings, without running the hazard of being puniſhed. (*e*) And in order to ſatisfy Alaricus, concerning the territories which he required, they reſolved to give him Gaul, and Spain, which Honorius could not keep any longer, becauſe that Conſtantine, and the Barbarians had made themſelves maſters of thoſe countries.

Theſe affairs being ſettled, and the money paid, Alaricus ſet out in order to go and take poſſeſſion, in execution of the treaty: But Saulus, a Pagan general, who was in the ſecret with Stilico, followed him by his orders, and fell upon him on Eaſter day at the paſſage of the Cottian Alps, (*f*) thinking that he could eaſily defeat him, in thoſe ſtreights where he had poſted troops in ambuſcade, and where the Goths, who did not expect this piece of treachery, could have no opportunity of drawing up their forces. (*g*) But Alaricus, altho' an Arian, was unwilling to give battle on ſo ſolemn a day; yet being forced to it, he diſpoſed his men in ſo judicious a manner amongſt the rocks, and fought with ſo much valour and courage, (*h*) that he gained a compleat victory over Sau-

(*c*) In the French four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns according to Bud. (*d*) Hier. Ep. 2. (*e*) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 30. (*f*) *Near the paſſage of Suza.* (*g*) Oroſ. lib. cap. 37. (*h*) Paul. Diac. in Miſc. lib. 13.

lus

lus, and made him fall into the very ſnares which his enemy had *A. D.*
deſigned for him. Alaricus, being now victorious, was provoked 408.
at the baſe treachery, which the Romans had intended againſt him, and as the glorious ſucceſs of his arms had ſwelled his pride, he reſolved at once to return with his army towards the Po; and as he approached the Roman legions, which were under the command of the Emperor Honorius, in the neighbourhood of Pavia, the major part of their auxiliary troops, (*i*) which were compoſed of Barbarians, came over to him, in order to be revenged of the injuries which they had received after the death of Stilico.

For whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in this manner towards the Alps, (*k*) Stilico having undertaken to march with the army to Conſtantinople, where Arcadius died on the firſt day of May, and being reſolved to repair thither without Honorius, whom he intended to leave in Italy with a very ſmall body of men, which gave the Emperor an opportunity of diſcovering the treaſonable deſign, which Stilico had been ſo long a framing. And indeed Olympias, who commanded the Emperor's guards, (*l*) and of whom St. Auguſtin made the elogium in two of his letters, laid open before Honorius the whole pernicious ſcheme of this perfidious man, (*m*) which exaſperated the ſoldiers in ſo violent a manner that they fell upon their officers and killed them on the ſpot, with the magiſtrates whom they ſuſpected to be concerned in the plot with Stilico. As for himſelf, he retired from Bolognia to Ravena, upon the advice, which he had received concerning theſe diſorders, and as he was informed that the Emperor had given orders to the Roman ſoldiers to ſecure his perſon, he went in the night-time and took ſanctuary in a Church, not confiding in his Huns, and Goths, becauſe that Sarus, who commanded them, had forſaken him. The ſoldiers indeed would not attempt to take him out of the Church, by reaſon that the biſhop was there preſent in order to oppoſe any ſuch violence. But theſe men having aſſured Stilico, with an oath, that their orders were not to put him to death, but only to guard him, he immediately ſurrendered himſelf up to them: And as ſoon as he was come out of the Church, He-

(*i*) Zoſ. l. 13. ep. 124. & 129. (*k*) Proſper. Marcell. Soer. lib. 6. cap. 21. (*l*) Auguſt. (*m*) Zoſim. l. 5.

A. D. 408. raclian produced other letters of Honorius, whereby he declared him an enemy to the republick, and condemned him to loose his head: And hereupon this general, without any farther deliberation, cut off his head with his own hands, which happened on the twenty third day of August. Thus the most powerful minister that ever served the Roman Empire, whom Honorius, by his weakness, had raised above himself, perished miserably by the hands of those very men who not long before worshipped his fortune, and turned against him as soon as they found that his prince, tho' so weak a man, had forsaken him. These great and terrible examples, may teach all favourites, that, altho' their masters, thro' weakness should raise them to a pitch of greatness, not consistent with their own honour, or the good of their government, yet they ever will retain a jealous regard to the authority of their crown; and we may say that a minister thus raised to the highest degree of fortune, (when once forsaken by his king) is like unto a small mote of earth, which being suspended in the air, falls down with the greater noise and swiftness, and is dashed into atoms, by the distance from which it falls.

And indeed the whole family of Stilico, as likewise most of his friends, were unfortunately involved in his ruin. His son Eucherius, who had made his escape, during these tumults, was apprehended by two of the Eunuchs of the palace, and put to death by them. His daughter Thermantia, whom Honorius had espoused some time before, was sent back to her mother Serena, who was then at Rome, and that unhappy princess was strangled in the year following by a decree of the senate, who were of opinion (tho' ill grounded) that by her death Alaricus would lose all manner of hopes of having the city delivered up to him. Bathanarius, who had espoused the sister of Serena in Africa was likewise put to death, and his employment was given to Heraclian, who had taken off the head of Stilico. Most of his principal creatures were tried for treason; and the estates of those to whom he had given places in the city of Rome, were forfeited; his effigies were pulled down; (*n*) and his name was eraced out of all the publick inscriptions. The Goth, and Arian officers, and soldiers, whom he

(*n*) Lib. 42. de Hær. Cod. Theod.

had

had placed in the palace, were all expelled: and, what was ſtill more unjuſt and cruel, they maſſacred, in moſt of the cities, all the women and children of the Huns, Alani, Vandals, and Goths, that were in the Roman army; which was the cauſe that upwards of thirty thouſand of thoſe Barbarians went over to Alaricus in order to be revenged of the injuries they had ſuffered. *A. D.* 409.

This prince nevertheleſs would not take advantage of this freſh ſupply of forces. He thought perhaps that he was fully revenged of the treachery, which had been acted againſt him, or had no farther hopes, after the death of Stilico, of receiving any intelligence from the Weſt, ſo took other meaſures to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Eaſt. It may be likewiſe poſſible, that he had a mind to be at peace after his toils; however he remained ſome time on the borders of the Po, from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperor Honorius, at Ravena, with propoſals of peace, which he offered on very moderate conditions. For he required but a ſmall ſum of money, and two perſons of diſtinction for hoſtages, as a ſecurity that he ſhould not again be deceived, offering at the ſame time to leave behind him the like ſecurity that he would depart from Italy, and retire with all his forces into Pannonia. But Honorius, having rejected his propoſals, (which was no very politick proceeding, at a time when he was not in a condition to ſupport a war againſt ſo potent an enemy) Alaricus laughed at his vain refuſal, and immediately reſolved to march towards Rome, being very ſenſible that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, (provided he was expeditious) no body would venture to oppoſe his paſſage. Therefore, having ſent to Ataulphus, a prince whoſe ſiſter he had eſpouſed, with expreſs orders to join him as ſoon as poſſible with a body of Huns, and Goths, which was under his command in Pannonia, he paſſed the Po; and without loſing time in taking of towns, left Ravena on his left hand, and marched through Romania; then entered the Marca Ancona, and having paſſed the Apenine, and Ombria, he came directly and laid ſiege to Rome.

It is true, that Rome in thoſe days was a very conſiderable city, tho' nothing comparable to the flouriſhing ſtate it was in before the diviſion of the Empire, and till Conſtantine had removed the imperial ſeat into the Eaſt. (o) For Pliny tells us, that in his

(o) Emendat. apud Lips de Mag. Rom.

A. D. 402. time, it was upwards of twenty two thouſand pace in circumference, which make about ten French leagues, beſides another city that was almoſt as large, and ſurrounded the firſt, which the Emperor Aurelian cauſed to be walled in. (*p*) So that Rome was then about twenty leagues round without taking in the ſuburbs, which on one ſide extended towards the ſea, and on the other ſide were carried on ſo far towards Aricia, (*q*) Tuſculum, Tyburia, and Otricoli, that a man could ſcarcely ſee the end of them for their extraordinary length. And certainly there was a neceſſity for ſuch an immenſity of buildings in a city, which at that time was the miſtreſs of the world, and was inhabited by people of all the provinces of the Empire; beſides the conſtant inhabitants, who in all (according to the computation of a learned man, (*r*) taken from the writers of thoſe days) amounted at leaſt, to four million of ſouls. Tho' indeed, there happened great alterations in that city, after that the great Conſtantine had built Conſtantinople, which had the appearance of a new Rome, when once he had brought thither the fortune and majeſty of that ancient metropolis, and had eſtabliſhed his court there. For, beſides the illuſtrious families who followed him thither, and the great men of the Empire, who received their grandeur from the pretence only of their Prince; the infinite number of ſtrangers, who attended the court at Rome, either in order to purſue their affairs, or in hopes of making their fortune, retired from thence; and as nobody repaired thither from the diſtant Provinces, excepting thoſe who had a mind to ſatisfy their curioſity in their faults, and as all thoſe, who had real buſineſs, or intereſt to purſue, went all in crowds to Conſtantinople, it is plain that Rome daily loſt ground whilſt its rival increaſed in glory. Thus when the ſea ebbs, it retires gently from the ſhoar which it had ſurrounded, till at laſt there is nothing to be ſeen but ſand and pebbles, in the very place where ſhips were ſailing not long before. Even thoſe Emperors, who had Italy for their portion, took no care to make the condition of Rome better; for by reaſon of the frequent irruptions of the Barbarians into the Provinces of the Empire, they uſed commonly to reſide in Gaul, or at Milan, in order to be the more

(*p*) Vopiſe in Aurel. (*q*) Ariſtid. Rhed. Dion. l. 4. (*r*) Lipſ. de Magn. Rom. c. 3.

ready

ready to repulſe them. So that the ancient encloſure being ſuffi- *A. D.*
cient enough to contain all that remained there, the other was neg- 409.
lected in ſuch a manner, that in the time of Honorius there was ſcarcely any thing to be ſeen, but a few old ruins; as now in our days we only find, here, and there, a few wretched remains of ancient Rome, which have neither beauty, form, nor connexion; and only ſerve to give occaſion to the curious to ſeek that city in the midſt of itſelf, which its mighty title of *everlaſting* could not prevent from periſhing more than once, and from being now at this time buried under its own ruins, which are become ſpacious fields. But ſuch is the fate of all things in this world, that, waſting by degrees they generally return to the primitive ſtate which they were in before they began to grow up, in order to come to their perfection. Therefore, in thoſe days Rome was comprehended in the very circumference of thoſe walls which Plini meaſured in the time of Trajan; for when the Goths laid ſiege to it, under the command of Alaricus, Ammon, a famous geometrician, who took the dimenſions of it, (*s*) found that its circumference amounted to twenty one miles, which comes to about the ſame matter.

Nevertheleſs, there were ſtill at this time two parties in the city of Rome; the one, of Chriſtians, which, without compariſon, was the greateſt and moſt powerful; and the other, of Pagans, who had begun for ſometime to regain intereſt through the weakneſs of Honorius, and the power of Stilico, who by that means favoured his ſon Eucherius, their protector. (*t*) And, indeed, notwithſtanding the edicts of the great Theodoſius, and even thoſe of Honorius, whereby all exerciſe of the abominable ſuperſtition of the Pagans was aboliſhed, yet this weak prince, (*u*) immediately after the battle of Pollencia, which Stilico had gained, permitted the Pagans to celebrate the ſecular games in Rome, which the great Conſtantine would not ſuffer them to perform in the foregoing age, and which, they ſaid openly, was the cauſe of the deſolation of the Empire by the Barbarians. He even permitted them, according to the cruel cuſtom of their anceſtors, which had been aboliſhed by the princes, his predeceſſors, to re-eſtabliſh the bloody fights

(*s*) Olympiad. Excerpt. apt. Phot. (*t*) L. 49. de Pag. Cod. Theod. (*u*) Claud. de 6. Conſ. Hon. Zoſim. l. 2.

of

A. D. 409. of the gladiators in the amphitheatre, and admitted the Veſtals, who were yet in thoſe days reſpected in Rome, to be preſent at theſe fights in the ſame ceremonious manner which uſed to be obſerved in former days, when Paganiſm flouriſhed. (*w*) In ſhort, he ſhamefully pretended not to take any knowledge of what appeared moſt ſcandalous in the eyes of all the world, and ſuffered them to erect thoſe altars which had been pulled down, and to ſet up their golden and ſilver idols, (*x*) in the room of thoſe which were deſtroyed by vertue of the edicts of the great Theodoſius. As for the Chriſtians, whoſe number far exceeded that of the Pagans in Rome, their morals in general were extreamly corrupt, tho' their paſtor was a man, whoſe life was as pure, as his doctrine. (*y*) This was St. Innocent, biſhop of Rome, whoſe authority was acknowledged and received particularly in that city, with reſpect only to the ſpiritual government: For altho' the biſhops of Rome, even in the fourth century, (*z*) had very large revenues allowed them through the bounty of the Chriſtians, and they lived in as ſplendid a manner as was proportionable to their dignity, which was done in order that they might be reſpected even by the Gentiles; (*a*) nevertheleſs their power and juriſdiction did not in thoſe days extend beyond that ever bleſſed kingdom which is not of this world.

This is the ſtate Rome was in, when Alaricus laid ſiege to it. And as he was ſo expeditious in his march, that he ſurpriſed the Romans and appeared at their gates, before that they could have a ſuſpicion of any one's coming to beſiege them, they had made no manner of proviſion. On the other hand, the city was ſo large and ſo crowded with inhabitants, that had they taken all the care imaginable to provide for it, there was no poſſibility of its holding out long; if once all communication for proviſions was cut off. Therefore Alaricus, inſtead of making uſe of the ſtrength of his men, only ſeized on all the avenues and roads which led to the city, but particularly the Tyber, (*b*) whereof he made himſelf maſter, by placing troops on both its borders, by which means he prevented any thing either from coming

(*w*) Prud. l. 2. adv. Symm. (*x*) Zoſim. l. 5. (*y*) Oroſ. l. 7. Niceph. l. 3. c. 5. (*z*) Ammian. l. 27. (*a*) Hieron. Epiſt. 61. (*b*) Zoſ. l. 5. Zozom. l. 9. c. 6.

up

up, or going down. The Romans, nevertheleſs, were reſolved to make a vigorous defence, and to undergo the utmoſt extremities, in hopes that the Emperor, who was at Ravena, would not fail to come immediately to the relief of Rome. So they began to diſtribute the ſubſiſtance by meaſure; and daily diminiſhed the portions, according as the proviſions grew ſhort and their neceſſity increaſed; they were even reduced to ſuch an extremity that they were forced to live upon food that nature abhors, and which nothing but the force of a deſperate hunger could induce men to make uſe of, (*c*) in order to preſerve life by the ſame things which deſtroy it. But at laſt, when all the proviſions were conſumed; and the plague, which is the natural conſequence of a famine, had begun to make a moſt dreadful havock in the city, and the Pagan ſenators had unſucceſsfully made their deteſtable ſacrifices in the capitol, and in the publick places, upon the aſſurances, which the Tuſcan ſoothſayer had given them, that by theſe means they would cauſe the fire of heaven to fall down on the army of the Barbarians; they were obliged to ſend a deputation to Alaricus, in order to treat with him, on any tolerable conditions. And indeed thoſe, which were granted to them, were much milder than what they could well expect, in the ſtrange ſituation they were in. For Alaricus, who had undertaken the ſiege of Rome for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was provoked at their refuſing to grant him peace upon the terms which he propoſed to them, requiring nothing but lands, and mony, thought now that he had a favourable opportunity of making peace, to a much greater advantage. He therefore promiſed the Romans to raiſe the ſiege, provided they would ſend deputies to the Emperor in order to perſuade him to enter into an alliance with him, and grant him his demands, which were, that he ſhould immediately give him five thouſand pounds weight in gold, thirty thouſand in ſilver, four thouſand ſilken garments, with three thouſand skins died in ſcarlet, and four thouſand pounds weight of pepper. (*d*) The Romans were forced to comply with theſe extravagant conditions; and, as the private families could not ſufficiently contribute towards the raiſing of theſe exceſſive ſums, the magiſtrates, (without touching any thing that belonged *A. D.* 409.

(*c*) Zoſim. ibid. Zozom. ibid. Zoſ. l. 5. (*d*) Zoſ. l. 5.

to

A D. 409. to the Churches) ſeized on all the idols in the temples, and even melted down thoſe which were made of gold or ſilver. And thus the very treaſures, which the impious Pagans (to the ſhame of chriſtianity) had reſtored in Rome, through the blind toleration of a catholick Emperor, ſerved to pay the Arians, as the executioners of the juſtice of GOD, who made uſe of them to puniſh equally the degenerate Chriſtians, and obſtinate Pagans. So Alaricus, being ſatisfied, retired into Tuſcany, whilſt the Romans, according to the treaty, ſent a deputation to the Emperor, who at the ſame time was loſing in other parts ſome of the chief provinces of the Empire.

For, whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in Italy, Conſtantine the tyrant, who had reduced the Gauls to ſubjection, ſent his ſon Conſtantius to take poſſeſſion of Spain; he had already given him the title of Ceſar, and placed him at the head of a powerful army, compoſed for the moſt part, of Alani, Vandals, and Sueves, whom the tyrant kept in pay; and with theſe forces he gave battle and defeated Verinian, and Didymus, both relations to Honorius, and took them priſoners. (*e*) This victory proved the ruin of the Empire, and of the religion in Spain. For Conſtantius being returned into Gaul with his priſoners, the Barbarians, to whom he had given up, as a reward, the provinces which lay on this ſide of the Eber, ſeized on the paſſages of the Pyrenees, by which means they let in the reſt of their country-men, who were in the Narbonian Gaul. And ſeeing themſelves in a condition to undertake any thing, with their prodigious number of forces, ſo much ſuperior to the few Roman troops that were there, incapable of reſiſting them in the field; as alſo knowing that the Spaniards, who had been uſed during ſo long a time to labour under the yoke, would make no great difficulty to change their maſters, they found it an eaſy matter to take poſſeſſion of all the fineſt provinces that lay on the other ſide of the Eber. For, after having committed innumerable cruelties with fire and ſword, where-ever they paſſed; as the famine, and plague were juſt going to compleat the deſolation of all Spain, the Romans, who were yet endeavouring to defend ſome of the ſtrongeſt places, were at laſt forced to make peace, and give

(*e*) Idat. Oroſ. l. 7, c. 40. Proſper in Chron. Caſiod. in Chron. Jo. Maria. l. 5.

up

up to the Barbarians what they could not poſſibly preſerve; which the conquerors divided into three kingdoms. A part of the Vandals, and Sueves, under their king Hermenericus, had Galicia for their ſhare, which in thoſe days comprehended what we now call old Caſtile. The Alani, who had Aracius for their king, took poſſeſſion of Luſitania, and the province of Carthage; and the Silingi, together with the other Vandalick nations, whereof they made a part, ſettled themſelves, under the conduct of their king, Gondericus, in that part of Spain which has ſince taken its name from them, and was called Vandalouſia, but at this time Andalouſia. *A. D.* 409.

After having thus miſerably diſmembred the Empire, Conſtantine had the aſſurance to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperour Honorius to excuſe himſelf for what he had done, (*f*) ſaying, that he had been compelled to it by the army, who had proclaimed him under the title of Auguſtus; and this poor Emperour ſhewed ſo much weakneſs, as not only to receive his excuſes, but likewiſe to ſend him the purple robe, tho' he did not even require it: And this he did, in order to ſave the lives of his two relations, whom Conſtantine put to death when he ſent him this embaſſy. For he was no wiſe in a condition to declare war with him, till ſuch time as Alaricus, with whom the Romans were then treating, was retired out of Italy; and nevertheleſs he managed this affair ſo ill, that he drew on himſelf ſtill more and more the enmity of this Barbarian prince, who only required peace. (*g*) For, after having ſent back the deputies from Rome, without coming to any concluſion, Innocent, biſhop of Rome, went himſelf to Ravenna, in order to intreat Honorius to deliver Rome from ſo great a danger, and from ſo powerful an enemy, by a treaty; which, being abſolutely neceſſary, would every way be advantagious, upon any conditions whatever. The Emperour, who had a regard to the remonſtrances of his holy prelate, ſent Jovius, prefect of the prætorium, (*h*) to Rimini, where Alaricus appeared perſonally in order to facilitate the treaty. The articles, which he firſt propoſed, were, that a certain ſum of money ſhould be paid to him yearly in the nature of

(*f*) Zoſ. l. 5. (*g*) Zoſ. l. 5. Zozom. l. 9. c. 7. (*h*) The Friouli. The Marca Tarviſana, Auſtria and part of Bavaria.

A. D. 409. a penſion, and that his army ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions; that the Emperour ſhould give him up the countrey of the Venetians, with thoſe of the Norici, and Dalmatia, for him and his people to reſide in: And Jovius added to this, as a ſecret article, in his private letters to the Emperour, that Alaricus ſhould be made Generaliſſimo of the forces of the Empire; upon which condition he promiſed not only to ſerve the Emperour faithfully, but likewiſe to give up ſomewhat of the other articles which might ſeem too hard.

Honorius, inſtead of diſguiſing his thoughts in order to obtain a peace, which at that time could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate, anſwered Jovius in a haughty manner, who adviſed him to accept of all the articles. That as to the proviſions, mony, and other things, he might freely grant them: But that he thought his aſſurance very great, when he required the command of his forces; for that he would never ſuffer that either Alaricus, or any other perſon of his nation, ſhould be raiſed to that employment. Jovius was ſo indiſcreet as to read this letter aloud in the preſence of Alaricus, before he knew what particulars it contained. Therefore this prince flying into a paſſion to ſee the contempt, which the Emperour expreſſed both for his perſon, and nation, immediately broke the treaty, and returned to his camp, from whence he marched directly to Rome with his army, which was then reinforced by a body of men that his brother-in-law had brought with him from Pannonia, (*i*) beſides forty thouſand Barbarian ſlaves, who, having made their eſcape out of Rome, were come over to him. Nevertheleſs, as he was on his march he relented, and ſent ſome of the biſhops of the towns, where he paſſed, to the Emperour, in order to adviſe him to ſave Rome, and to preſerve it from its utter deſolation, by a treaty which he propoſed to him, the conditions whereof ſhould be extreamly reaſonable. For, he was willing to give up all the other articles, provided that he would only grant him the country of the Norici, (*k*) which was daily expoſed to the incurſions of the Barbarians, and that, for the ſubſiſtance of his troops, Honorius ſhould appoint what he thought moſt neceſſary; that, upon theſe conditions he was ready to ſerve the Empire, and make

(*i*) Zoſim. l. 5. (*k*) High Auſtria and part of Bavaria.

war

war against all the enemies of the Emperour. Nothing could be proposed more for the advantage and interest of Honorius, who at that time was beset on all sides; (*l*) but because Jovius, who pretended to be very zealous, had a mind to repair the fault which he had just committed, he had obliged all those of the council, and even the Emperour himself, to swear that henceforward they would not enter into any treaty with Alaricus; and therefore his propositals, tho' very reasonable, were intirely rejected, which obliged this prince to take the resolution of returning to Rome, where he laid siege a second time. *A. D.* 409.

It is highly probable that about this time a holy man came to him in order to dissuade him from this enterprise; (*m*) when Alaricus, without deliberation, told him, that what he was doing was against his will, as it appeared plain enough by all the steps he had taken towards obtaining peace; but that he felt within himself an invisible power which incited him, and continually commanded him to take Rome, and destroy it. Nevertheless, he still harboured in his mind a desire to save it, by seeking satisfaction in another manner. (*n*) For, as soon as he had invested the city, he sent to the senate to let them know that, provided they would join with him against Honorius, to whom only he owed a grudge, and that if they would afterwards agree to do what he thought most convenient for the public good, he would treat them as his friends; but if not, that, as soon as he had taken the city, which he would certainly do in a very short time, he would destroy it, and level it with the ground. And as they seemed to deliberate on their resolution concerning this proposal, he immediately formed the siege; then, taking with him a body of the best troops of his army, he attacked Porto with so much vigour, that he took the place by main force, and seized on all the corn which was intended for the subsistance of Rome. Hereupon the senators, whereof the chief members were Pagans; as well as Attalus, whom the Emperour had very untimely made prefect of the city, seeing themselves on the one side without provisions, and even without hopes of receiving any, either by sea, or by land; and on the other hand, flattering themselves that they might make better conditions upon a revolu-

(*l*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 7. (*m*) Socr. l. 7. c. 10. Sozom. l. 9. c. 6. (*n*) Zos. l. 6.

A. D. 409. tion of ſtate, reſolved at laſt to treat with Alaricus, and acquieſce to the propoſal he had made. *(o)* Tho' the number of Chriſtians in Rome was far ſuperiour to the reſt, nevertheleſs there were ſtill many concealed Arians, who agreed with the Pagans, and were in the intereſt of Alaricus; and as for the Catholicks, who were without a commander, and had no hopes of aſſiſtance, they could no wiſe reſiſt ſo powerful a party within, and ſuch a prodigious army of Arian Goths without. The deputation of Alaricus therefore was received at Rome; and in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the Anicians, who continued ſtedfaſt in the fidelity which they owed to GOD, and the Emperour, the ſenate granted whatever Alaricus demanded in two articles, which were, that they ſhould proclaim whomſoever Emperour he ſhould name, and that this new elected prince ſhould join with him in order to make war againſt Honorius.

On this occaſion it was that Attalus, thro' ambition, was guilty of the moſt perfidious and wicked action that ever was known: For as he was then the firſt man of the city, by his employment as prefect, he took it into his head that Alaricus would cauſe him to be created Emperour, if he could but once merit his favour, by giving him any extraordinary proof of his inviolable zeal for his fortune and intereſt. Hereupon, as he was treating in private with the deputies, in right of his office, he intreated them to aſſure the king, their maſter, that he was intirely at his devotion, and that he might depend on him as a man who would ever adhere to his intereſt; that in all things he would implicitely obſerve his commands, and willingly ſacrifice every thing to his ſervice. To this he added, that as religion was the thing in the world which moſt perfectly united men to each other, in order to convince him that he propoſed to form an intimate alliance with the whole nation of Goths who payed their allegiance to him, he was reſolved to renounce paganiſm which he had profeſſed till then, and embrace the chriſtian religion, not in the manner that it was practiſed at Rome, but as it was profeſſed by the Goths, who followed the doctrine of Arius.

(o) Zozom. l. 9. c. 9.

The

The deputies received these offers with joy, which were communicated to the Goths with great applause; and Alaricus particularly signified that they were most agreeable to him. For he thought it would be no small honour to him, as well as to his whole nation, not only to give an Emperour to the Romans, but likewise to give one to them, who should receive from him at the same time both the purple, and the religion of the Goths; which might afterwards be the means to establish Arianism upon the throne of the Cæsars, and even, as he hoped, on that of St. Peter. Therefore Alaricus, having agreed with the Romans, and being highly pleased with the behaviour of Attalus, made his entry at Rome, where he was received with all the magnificence imaginable; and after having declared his intentions to the senate, Attalus, prefect of the city, was solemnly proclaimed Emperour. (*p*) At the same time this new prince, according to the agreement, which he had made with Alaricus, his patron, declared him Generalissimo of the Roman forces, and Ataulphus general of the horse. (*q*) Tertullus, who was one of the most determinate Pagans in the senate, was created Consul; and Attalus, in order to fulfil his promise, caused himself to be baptized by Tigesarius, bishop of the Goths, and thus in a publick manner professed himself an Arian. The Pagans nevertheless did not conceive any jealousy from this proceeding; for, setting aside, that the Arians lived in a good correspondence with them, they knew that Attalus in his heart was still the same he had ever been, and that on all occasions, they might expect whatever favours, they would desire of him. And he promised them openly in full senate, to re-establish them in the flourishing state of their ancestors, and in a little time restore to Rome the Empire of the whole world. (*r*) This was the foolish notion, which he had conceived from the predictions of the augurs, and diviners, whom he used daily to consult after the Pagan manner. And they had so positively assured him, that he should soon be master of Africa, even without fighting, (*s*) that, contrary to the opinion of Alaricus, who had resolved immediately to send a body of choice troops thither, to defeat Heraclian, who might famish

A. D. 400.

(*p*) Zos. l. 6. (*q*) Sozom. Zosim. Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Soz. l. 9. c. 9. (*r*) Zos. l. 6. Sozom. (*s*) Zosim.

Rome,

A. D. 400. Rome, he only ſent over, without forces, one of his generals, whoſe name was Conſtantine, (*t*) as if he had been ſure to take poſſeſſion of that country without the leaſt oppoſition.

In the mean while Alaricus, with the new Emperour at the head of the whole army, marched directly to Ravenna in order to beſiege Honorius, who, at this news, was ſo diſheartned, (*u*) that he ſent deputies as far as Rimini to meet Attalus, with an offer to acknowledge him for his collegue to the Empire, provided he would not advance nearer. But this man, being blinded with his good fortune, had loſt the uſe of his reaſon, and therefore in an haughty and moroſe manner, he told the Ambaſſadors that all the favour, which he could grant their maſter, was, to let him live baniſhed in ſome diſtant iſland; but firſt inſiſted that he ſhould not only lay down the purple, and diadem; but likewiſe that he ſhould be maimed in ſome part of his body, in order to prevent him from ever having any hopes of being reſtored to a throne, which he inevitably would ſoon be forced to abandon. Honorius, being terrified at ſo inhuman an anſwer, was already preparing to go on board a fleet of ſhips, which were waiting to carry him to his nephew at Conſtantinople, when he received a relief of four thouſand men from him, who landed at Ravenna, in very good time to divert his fears, and help him to hold out the ſiege, till ſuch time as he could receive letters from Heraclian, on whoſe aſſiſtance he very much depended. And indeed, this general, by his good management, was the only perſon that delivered him from the extremity which he was reduced to. For, as it was in his power eaſily to defeat Conſtantine, whom Attalus, by the perſuaſion of the falſe oracles, had indiſcreetly ſent, with hardly any forces, to invade Africa; he took ſo great a care to lay an imbargo on all the ſea-ports, in order to prevent any proviſions from being conveyed into Rome, that the famine ſoon began to rage more than it had done during the firſt ſiege. It is even reported, that all the neighbouring country being laid waſte, and nothing imported by ſea, the rich people of the city, and merchants (thro' an abominable avarice) concealed what corn they had in ſtore, in order to ſell it at an exceſſive rate in time of extremity, which cauſed the meaner people to ap-

(*t*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 8. (*u*) Zoſ. l. 6. Sozom.

ply

ply one day publickly to the magiſtrates in the circum, crying out aloud, that they might likewiſe expoſe human fleſh to ſale, and put a fixt price on it. *A. D.* 410.

Alaricus was already highly diſſatisfied with Attalus, who had occaſioned theſe diſorders, for not having followed his advice; and was yet much more exaſperated againſt him, when he found that this ridiculous man had been at Rome in order to conſult the ſenate, (*x*) and yet would not agree to ſend Gothick ſoldiers into Africa, as it was the opinion of the major part of the ſenators. Therefore ſeeing that he could never bring his affairs to bear by the means of this phantom Emperour, whom he himſelf had made, he reſolved to degrade him, after having taken proper meaſures with ſome of the Romans of his party, whom Honorius had brought over to his intereſt, which would be a favourable opportunity of making an advantageous treaty of peace, as he had ſo often deſired. Therefore as ſoon as Attalus was returned to Rimini, Alaricus, in order to conclude the comical ſcene which he had begun, brought this ridiculous prince, dreſſed in his imperial robes, at the head of his army, which was drawn up in order of battle near that city; (*y*) and therefore, having upbraided him with his weakneſs, vanity, and ingratitude, he cauſed his purple, and diadem to be taken from him, which he ſent to the Emperour Honorius: But nevertheleſs kept this wretched man, near his perſon, out of meer compaſſion, till ſuch time as he had put his life in ſafety, by the treaty which he propoſed to make. So this ambitious and perfidious man, who, in order to be created Emperour, had declared himſelf an Arian, tho' a Pagan in his heart, after having ridiculouſly played the part of a prince, like a player on a theatre, became the jeſt of the whole world, for being a mere ſlave to thoſe very Arian Goths, who in appearance had choſen him for their maſter. (*z*) The Pagans, and Arians of Rome were equally mortified, and deeply concerned at his diſgrace, becauſe on the one ſide, as Pagans, they were in hopes that he would reſtore idolatry to its primitive ſtate; and on the other ſide, as Arians, that he would make Arianiſm flouriſh again in the Empire as it had formerly done under Conſtantius.

(*x*) Zoſ. lib. 6. (*y*) Oroſ. l. 7. c. 42 Zoſ. Sozom. (*z*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 9.

After

A. D. 410. After so unaccountable a change, Alaricus, who had already subdued the greatest part of the cities of Romania, (*a*) marched towards Ravenna in order to negociate his treaty of peace with Honorius. Now indeed the treaty seemed to go on in earnest, with both parties, and according to all probability was likely soon to come to a conclusion, when GOD, who was resolved to deliver up Rome into the hands of the Barbarians, as a punishment for its crimes, permitted one only man, thro' his rashness, entirely to destroy this negotiation which would certainly have produced a peace. (*b*) Sarus, who commanded the Huns, that were in the service of the Emperour Honorius, had withdrawn from court upon some cause of discontent. (*c*) But when he found that the treaty was near being concluded, he resolved to return thither, in order, if possible, to break it; because that he not only bore an hatred to Alaricus, but was also for a war, which would be of greater advantage to him. For this reason, as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Alaricus, who never could submit to put up an affront, he suddenly fell upon his camp, with only three hundred desperate men, who followed him where-ever he went; and as the Goths were not upon their guard, having no suspicion that during a treaty any one would attack them in this manner, he put them in great disorder, and in a very little time killed a great number of men, till at last they drew themselves up in order of battle towards the place where the alarm was first given; but Sarus, having compleated his design retired with very little loss. Hereupon Alaricus, calling to mind the piece of treachery, which was acted against him at the passage of the Alps, did not doubt in the least, but that he was now betrayed in the same manner, and that they were only amusing him with the notion of a treaty of peace, whilst there was a scheme laid to surprise him; and therefore, being highly provoked, he raised his camp and marched immediately with his army towards Rome, promising the plunder of that city to his soldiers, in order to encourage them. (*d*) For as he had settled several correspondences, during his residence there, and disposed of all things in an absolute manner, he was fully satisfied that he should soon enter Rome by that means.

(*a*) Zosim. l. 6. (*b*) Zosim. l. 6. (*c*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 9. (*d*) Zozom. l. 9. c. 9.

And

And indeed, he was not deceived in an expectation, which was so well grounded. Three days after he had taken possession of his old camp, which was the third time that he had encamped there, in order to besiege Rome, (which was now in a strange consternation at so unexpected a turn) (*e*) those who were of intelligence with him, (amongst whom were several Goths, who by reason of the alliances, which they had made with the Romans, had remained in the city), seized on one of the gates, which they delivered up to Alaricus, who marched into Rome with his whole army drawn up in order of battle. (*f*) This happened on the twenty fourth of August in the night. As he was assured of success from his correspondents, he, that very evening, appointed the chief officers of his army to meet at his quarters, and there he gave them the proper orders which were to be executed on so important an occasion. It is said that he expressed himself in the following manner: "My fellow-soldiers, about thirty five years ago, we passed the Danube, and since "that time we have made war both for, and against the Romans, "in order to acquire honour, and riches, which are the just rewards of "our toils, and of the great actions, which we have performed. As "for honour, I may venture to say, we could not wish for more "than what we have gained in so many glorious warlike exploits, "which have rendered the name of the Visigoths renowned through-"out the world, and dreadful to the Romans. We were the men, "who first convinced the world, that these haughty tyrants could "be conquered and brought into the same bonds, with which they "for so many ages had loaded Europe, Africa, and Asia. We have "cut their armies to pieces, forced their cities, and plundered their "country in their sight; we laid waste their provinces, and car-"ried even terror up to the very gates of Constantinople; and as "Hannibal performed great things at Cannee, so did we at that "memorable fight at Andrinople, where their Emperour, being "forced to submit to the invincible power of our arms, lost with "his life all the forces of the Empire. Thracia, Mysia, Macedo-"nia, Thessalia, Greece, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and all Italy, up to "the very gates of Rome, where we are now encamped, are filled "with the trophies and glory of our arms, from which these pre-

A. D. 410.

(*e*) Rutil. Itin. l. 2. (*f*) Miscell. Prosper. Cassiodor. Hieron. Epist. 16.

A. D. 410. " tended conquerours, and masters of the world, could not defend " themselves, but by surprising us, and applying to the most " shameful perfidiousness, which shall prove fatal to them. After " so many battles, we have scarcely any thing left, but the arms " with which we conquered; and our victories, which were fruit- " less, have only produced us glory, and wounds. But it is " now high time to put an end to the injustice of our fortune; " and that, after the acquisition of glory, which is the noblest re- " ward of vertue, these brave men, who have followed me, should " partake of the spoils, which are due to those who have merited " the honour that they have acquired. I have despised Ravenna " which is not a prize worthy of your deserts. I am resolved that " Rome shall this day become your reward, and booty. Yes, I say, " Rome, who has hoarded up riches, at the expence of the whole " world, and may now justly be called the treasure of the universe, " shall supply you with money and subsistance, at a general review " of my army before the capitol. I shall be there in a few hours, " by means of the intelligence which I have in the city: And as " things are disposed, my design must succeed. I give up Rome " with its plunder, to my soldiers; and I am resolved that they " shall come out of it loaded with the treasures of those plunderers " who purchased them with the ruin of the rest of the world. But " remember this; I will not suffer, on any account, that, (whilst we " are performing this act of justice) it should be dishonoured with " impiety, which would justly bring upon us the vengeance of " heaven. For as I find within my self that GOD has command- " ed me to execute the judgment, which he has pronounced against " this city, it is also his will that I should revere him in the exe- " cution of it, and distinguish what belongs to him, from what be- " longs to those guilty men, whom he has condemned. I there- " fore forbid my soldiers to meddle with the Churches, or with " any thing that is consecrated to divine worship. (g) Besides, I " require that all holy places, and particularly the Basilea's of St. " Peter, and St. Paul, should be regarded as inviolable sanctuaries " to all those who shall retire thither; and that my soldiers shall " not make any attempt, either on their lives, their liberties, or

(g) Oros. l. 7. cap. 39.

any

" any thing that they ſhall have in their poſſeſſion. Now, in or- *A. D.*
" der to undeceive thoſe who take us for Barbarians, and Idolaters, 410.
" I deſire that our right of war may be uſed with a great deal of
" moderation, and that my ſoldiers, in the height of plunder, may
" avoid ſhedding human blood. Rome ſhall ſee that we bear re-
" ſpect to the name of a Chriſtian, even in time of war, and that
" we know how to make a difference between Pagans, and Chriſti-
" ans, tho' there are others who have not the true notion, which
" they ought to have, of GOD, and of his ſon. Depart, therefore,
" immediately, and repair to your reſpective quarters, in order to
" communicate my commands to your ſoldiers; draw them up in
" order of battle, and at the ſecond watch, this night, lead them
" hither without noiſe, that they may be ready to follow me at
" the hour, which I have appointed to enter the city.

Accordingly, as he had laid his ſcheme with his correſpondents in Rome, the affair ſucceeded to his ſatisfaction, and having ſeized on the capitol, the palace, and the great places in the city, as ſoon as the day appeared, the army ſpread it ſelf throughout all the parts of Rome, and began to plunder the houſes. Nevertheleſs the charge, which Alaricus had given to his ſoldiers, was ſo punctually obſerved (notwithſtanding the confuſion which ever attends the plundering of a Town) that they did not touch the Churches, nor moleſt thoſe who ran thither for refuge; that very few people were killed, and ſeveral of thoſe, who fell into the hands of the Goths, were protected as ſoon as they invoked the name of JESUS CHRIST, or any ſaint, which ſhewed that they were Chriſtians. (*b*) And GOD even ſoftened the hearts of many of thoſe Barbarians in ſuch a manner, that they themſelves conducted thoſe people to the Churches, whom they had ſpared, as being Chriſtians, fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of their fellow-ſoldiers, who might have no compaſſion, and uſe them with leſs humanity; which indeed gave occaſion to ſeveral of the Pagans, (*i*) who perceived that the ſame reſpect was not paid them, to pretend that they were alſo Chriſtians, and by that means, following their example in calling upon the ſame ſaints, they were ſpared and con-

(*b*) Oroſ. Auguſt. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Iſid. l. de Mun. (*i*) Aug. l. 11. de Civit. c. 7.

A. D. 410. ducted by the very Goths to the Churches, where they found, that JESUS CHRIST (in ſpite of all their deceit) was in reality their Redeemer.

The illuſtrious Marcella, who was a lady of the nobleſt family in Rome, and reputed to be one of the moſt pious perſons of the age, (*k*) was aſſaulted in her houſe, on mount Aventine, where ſhe lived retired with her daughter Principia, paſſing their days together in the practice of piety, and holineſs. At firſt theſe Barbarians uſed them ill, becauſe they would have their gold, which they could not give them, having a long time before diſtributed all their poſſeſſions amongſt the poor. But as ſoon as they were informed who theſe ladies were, with reſpect to their nobility, and piety, theſe very men treated them with the greateſt veneration, and attended them ſafe to the Baſilica of St. Paul. The heroick behaviour of another Chriſtian lady, who was extremely beautiful, made likewiſe a moſt extraordinary impreſſion on the heart of a young Arian Goth, who had conceived a paſſion for her. (*l*) After a thouſand ardent ſollicitations, he found that ſhe preferred her honour to her life; for, having drawn his ſword, and threatned to kill her, in caſe ſhe would not yield to his deſires, ſhe generouſly preſented her neck to him in order to receive the blow, which moved his pity ſo much that he not only conveyed her ſafe to the Church of St. Peter, but likewiſe gave mony to the officers of that Church for her ſubſiſtance during the time ſhe might remain there.

But what was ſtill more ſurpriſing in the midſt of theſe diſorders was, (as I may ſay) a kind of triumph which was given to St. Peter after a more pompous and magnificent manner than any that was ever ſeen even when Rome was in a moſt flouriſhing condition. One of the chief officers in the Gothick army, having entered the houſe of a lady, who was venerable both for her age, and her character, a virgin conſecrated to GOD, he deſired her in a civil manner to ſhew him where ſhe had laid up her gold, and ſilver, ſince the laws of war had given him a right to ſhare it with her. (*m*) (I am ready to obey your commands, Sir,) replied this prudent virgin, (thinking it impoſſible to conceal any longer the precious depoſit which ſome days before had been committed to her

(*k*) Hieron. Epiſt. 154. (*l*) Sozom. lib. 9. c. 10. (*m*) Oroſ. l. 7. c. 39.

care,

care. "I will satisfy you immediately, Sir, (said she;) and I can "assure you that you could not have applied yourself to any one "who could have shewn you a greater quantity of riches." Hereupon she conducted him to a chamber, which was full of gold and silver vessels, whereof some were of a prodigious bigness, and the others enriched with precious stones: But all of them were wrought after an admirable manner. As she perceived that the Goth was astonished at the sight of such a prodigious treasure, without giving him time to recover from his surprise, she said to him: "These, "Sir, are the sacred vessels of the Apostle St. Peter, which are used "at divine service in his Church; they were brought here into this "house a few days since, in hopes that it would be respected even "by those of your nation. I dare believe that you will not ven- "ture to profane them, and run the hazard of committing so great "a sacrilege. As for my part, I can no longer protect them, there- "fore will not pretend to keep them." This officer heard her discourse with admiration, and as she was inspired by the spirit of GOD, her words struck him with a religious fear, and he immediately sent to acquaint the king of what he had seen, who gave orders that all those sacred vessels should be brought back to the Basilica of St. Peter, which was to be performed in a most solemn manner, with the attendance of men in arms; giving also a strict charge, that they should convey thither this virgin, in whose house the holy treasure was found, together with all those who would accompany her on this extraordinary occasion. A. D. 410.

There never was seen a procession comparable to this. (*n*) As soon as the report of this order was spread throughout Rome, the Barbarians and Romans, the Catholicks and Arians, the soldiers and the people, repaired from all parts to this house to bear a part in this ceremony. All the vessels were distributed to persons of quality, who bore them on their heads, in order that they might be seen and reverenced by every one. The clergy, dressed in their officiating habits, attended the procession, singing Hymns in praise of JESUS CHRIST, and St. Peter his Apostle. The Goths and Romans, who followed in crowds, answered all together, and, notwithstanding the difference of their opinions, with one heart, and

(*n*) Oros. ibid. Cassiod. Var. lib. 10. Epist. 22.

one

A. D. 410. one voice, joined in the ſame hymns of praiſe to GOD. The Gothiſh ſoldiers marched on both ſides, forming two lines, with their ſwords drawn, which was done both in honour to, and for the ſafety of this pompous ceremony; and the trumpets, which marched before them, ſounding from time to time, invited thoſe who were as yet concealed, to come boldly out of their retirements, and join themſelves with the reſt of the people. Even the Pagans were glad to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of putting themſelves into a place of ſafety, and therefore joined the crowd, and were willing to paſs for Chriſtians. And the more the multitude encreaſed at this wonderful proceſſion, the more the Barbarians endeavoured to protect them. So great is the power of religion over thoſe very men, who are moſt cruel in their nature, whenever any ſenſible and extraordinary object has made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on them as to render them capable of receiving a notion of it.

But as theſe happy moments were ſoon at an end, and that all the Goths were not ſo well diſpoſed, there were moſt dreadful diſorders committed during the plundering of Rome; and in ſpite of the ſtrict commands of Alaricus, which could not be ſo exactly obſerved at a time of ſuch horrid confuſion, (*o*) there were ſeveral houſes fired, many people killed, virgins, and married women, forced and deflowered, and theſe Barbarians made a great number of priſoners, whom they took along with them into a miſerable captivity. Several, even of thoſe who were of the firſt quality (in order to ſave themſelves from the cruelty of the Goths) retired out of Italy; ſome paſſed over into the iſlands, and others went into Paleſtine, where St. Jerom (deploring their miſery, which he was witneſs of) ſays they were reduced to ſo great a neceſſity, (*p*) thro' the unmerciful avarice of thoſe, who (notwithſtanding the extremity they were in) ſtill extorted money from them, that they had not even where-withal to cover their bodies, or ſhelter themſelves from the injuries of the weather. Some of them, and amongſt others the illuſtrious matron Proba, with her daughter, and grandaughter Demetrias, retired into Africa, in hopes of finding ſafety there under the protection of Heraclian. But on the contrary they

(*o*) Oroſ. lib. 7. cap. 39. Auguſt. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Id. tract. de excid. Urb. Rutil. Itin. l. 1. (*p*) Hier. Præf. in lib. 3. in Ezech.

found

found this governour to be a tyrant, yet more avaricious and cruel than thoſe, whoſe hands they had eſcaped, in order to fly to him for refuge: (*q*) For, after having already plundered Africa by his extortions, he treated them in the moſt inſulting and treacherous manner that he could contrive, in order to get from them the little money which they had ſaved out of the ruins of their fortune. *A. D.* 410.

But what plainly ſhewed that GOD, (*r*) in permitting that Rome ſhould be thus ſurpriſed and plundered, intended only to inflict a paternal puniſhment on the Chriſtians, and not to deſtroy them utterly, was that, Alaricus, five days after having taken the city, and being ſatisfied with the plunder which laſted three days, marched out with his whole army, and did not leave ſo much as a garriſon behind him. For, whether he ſtill continued in the reſolution that he had formerly taken to ſettle in thoſe provinces, which he already had ſo often demanded of the Emperour, or that he propoſed to make himſelf maſter of Sicily and Africa; without the poſſeſſion of which (were he to continue in Rome) he might be in danger of being famiſhed; whether, I ſay, for theſe reaſons, or becauſe (as it often happens to the greateſt of men, who have performed mighty exploits) he knew not well how to reap the advantage of them, and gather the fruits of his victories, I ſhall not determine. But after having given that ſhort ſpace of time to his ſoldiers in order that they might load themſelves with the riches of that famous city, he departed thence, and marched thro' Campania, (*s*) the Marca d'Ancona, and Lucania, laying waſte all the country where-ever he paſſed, till he arrived at Coſenza, where, (*t*) being informed that part of his forces were loſt at ſea in their paſſage to Sicily, he died ſuddenly. (*u*) He was a prince, who had none of the barbarity of his nation, tho' brave and couragious, with a greatneſs of ſoul, and the humanity of a Roman. The army, who bore an extraordinary love to him, reſolved to perform his funeral obſequies in a moſt magnificent manner, but attended with much of the Gothick barbarity, which that prince, during his life-time (good natured as he was) would not have ſuffered

(*q*) Hieron. Epiſt. 8. (*r*) Marcell. in Chron. Oroſ. (*s*) A champaign country of Italy. Baſilicate Calabria. (*t*) Principality. (*u*) Oroſ. lib. 7. c. 43. Idat. Marcell. l. 13.

them

A. D. 410. them to do to any one. For, having turned the course of the river of Busento, they dug a large and deep grave in the middle of its channel, and having buried him there with part of the richest spoils, which they had brought with them from the plunder of Rome, they turned the river again into its natural course. And after this, in order that no body should ever discover the tomb of Alaricus, the soldiers barbarously put to death all the prisoners, whom they had employed in this work.

A. D. 411. After the death of this great man, the Goths, with a general consent, chose Ataulphus for their king. This prince was brother-in-law to Alaricus, and not inferiour to him in prudence and courage. So that he might have easily compleated the destruction of the Roman Empire, had he not conceived an extraordinary passion for the princess Galla Placidia, sister to Honorius, which intirely disarmed him: And proved at last the cause of his ruin, and the safety of the Emperour. The first time that Alaricus entered Rome, he was resolved to seize on the person of this princess; (x) whom, nevertheless, he treated after a royal manner in his camp. Ataulphus, who was a young prince, and had lately buried his wife, was passionately taken with her beauty, and wit, which far excelled the graces of her face. And as Alaricus had committed her to his care, and even given him leave to marry her, if he could prevail on her to give her consent, he used to serve her with the greatest respect, in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity to deserve that honour, which he so earnestly wished for. And now seeing himself on the throne of Alaricus, he began to indulge his hopes, and was of opinion that the sister of Honorius would not think herself degraded in ascending that throne with him, nor dishonoured in becoming the queen of the masters and conquerours of Rome. This princess on her side, seeing the deplorable condition which the Empire, and her brother, were reduced to, would not disdain the good offices of this prince, in hopes that, of an enemy, she might bring him to be a powerful protector of her family. She therefore approved his adresses; and from that time knew so well how to manage him, that at last she gained an absolute ascendant over him, and persuaded him under-hand to take a resolution, (y)

(x) Zosim. l. 6. (y) Oros. lib. 7. c. 43.

not

not only to make peace with Honorius, but alſo to aſſiſt him with all his forces, in order to reſtore the Empire to its former glory. Ataulphus, nevertheleſs, being willing to ſhew a fair pretence for carrying on his intended ſcheme, gave other reaſons afterwards for his conduct, which every one was ſurpriſed at. (z) For he uſed often to tell his friends in private, that at firſt when he came to the throne he had reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the Empire, which he would have called the Empire of the Goths, inſtead of that of the Romans, and ſubſtitute his name of Ataulphus in the room of that of Auguſtus: But that, having conſidered on the one part that ſo great an Empire could not ſubſiſt without laws, and on the other hand that the Goths, who were naturally a barbarous people, would neither have nor ſuffer any government, he had choſen rather to acquire the glorious title of reſtorer of the Roman Empire, than that of the deſtroyer of it. Tho' indeed, as the world has ſeen by experience that the Gothick nation was very capable of being brought under diſcipline, and government, it plainly appeared that love had a far greater ſhare, than any political notion, in the conduct and ſudden change of Ataulphus. A D. 411.

Therefore this new king, laying aſide the deſign of his predeceſſor, returned back to Rome, where, notwithſtanding the charge he had given at the requeſt of Placidia, (a) he could not prevent his army from committing many diſorders. (b) He afterwards marched towards Ravenna, but ſtopped at Forli, a place in Romania, where he ſecretly agreed with Honorius, that (under the pretence of defending Gaul, and Spain) he would march with his army into the Narbonian Gaul, and into the provinces on the other ſide of the Pyrenees, as far as the Eber. After which, having married the princeſs Placidia, with the conſent of the Emperour, her brother, (c) he went and took poſſeſſion of the new kingdom of the Viſigoths, whereof he eſtabliſhed the ſeat at Narbona.

This peace was followed by the reſtoration of the affairs of Honorius. Conſtantius, who was a great general, born in Illiria, and a creature of the great Theodoſius, having paſſed the Alps with the Emperour's army, beſieged Arles, where Conſtantine had re-

(z) Oroſ. ibid. (a) Miſcell. (b) Fovum Livii. (c) Olympiod. Iornand. Maria. l. 5. c. 1.

A. D. 411. tired for safety, and had taken upon him the orders of priesthood in one of the Churches of that place, in order, by that means, to escape death: (*d*) But the town being taken, that did not prevent Honorius from causing him to be put to death at Ravenna, with Julian, his second son. As for Constance, his eldest son, to whom he had conferred the title of Cæsar, he was killed at Vienna, by Gerontius whom he had left governour of the provinces of Spain; and who, having revolted against Constantine, on the account of some dissatisfaction, had caused his army to create one Maximus Emperour. (*e*) And Gerontius himself, being soon after forsaken by his soldiers, who surrendered themselves up to Constantius, fled into Spain where he perished by his own hands, after having killed his wife, who earnestly desired him to grant her that favour, which he was unwilling to do, till he saw himself upon the brink of being forced by his own people, who had besieged him in his house, and against whom he defended himself almost alone, and behaved with so much bravery, that, what with darts and arrows, he killed above three hundred of them.

As for Maximus, the sham Emperor, having laid down his purple robes, he went over to the Barbarians, on the other side of the Eber, (*f*) and nothing more was heard of him. (*g*) Heraclian, who, from being governor of Africa, was become a tyrant, and dared even to invade Italy with a prodigious number of ships, in order to attack Rome, was defeated by count Marinus, at his landing; and, with great difficulty made his escape to Carthage, where he was killed. (*h*) Jovinus and Sebastian, his brother, having revolted in Gaul, where they had the assurance to usurp. A tyrannical party were taken by Ataulphus, who caused them to be put to death at Narbona. As for the wretched Attalus, (whom the Goths made a tool of, and had re-instated again on the throne, only to oppose Constantius, whom they began to suspect) he was immediately abandoned by them, and falling alive into the hands of Honorius, was treated in the same manner, with which he once intended to treat the Emperor: For, after having caused two of his fingers to be cut off, he sent him into banishment in the Isle of

A. D. 414.

(*d*) Sozom. l. 7. c. 12. Olymp. (*e*) Sozom. ibid. (*f*) Marcell. (*g*) Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Marcell. (*h*) Idat. Marcell. Prosp. in Chron. Olympiod. Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

Lipara,

Lipara. In short, the Goths themselves, who had committed most horrible disorders in Aquitain, and in the Narbonian Gaul, from the time of their inhabiting those Countries, (*i*) abandoned their new kingdom of Gaul; and, passing on the other side of the Pirenees, went into Spain, which they were forced to do, either by the victorious arms of Constantius, or by a secret agreement, which Ataulphus had made with the Romans through the contrivance of Placidia. *A. D.* 415.

Thus Italy, Africa, Gaul and Great Britain, were entirely restored to the obedience of Honorius, by the means of the peace which this Princess procured to the Empire; and tho' it was then of great advantage to her Brother, yet it proved in the End very fatal to her Husband, For as soon as he began to be suspected by his Nation, who found their account in the (*k*) War, which they made against the Romans under Alaricus, he was murdered in Barcelona, and they chose for their King Sigericus, Brother to the famous Sarus, whom the Soldiers (*l*) had massacred, as being Traitor to the Emperor. This new elected Prince, in the first place caused six Children, whom Ataulphus had had by his first Wife, to be put to death, (*m*) and treated his Queen Placidia in so base a manner that he obliged her to run a foot before his horse, (*n*) like a wretched slave. But he soon met with the punishment of this Brutality: For the Goths, seing that he had no disposition towards making War (which they were all desirous of) they began to fear least he should follow the steps of Ataulphus, and hereupon they deprived him of his life, seven days after his being raised to the Throne; and without shewing any Regard to his Children, they chose in his Room a person, whose Name was Vallia, whom they looked upon to be the greatest Warriour amongst all their Generals.

And he was justly esteemed a great Commander, having an equal share of courage, and prudence, by which means he knew so well how to temper the minds of his Goths, that he persuaded them, either to make war, or peace, just as he thought it proper. He, in the first place, embarked them on board a potent fleet, with a design to invade Africa, (*o*) according to the scheme of

(*i*) Maria l. 5. c. 2. Prosper Oros. l. 7. c. 47. Iorn Mari.
(*k*) Prosp. Marcell. Idat Iorn. Oros. l. 7. c. 43. (*l*) Soz. l. 9. c. 13.
(*m*) Olympiod. (*n*) Idat Oros. (*o*) Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

A. D. 415. Alaricus. But his ships having suffered very much in a terrible storm, he found himself under the necessity of returning to Barcelona; and hereupon he informed the chief officers of the Goths, that being on the one side surrounded by the Romans, and on the other by the Alani, the Suevi, and Vandals, they were in danger of losing what they had acquired; and by this means he persuaded them to enter into a treaty of peace with Constantius, on such terms as should be both advantageous and honourable, and would put them in a capacity to make war against those other nations. (*o*) He therefore treated with the Roman general on these conditi-

416. ons; *viz.* That the princess Galla Placidia should be restored to the Emperour, who had already promised her to Constantius; (*p*) who being ambitious of the honour, it was a more speedy means to conclude the treaty. The second article was, that the Romans supplying Vallia with provisions, he should assist them against the other Barbarian nations, who had divided Spain amongst themselves. Upon these conditions he should be restored to whatever Ataulphus possessed in Gaul, and Spain; with assurances that he might yet expect something more from the Romans, according as it would appear by his behaviour, that he was faithful to them in fulfilling this treaty.

417. And hereupon it was faithfully executed by both parties. (*q*) Vallia delivered up the queen to Constantius, who immediately married her by the express command of Honorius; and in that first year was born the princess Honoria, and in the second, Valentinian the third. The Romans supplied Vallia's forces with corn,

418. and they were fortunate in the war which they made against the Barbarians, who were at that time divided amongst themselves. Vallia defeated the Alani in a battle which he fought near Merida, wherein their king Araces lost his life. He obliged the Suevi and Vandals, who were in possession of Galicia, to submit to the Roman Empire, and so often defeated the Silingi, and the Vandals of Andalousia, that he compelled them to surrender themselves. After so many glorious exploits, Constantius sent for him back into Gaul, and there gave him a fresh confirmation of the alliance,

(*o*) Olympiod. Oros. (*p*) Olympiod. Oros. (*q*) Olympiod Prosp. Iorn.

which

which he had made with him in the name of the Emperour, (*r*) and added to his kingdom all Aquitain which is ſituated between the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and the ocean ſea. Thus the kingdom of the Arian Viſigoths was firmly eſtabliſhed in Gaul, and Catalonia, by Vallia, who tranſmitted the ſeat of his new Empire to Toulouſe, where he ſoon after died, leaving behind him Theodoredus, or Theodoricus his relation, for his ſucceſſour. *A. D.* 419.

Conſtantius did not live very long after him. He ſhared the ſame fate with him, and died in glory, after having happily performed great actions, without giving time for fortune to repent. For being returned in triumph to Ravenna, Honorius his brother-in-law, in order to reward his mighty ſervices, had aſſociated him to the Empire, which he had delivered out of the hands of Tyrants, and Barbarians; (*s*) and ſeven months afterwards he died, juſt as he was going to carry his arms into the Eaſt againſt Theodoſius the younger, who would not approve of his election, nor receive him as his collegue.

After his death the affairs in the Weſt were in a greater confuſion than before. (*t*) Honorius and Placidia having, for ſome time, carried on an intimate correſpondence, which was even prejudicial to their reputation, conceived ſo great a hatred for each other, that being no longer able to live together, Placidia was forced (by the command of her brother, who expelled her) to retire with her children to Conſtantinople where ſhe implored the protection of Theodoſius, her nephew. But this perſecution did not continue long; for Honorius died a few months after in the thirty fifth year of his age. He was a ſlothful ignorant prince, and an enemy to buſineſs, minding nothing but his pleaſures, even at a time when his Empire was at ſtake. He poſſeſſed none of his father's perfections; tho' indeed he was very zealous for the catholick religion, which he always protected againſt the attempts of the Hereticks. Placidia being acknowledged as empreſs by Theodoſius, (*u*) returned immediately into Italy with her ſon Valentinian, who was then in the fifth year of his age, and was proclaimed by the name of Auguſtus in Rome, as alſo ſoon after at Ravenna, where John prin- 421. 423. 424.

(*r*) Idat. Maria. (*s*) Olympiod. Marcell. (*t*) Olymp. (*u*) Proſper. Marcell. Olymp. Socr. lib. 7. cap. 23.

cipal

A. D. cipal secretary of state to Honorius, and prefect of the *Pretorium*,
425. who had taken upon himself the title of Emperour after the death of his master, was surprised and put to death by Theodosius's people.

But during these civil and domestick broils, there happened a change in Spain, which proved very fatal to the religion, and which at last occasioned the establishment of a new monarchy of Arians in Africa, by the conquests of the Vandals. These people, who were esteemed the most warlike of all the Barbarians that inhabited Spain, and were subjected to the Romans by Vallia, having, after the death of Constantius, thrown off their yoke, (*w*) under the government of their king Gundericus, and adopted all the Alani that were left, who now became one nation with them, these Barbarians, I say, committed such devastations in Spain, that the Romans were obliged to send thither a considerable body of men under the command of Castinus. And Boniface who was a great general, that commanded the Roman army in Africa, was likewise
422. ordered to repair thither with a part of his forces: But he could not bear the arrogant and imperious humour of Castinus, who would transact every thing after his own way, tho', at the same time, what he did, was directly contrary to the rules of war, and good sense. Therefore Boniface, fearing least he should lose both his troops, and his honour, thro' the mistakes of this stubborn man, he returned immediately into Africa; (*x*) and Castinus, having unadvisedly given battle to the Vandals near Taragona, was defeated and obliged to leave Spain, and retire into Italy. The death of Honorius happening at this juncture, the affairs of the
423. Empire could not be set right till about two years after, when Placidia and her son Valentinian, being happily delivered from John, who had usurped the Empire, were both proclaimed by the title of
425. Augustus at Ravenna. At which time, Castinus, who was suspected of having underhand favoured the tyrant's Party, was sent into banishment. But Aetius, on the contrary, being a great and able general, who had brought with him out of Mysia (which was his country) a powerful army of Huns for the service of the usurper, he found it easy to make his peace, because, in the first place,

(*w*) Prosp. in Chron. (*x*) Idat.

he

he had forces at his command; and his capacity was well known. (y) He was even made a count, and an army of Romans was given to him upon condition that he would dismiss his Huns, which he accordingly did, after having paid them with the Emperour's money. Boniface, who had acquired much glory in Africa (where tho' only a colonel he had often defeated the Barbarians, who made excursions on the territories of the Empire) insinuated himself so well into the favour of Placidia, that, besides the command of the armies which he already had, she gave him also the government of all Africa, (z) with directions to pass, as soon as possible, into Spain in order to accommodate the affairs there with the Vandals, as they had already done with the Huns. *A. D.* 425.

This was the same count Boniface, who, during his residence in Africa, had contracted that intimate friendship with St. Augustin, which rendered the count so remarkable, as we have many instances of it in the epistles of this holy man, whom he honoured as his father, and spiritual guide. And indeed Boniface had a true principle of piety, which he carefully cultivated for some time, under the direction of this admirable teacher. He received many instructions from him relating to his moral life, and for the better preserving the purity of faith, not only against the deceits of the Donatists, who had a powerful party in Africa, but likewise against the impiety of the Arians, who were at court, and in Boniface's army; and which gave occasion to St. Augustin to refute openly that heresy, which till then was not known in Africa. For as the count's army was composed of Romans, and Goths, who, at that time, were their allies; the latter, who professed Arianism, had the free exercise of their religion, notwithstanding the edicts of the Emperours, which did not include the strangers, who were in the service of the Empire. They even had a bishop of their own, whose name was Maximus; he was very zealous in maintaining that his was the true doctrine, and had assurance enough to challenge St. Augustin to dispute with him. Besides, this Arian bishop was supported by the authority and boldness, or more properly by the impudence, of the count Pascentius, one of the Emperour's principal officers, who was appointed collector of his rights,

(y) Prosp. in Chron. (z) Procop. de Bell. Vand. l. 1. August. Epist. 75.

and

A. D. 425. and revenues in Africa. This man, who was very ignorant, had a deal of assurance, together with an exceeding freedom of speech. And his power being great, from the employment which he exercised, he imposed on those, who had never heard of Arianism, which he proclaimed in all places. For, tho' he always anathematized Arius, and Eunomius, in order that he might not be accused of being an Arian, yet at the same time he maintained their opinions, which he did not understand; and all his learning consisted only in insulting the Catholicks, defying them to shew him the word ὁμοούσιον in the scriptures, and upon this he fancied himself able enough to challenge St. Augustin to a publick conference.

This holy bishop agreed to the proposal, and conferred with Maximus at Hippon, and with Pascentius at Carthage, in presence of arbitrators, and witnesses. He confounded them both, but particularly Pascentius, who would not consent that any part of the conference should be set down in writing, fearing least he might be convicted by authentick proceedings. But, (as it is commonly the way of hereticks) after the dispute was over, these men impudently gave it out, that they had gained all the advantage that could be wished for on this occasion; particularly Maximus, who had spent all the time in saying things which were nothing to the purpose, and therefore no reply being made to him, he went away. (*a*) Hereupon St. Augustin, in vindication of the truth, found himself obliged to make their confusion publick, which he did, by setting down in writing the conference held at Carthage, which to this day may be seen in St. Augustin's epistles; (*b*) and as for the dispute with Maximus, we have it in the three books, which he wrote against that Arian bishop; wherein, after having faithfully quoted, in the first book, what had been argued on both sides in that conference, he shews him plainly in the two other books, that in speaking after such a manner, he only had taken a deal of fruitless pains to prove at length what was intirely out of the question; and that he had not replied precisely to those things, which were put to him; so that, far from having proved what he pretended to assert, he had given room to discover the weakness and

(*a*) August. contra Max. l. 3. 8, 16. (*b*) August. Epist. 173. & seq.

falsity

falsity of it, by replying distinctly to every one of his passages, and shewing him that there were some of them which positively expressed, what he did not intend, *viz.* That there is but one only true GOD; that the Son is truly GOD; and that the Holy Ghost is likewise so: From whence we must necessarily conclude, that the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost are but one only GOD, according to the true belief of the Catholicks. *A. D.* 425.

It was on this occasion that St. Augustin wrote several treatises against the Arians, who were beginning to encrease in Africa by the means of the Goths, that were in the army of Boniface, tho' this general continued still to be a zealous Catholick, through the wholesome admonitions which he received from that good bishop, his director. And his devotion was so very great, that, after the death of his wife, (*c*) he had a mind to renounce the world, in order to pass the remainder of his days in a monastry, had not the holy bishop and Alypius, to whom he communicated his design, diverted him from it, by representing to him, that he would be more serviceable to GOD in continuing to defend the Churches of Africa against the Barbarians, than by living in a solitary retirement.

But we must allow that, whatever good qualities, or whatever share of understanding a man may be master of, yet he is subject to great weakness, when once he submits to a passion that is violent enough to over-power his reason. This same Boniface, whose sentiments were so noble, and who had received such excellent instructions from so great a master, having shamefully suffered himself to be enslaved by two most dangerous passions, *viz.* love, and revenge, became at last the cause of his own misfortune, and the utter ruin of Africa, as also of the horrible persecution, which was carried on against the Church by the Arian Vandals. We must now unfold the beginning, and progress of so great an evil.

After the defeat of Castinus, the Vandals, having no more enemies in the field, that were able to oppose them, made considerable conquests both by sea, and by land. (*d*) They invaded the *Baleari* Islands without any great resistance, and there put all to fire and sword. (*e*) They took new Carthage, which they totally demo-

(*c*) August. Ep 70. ad Bonif. (*d*) Majorca & Minorca. (*e*) Idat. Isidor. in Hist. Vand. Marian. l. 5. c. 3.

A. D. 425. liſhed; and after having made themſelves maſters of the whole coaſt as far as the Streights, they ſeized by main force on Sevil, where, as their king Gundericus was entering the Church of St. Vincent in order to plunder it, he fell down dead in the porch, which dreadful judgment ſhewed the Barbarians, that, if they ſometimes proved the ſcourge of heaven to puniſh the ſins of other men, yet they themſelves were alſo in the hands of GOD, who could either make uſe of them for that purpoſe, or deſtroy them when he thought fit.

A. D. 426. Gundericus being dead, the Vandals made choice of Giſericus, his brother, whom they proclaimed king. This prince, beſides his birth, which gave him a right to the throne, was likewiſe endowed with eminent qualifications, which rendered him worthy of it. (*f*) He had nothing indifferent in him but his ſtature, which was rendered ſtill more deformed by a lameneſs occaſioned by a fall from a horſe. Every thing elſe in his character was extraordinary, both his good, and his bad qualities. For he was a great general, and a refined politician; acting with prudence, ſecrecy, and diſſimulation. He performed great things, but ſaid little; and was very artful in procuring to himſelf the friendſhip of others, as alſo in making his enemies fall out amongſt themſelves. He was vigilant, quick, laborious, and an enemy to voluptuouſneſs; but, withall, he had thoſe vices to exceſs which are generally aſcribed to Tyrants. Whenever he was angry, his paſſion turned to fury. (*g*) He was covetous, ſurly, and cruel; and moreover an Arian, as were moſt of thoſe of his nation, who had embraced Arianiſm, thro' the correſpondence which, for a long time, they had held with the Goths. It is even reported that he had formerly been a Catholick, but that he turned Apoſtate, not only to become an Arian, but in order alſo to perſecute the orthodox Chriſtians; and we have ſome reaſon to believe that as he was a great politician, and full of ambition, he acted in this manner to render himſelf agreeable to the Vandals, who, being for the moſt part Arians, would not be willing to be governed by a Catholick king.

(*f*) Iornan. de reb. Get. c. 33. (*g*) Maria. l. 5. c. 3. Iſidor. in Hiſt. Vand.

Giſericus,

Giſericus, being ſuch a man as I have deſcribed him, cauſed greater diſorders in Spain than his predeceſſors had done; and as the affairs of the Empire were not at that time in ſo good a condition as to be able to force him out of the provinces which he had invaded, (*b*) Count Boniface, (according to the command he had received) made a journey into Spain, in order, if poſſible, to accommodate affairs in an amicable manner. But this journey was the beginning and cauſe of his deſtruction, which unfortunately brought along with it the ruin both of the religion, and of all Africa. For this unhappy count who, after the death of his firſt wife, had reſolved to quit the world, in order to paſs the remainder of his days in celibacy, was ſo paſſionately inamoured with the beauty of a Vandal princeſs, whom he ſaw at court, that nothing was able to deter him from marrying her. Giſericus, who was a diſcerning man, took care not to let ſlip ſo fine an opportunity of making an alliance with a perſon, by whoſe means he propoſed one day to acquire great advantages. He even readily agreed that ſhe ſhould profeſs the catholick religion; for Boniface, being reſolved at leaſt to give no ſuſpicion to his court, inſiſted on this condition; and Giſericus, perceiving that this was only a political requeſt, knew very well that the princeſs, after all, would have it intirely in her power to behave according to her own pleaſure. And certainly he was not miſtaken in his opinion; for Boniface was ſo blinded with love, and had ſo much weakneſs, that he ſuffered his wife, who was a Catholick only in appearance, to fill his houſe with Arians; (*i*) and theſe people, thro' the weakneſs of Boniface, being ſupported by their miſtreſs, aſſumed at laſt ſo great an authority over his family that they baptiſed his daughter; and we are even told that theſe Arians, having perverted ſeveral young virgins who were in the princeſs's ſervice, and had conſecrated their virginity to GOD, they rebaptiſed them after their own manner. *A. D.* 426.

This being the ſtate of affairs, the enemies of Boniface found it no difficult matter to diſgrace him at the court of the Empreſs. Aetius, in particular, was reſolved to ruin him either out of revenge to ſome private injury, which he might have received from him,

(*b*) Auguſt. Ep. 70. (*i*) Auguſt. Ep. 70.

A. D. 426. or becauſe that (Boniface being the only great man he was jealous of in the Empire) he could not bear to ſee him in a capacity of contending with him for a ſuperiority. (*k*) But in order to carry on his deſign with the greater ſucceſs, he concealed it under a falſe colour of friendſhip, till he found a fair opportunity of compleating it; and this he did in a moſt vile manner, which was unworthy of a man of his rank and ſpirit. For, pretending to be very Zealous for the ſervice of the Empreſs, he gave her to underſtand that Boniface retained the titles of count and governour meerly to cover his deſigns: But that in reality he was tyrant of Africa, where he was reſolved to reign independent of the Emperour; and that the true cauſe of his marrying the Vandal princeſs was, ambition, and not love; for by that means, he propoſed to ſecure the Barbarians in his intereſt, who had promiſed to maintain him in that Empire, which he had already uſurped. "Moreover, Madam, "(ſaid he, maliciouſly) I would not have you give credit to what "I ſay, but deſire that you would ſatisfy yourſelf of the truth of "it, which you may readily do, if you pleaſe to take that trouble "upon you. The only thing to be done, is, to call him back to "court, and by that, you will find whether or no he acknowledges "the authority of the Emperour; or whether, by refuſing to come "(as he undoubtedly will) he will not openly diſcover the ſcheme, "which he has hitherto concealed."

Placidia, who was reſolved not to omit any thing relating to an affair of this importance, approved of this expedient, and immediately put it in execution. But Aetus alſo, in order to carry on his treacherous deſign with art and ſafety, had already wrote to Boniface, acquainting him that the Empreſs, who was prepoſſeſſed with a ſuſpicion of him, had determined to ruin him; and that he thought himſelf bound in friendſhip to let him know, that he would ſoon be called back; but that, if he valued his life, he adviſed him not to come, for that, at his arrival at court, he would immediately be put in arreſt, and that the circumſtances of the charge laid againſt him were ſo ſtrong, that he would aſſuredly loſe his life without any farther form of trial. The count, finding a good deal of probability in this advice, chiefly when he reflected on his marriage with a Vandal la-

(*k*) Miſcell. l. 14. Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. cap. 3.

dy,

dy, which alone was enough to render him ſuſpicious at the Em- *A. D.*
perour's court, reſolved to be on his guard, and not to expoſe him- 426.
ſelf to the danger of being made a ſacrifice to calumny. Therefore, when the Emperour's envoys were come in order to ſummon him to return to court, he refuſed to obey. Hereupon Placidia, not doubting of the treachery of Boniface, or of the fidelity of Aetius, placed her whole confidence in the latter, and, by his advice, ſent an army againſt Boniface, (*l*) under the command of three generals, *viz.* Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox. But as there aroſe differences between them on the account of Pre-eminence, in the command of their forces, Sinox treacherouſly cauſed his two colleagues to be murdered, after which Boniface found means to treat Sinox in the ſame manner. So that, without the loſs of one man on his ſide, he was in a ſhort time delivered from three enemies, the imperial army remaining without a general. But Boniface was not much the better for this; for as ſoon as Placidia was informed of the affair, the command of thoſe forces was given to count Sigiſultus, who, with ſome additional troops, had orders to attack him ſo vigorouſly, that Boniface at laſt had no hopes of being able to reſiſt him; and hereupon, thro' ſpite, and deſire of revenge, he abandoned himſelf to the moſt criminal blindneſs that a ſubject, and a Chriſtian, could be guilty of in order to act againſt the ſervice, both of GOD, and of his prince. For, betraying his honour, his country, and religion, after having left ſtrong garriſons in all the towns, he went over himſelf into Spain to call the Vandals to his aſſiſtance. Having treated with Giſericus, the conditions were, that Africa ſhould be divided into three parts; that Giſericus, with his Vandals, and Alani, ſhould have two of them; and that he himſelf ſhould poſſeſs the third; that each of them ſhould enjoy their reſpective ſhares: (*m*) But that they would come to their aſſiſtance of each other as ſoon as any one ſhould attempt to attack them.

Giſericus was highly pleaſed with ſo glorious an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his Empire in Africa, (*n*) which the Goths had made ſeveral attempts to do, under their kings Alaricus, and Vallia. Be-

(*l*) Proſper. in Chron. (*m*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 3. (*n*) Salvian. de vero Iudic. l. 7.

ſides,

A. D. 426. ſides, the Vandals themſelves declared openly that they were urged by an inward impulſe to go on that enterpriſe; and that they were not able to reſiſt the ſtrong inclination they had to invade Africa, whoſe inhabitants (both Africans, and Romans) GOD was reſolved to puniſh, particularly for their abominable lewdneſs, by the means of that nation, who, tho' an impious, barbarous and cruel people, were nevertheleſs renowned for their extraordinary chaſtity. And indeed, as ſoon as they were maſters of Africa, they made very good laws in favour of chaſtity, by aboliſhing all infamous places, and puniſhing rigorouſly not only adultery, but even ſimple fornication.

427. Therefore Giſericus, having left the Silingi in Andalouſia, paſſed over from Spain into Africa by the Streights, with eighty thouſand Vandals, and Alani; (*o*) and immediately took poſſeſſion of three mooriſh kingdoms that Boniface had reſigned to him, keeping to himſelf, Numidia, Africa Minor, Bizacenum, and the province of Tripoli, between the two Syrtes down to Lybia, which included the Empire of the Eaſt.

In the mean while the friends of Boniface acquainted the empreſs with the wicked and treacherous proceedings of Aetius, which they had plainly diſcovered by his own letters to Boniface, when they were at Carthage, where they went on purpoſe to enquire into this affair, which had given them great cauſe of ſuſpicion. Placidia was extreamly provoked to find herſelf ſo dangerouſly deceived, but yet did not dare to make her ſentiments known, becauſe that Aetius, who was then become a very ſerviceable man, had all the forces of the Empire under his command, (*p*) and even at that time was performing great actions in Gaul to defend it againſt thoſe nations on the other ſide of the Rhine, who had invaded that country. But in order to retrieve the error which ſhe had been guilty of, by being thus miſled, ſhe immediately ſent back thoſe ſame friends of Boniface to Carthage, to aſſure him that ſhe was intirely undeceived as to him; and that ſhe ſolemnly promiſed to take him into favour as before; but withal ſhe conjured him not to ſuffer the Empire to be made a prey to the Barbarians.

(*o*) Proſper. Idat. Miſcell. Procop. Iorn. Vict. Utic. lib. 1. Procop. l. 1. cap. 3.
(*p*) Proſper. in Chron.

Boniface

Boniface hereupon began ſincerely to repent, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to retract what he had done. (*q*) He promiſed great things to Giſericus, and offered him conſiderable ſums, upon condition that he would paſs over again into Spain. But this Vandal prince rejected all his propoſals in a haughty manner, and even upbraided him ſhamefully with fickleneſs, which cauſed an open rupture between them, that proved very fatal to Boniface; for he was defeated in battle, his army cut to pieces, and himſelf forced to retire to Hippon, leaving the conquerour maſter of the field, who, after this, ran over all Africa, took the towns by force, and pulled down the Churches, deſtroying every thing by fire, ſword, and plunder. (*r*) He made all the people captives without diſtinction, either of ſex, or condition; and carried deſolation with him, where-ever he went, by acting all the cruelties that could attend a war, rapes only excepted. So that of ſo many flouriſhing cities, and beautiful Churches, which, in thoſe days adorned the ſeven provinces of Africa, there were none left, but thoſe of Carthage, Hippon, and Cirta, the capital of Numidia, all the reſt being deſtroyed, and reduced under the power of the Vandals.

A. D. 427. 428.

Now as the city of Hippon was the ſtrongeſt of the three, and more able to make a defence. This was the place where Boniface retired, with moſt of the perſons of diſtinction, (*s*) and particularly the biſhops, who had eſcaped the fury of the Barbarians. Here he propoſed to wait a better turn in his affairs, having ſent for a relief to the Emperour Theodoſius the jounger, who gave orders to Aſpar an experienced general to make all neceſſary preparations at Conſtantinople for that purpoſe. And at the ſame time there was a ſmall number of Arians left in that city, who being tolerated by the too great lenity of the government, had like to have committed great diſorders, upon an occaſion which I ſhall now give an account of.

After the death of the Patriarch Siſinius, the Emperor ordered that Neſtorius ſhould be choſen in his place. He was Abbot of St. Euprepius of Antioch, who, thro' his hypocricy, (*t*) had acquired the reputation of a moſt holy man, and beſides, as nature had en-

(*q*) Procop. Vandal. lib. 1.
(*r*) Poſſid. in vit. Aug. cap. 28. Victor. Utic. de perſecut.
(*s*) Poſſid.
(*t*) Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

dowed

A. D. 428. dowed him with the gift of eloquence, (*u*) attended with a wonderful voice, (*w*) Theodosius thought he might one day become a second Chrysostom to instruct and edify the People. But the world was very much deceived; for he had a vast deal of presumption, with an equal share of ignorance; and withal being deceived by his own admirable manner of delivery, he esteemed himself one of the greatest men for learning, and therefore would not vouchsafe to read the works of the ancients. This was the reason why he obstinately maintained, the blessed Virgin could not be called the Mother of GOD, because he did not conceive that there was but one Person in JESUS CHRIST, which being united to human nature, was both GOD and Man. He was not altogether a Photinian, or a Paulinist, since he did not believe that JESUS CHRIST was man only. (*x*) Neither was he an Arian, because he confessed that the Word, which was in JESUS CHRIST, was the true GOD consubstantial with the Father. Nor can we say that he was an Apollinarist, inasmuch as he distinguished both the divine and human nature: But he was the author of a new heresy, whereby in a direct opposition to that of Appollinarius, he maintained that there were two Persons in JESUS CHRIST, whereof the one was true Son of GOD, begotten from all eternity, with the Spirit of his Father; and the other was man only begotten by a Virgin, who afterwards was not the mother of GOD, but only the mother of that man, who is CHRIST. This was the blasphemous opinion of this impious man, who took great care not to declare himself immediately upon his promotion to the patriarchal see. On the contrary, in order to acquire the reputation of being a most zealous Catholick, and by that means artfully to introduce his heresy, he openly declared war against the Hereticks of all kinds, (*y*) and particularly Arians.

For, on the very day that he was consecrated, which was the tenth of April in the year four hundred and twenty eight, (*z*) as he was preaching in his Church, in the presence of the Emperor, where a prodigious number both of courtiers and citizens were assembled on this occasion, he addressed him after an extravagant

(*u*) Theodor. Epist. ad Spor. (*w*) Cass. de Incarn. l. 7. Socrat. (*x*) Socr. ibid. Vincent. Lyrin. cont. hæres. c. 17. (*y*) Idem. c. 16. (*z*) Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

manner,

manner, which (in the opinion of thoſe who had any underſtanding) expreſſed more vanity than zeal, ſaying, "Give me, my lord, "give me this world cleanſed of hereticks, and I will give you "heaven. Help me to deſtroy the enemies of GOD upon earth, "and I will help you to conquer the Perſians your enemies. There undoubtedly was very little modeſty in expreſſions of this kind, but he ſtill ſhewed much leſs prudence in what he acted about five or ſix days afterwards. For, tho' the thing was good in itſelf, and from great diſorders there aroſe a conſiderable advantage, yet his manner of doing it could no wiſe be approved of. The Arians, whoſe number at Conſtantinople was then but very ſmall, had gained ſo much ground, thro' the weakneſs of the government, that, notwithſtanding all the edicts, they had found means to procure to themſelves a Church, where they aſſembled in private; and Neſtorius undertook, by his own authority to demoliſh it in the day time, on purpoſe to aſſume to himſelf the honour of an action, which he pretended to be the effect of an extraordinary zeal. (*b*) He even ordered Anthony, biſhop of Germa, in the Helleſpont, to proceed openly againſt the Macedonians, who had taken the ſame liberty in ſeveral parts of that province; but theſe two attempts, which were made in a violent manner, without the authority either of the prince, or of the magiſtrates, were attended at firſt with very fatal conſequences. For the Macedonians, who could not bear the outrages which were acted againſt them, fell into ſuch an exceſs of fury that they cauſed Anthony to be murdered. (*c*) The Arians, on the other hand, ſeeing that Neſtorius had begun to pull down their temple, were inraged to ſuch a degree that they themſelves ſet fire to it, which, having reached ſome of the neighbouring houſes, had like to have cauſed a general conflagration throughout the city. This alarmed all the inhabitants; and the Arians, who were in deſpair, and had reaſon to fear leaſt the government ſhould fall on them, ran immediately to their arms, in order either to defend, or to revenge themſelves. But there was ſuch ſpeedy care taken in all parts, that there was no farther damage done either by the tumults, or by the fire; and all things were made eaſy by the prudent management of the magi- A. D. 428.

(*b*) Socr. l. 7. c. 31. (*c*) Idem. c. 29.

A. D. 428. ſtrates, to whom the ſmall number of Arians, that were in Conſtantinople readily ſubmitted, upon the aſſurances which were given them that the fire was not laid to their charge.

But indeed this violent proceeding rendered Neſtorius ſo odious, that as he had undertaken the pulling-down of the temple without the knowledge of the Emperour, it was alſo believed that he had ordered his own people to ſet fire to it; (*d*) and from that he was called *Fire-brand*, both by the Catholicks, and by the Hereticks. So that, if the voice of the people be that of GOD, making itſelf known by the general conſent of perſons of all kinds, who unanimouſly ſpeak the ſame thing, without any premeditated deſign, we may ſay that this fatal name, which was given to him, was an omen of the horrible diſorders, which he would ſoon promote in the Church, by cauſing a flame in the houſe of GOD, thro' his hereſy. But as it is ever in the power of GOD to produce good from evil itſelf, which he does not prevent, thro' a juſt judgment that we ought always to revere, tho' we need not make it our buſineſs to comprehend it; ſo theſe diſorders at Conſtantinople, and in Helleſpont, proved in the end very advantageous to the Church. For Theodoſius perceived by this, that edicts not put in execution, were not only a toleration for crimes, but alſo leſſened the authority of the prince, whom, in proceſs of time, the people would neither fear, nor reſpect, being accuſtomed to hear his ordinances publiſhed without effect.

Therefore, having taken a reſolution to ſee his laws obeyed, after the example of the great Theodoſius, his great grand-father, he made a new edict on the thirtieth of May in the ſame year, (*e*) whereby he renews moſt of the laws, which he himſelf, and his predeceſſors had ſo often made againſt the Hereticks, and particularly againſt the Arians and Macedonians; and requires abſolutely, that all the Churches, which they had either built, or taken from the Catholicks, ſhould immediately be given up by them. After which the laws were ſo ſtrictly put in execution, that all the Churches were actually taken from them, and even that, which the Macedonians had without the walls of Conſtantinople. And this proceeding, far from cauſing any diſorder, had a quite contrary ef-

(*d*) Socr. (*e*) Leg. 65. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.

fect;

fect; for many of them, finding that they could not have the exerciſe of their religion, (*f*) began to conſider with themſelves, and reſolved at laſt to embrace the Catholick faith. Which ſhews that the moſt effectual means of bringing back the ſtrayed ſheep to the Church, without violence, is to deprive them of the exerciſe of their worſhip, by demoliſhing the temples, which they had uſurped, and reducing them to the extremity of having no place where they can aſſemble. This was the ſtate of affairs at Conſtantinople, when preparations were making there in order to ſend forces againſt the Vandals. *A. D.* 428.

In the mean while Giſericus, who was informed that Boniface had retired into Hippon, came and laid ſiege to it, believing that, if he could once take that place, which was counted the ſtrongeſt city in the whole country, he would ſoon be maſter likewiſe of Cirta and Carthage; (*g*) St. Auguſtin was then Biſhop of Hippon; and, tho' he was far advanced in years, and decayed with ſickneſs and grief to ſee the utter ruin and deſolation of his country, yet nevertheleſs he omitted no opportunity of doing what the moſt robuſt and zealous man could undertake, for the ſervice and conſolation of a poor beſieged people. He viſited the ſick, attended thoſe who were dying, and diſtributed alms unto all the diſtreſſed, who had retired to Hippon as a place of refuge. Beſides, he preached daily for the comfort and inſtruction of his people, during this time of affliction. We have now, amongſt his works, one of thoſe ſermons which he made whilſt the city was beſieged; (*h*) and thus he continued conſtantly, till at laſt, being forced to yield unto the fatigue of ſo great a labour, he died like a martyr of charity, in three months from the beginning of the ſiege, in the ſeventy ſixth year of his age, and the thirty ſixth of his being a biſhop. His genius, doctrine, and virtues were great. The number, ſtrength, and beauty of his works, with the diſputes and victories, which he had obtained over the Hereticks, gloriouſly and juſtly procured him the admiration of the world, and rendered his name ſo conſiderable in the Church that no elogium can be equal to it. Nor do I know how to give a more high and perfect idea of 430.

(*f*) Socr. l. 7. c. 31. (*g*) Poſſid. in vit. Aug. (*h*) Auguſt. Serm. 2. de Temp. Poſſid. c. 31. Proſper. in Chron. Victor. Utic. Per. Vand. l. 1.

A. D. 430. ſo great a man, than by ſaying only that he was St. Auguſtin. (*i*) By his death, GOD granted him what he had ſo earneſtly prayed for, which was, that if he had reſolved the deſtruction of Hippon, he would take him out of the world, that he might not be eye-witneſs of ſo deplorable a misfortune. For the Vandals (fourteen months after having laid ſiege to the place) retired a little way into the neighbouring countrey, in order to ſeek for proviſions, which they were in great want of; and at their return, finding that this city 431. was abandoned by the few inhabitants whom the plague and famine had ſpared, they ſet fire to it, and reduced it almoſt into aſhes, excepting the Church and the library of St. Auguſtin, which were preſerved by a moſt particular providence, otherwiſe we ſhould have been deprived of thoſe excellent writings, which are to this day the richeſt treaſure of the Church.

But in ſhort, what compleated the entire ruin of Africa was, that Aſpar, whom the Emperour Theodoſius had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Boniface, having got together a ſmall number of forces, ventured a battle, wherein he was defeated; and now, there being no hopes left, he was forced to retire on board his ſhips, and return to Conſtantinople. On this occaſion it was that Marcian, who was then an officer under the command of Aſpar, being taken priſoner, received a wonderful omen that he ſhould one day be maſter of the Empire. This made a great noiſe in the world at that time, tho' the event did not come to paſs till above eighteen years after. (*k*) For it is reported, that as he was ſleeping in the ſun, with a company of other priſoners, in the palace of Giſericus, who intended to view them in the afternoon, this prince obſerved, from one of his windows, that an eagle, diſtinguiſhing this priſoner from all the reſt, hovered over him in the air, extending his wings, as it were, to ſhade him from the ſun; and hereupon Giſericus, believing this man to be a perſon particularly beloved by GOD, who probably deſigned him for the Empire, gave him his liberty: But firſt of all made him take a ſolemn oath, that in whatever ſtate he ſhould be, he never would make war againſt the Vandals. Marcian, after the death of Theodoſius, was accordingly proclaimed Emperour; and, tho' he was a warlike prince, and

(*i*) Poſſid. c. 29. Poſſid. Procop. Poſſid. (*k*) Procop. l. 1. c. 4.

very

very zealous for the religion, yet he ever was so strict to the promise which he had made to Gisericus, that he would hear of no proposals that tended to retrieve Africa from out of the hands of the Arian Barbarians. *A. D.* 431.

As for Boniface, after having made fruitless endeavours, and performed all that a man of courage could undertake, he was obliged to retire to Rome, where the empress Placidia gave him a very kind reception. (*l*) She was so intirely convinced of his innocence, and so provoked at the treachery of Aetius that she gave the command of the forces to Boniface, who did not long enjoy his new employment. For Aetius, who could not bear to see his rival restored to favour, challenged him to a fight, where he received a wound, of which he died after a Christian reconciliation with Aetius, whom the present juncture of affairs had called home, in order to be sent against the French, the Bourguignons, and other people of Germany, who had invaded Gaul. After this, the Romans on the one part, not being in a condition to send considerable forces into Africa, and on the other, Gisericus, having lost a great number of his men at the siege of Hippon, and in the two battles which he had won, was desirous to gain time that he might strengthen himself in his conquests; (*m*) and therefore it was then an easy matter to make a peace upon condition that Gisercus should remain in quiet possession of that part of Africa which had been yielded up to him, and that (as an acknowledgment that he held it of the Emperour) he should pay him a certain sum of money yearly. (*n*) He even sent his son Hunnericus to Rome as an hostage, and, for some time, cultivated the friendship of the Romans so artfully, that they sent him back in a very obliging manner, to shew him that they intirely relied on his word. 432. 433. 434. 435.

But they soon after perceived, by an experience, which proved fatal both to the religion, and to the Empire, that the friendship of enemies, who are not sincerely reconciled, is more dangerous than their hatred; and that a peace with them is often more pernicious than a war, with the usual consequences of it. Gisericus to this time had carried on the war only as an enemy, without

(*l*) Prosper. in Chron. (*m*) Prosper. in Chron. Miscell. l. 14. (*n*) Procop. l. 1. c. 4.

meddling

A. D. 435. meddling with religion, which seemed not to concern him, leaving to every one a liberty of conscience, even in his own family. But as soon as he found that his Empire was firmly established in the three mooriſh kingdoms, and in a considerable part of Numidia, he took advantage of the peace in order to make war against the catholick religion, which he resolved to destroy, and raise up Arianism on its ruins, throughout all the parts of his new dominions. (o) The first thing he endeavoured at was, to bring-over the bishops, in order the more easily to persuade the people to follow their example. But finding these prelates so stedfast, that neither his prayers, promises, threats, nor even all his ill usage towards them, were able to pervert them, he expelled them their Churches, and substituted Arians in their places. And, in order to terrify the people, he shewed a particular severity to four Spanish Gentlemen, *viz.* Arcadius, Probus, Paschalius, and Eutychius, who were of his household, and were highly in his favour, because of their eminent qualifications, and the zeal which they had ever expressed for his service. At first he used his utmost endeavours, to persuade them to embrace Arianism; but they constantly replied, without deliberation, that JESUS CHRIST was their first master, and that the loyalty, which they had promised inviolably to maintain to the prince, whom they had the honour to serve, could no wise bind them to betray that faith which was due to their great master whom they worshiped as a true GOD, and to whom all the powers, both of heaven and earth, were subject. Gisericus was furiously inraged to find that his first endeavours were thus rendered fruitless, even by those, who, in his opinion, were obliged implicitely to obey him; and therefore he resolved, either to conquer them, or to make such an example of them as should shew all his subjects what they were to expect, should they attempt to resist his commands. He first expelled them his court in an ignominious manner; then sent them into banishment; where, for some time, they underwent great hardships. After this, finding that neither their disgrace, nor the miseries they endured, could soften their hearts, he caused them inhumanly to be tortured after several different manners, and at last condemned them to die. So that these

437.

(o) Prosper. in Chron.

four

four perſons were the firſt martyrs, who died in the defence of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, during this cruel perſecution from the Arian Vandals in Africa. But what provoked Giſericus moſt was, that he never could conquer the reſolution of Paulillus, who was brother to Paſchaſius, and Eutychius. This was a youth, for whom he had a great affection; and indeed he was very deſerving, both for his ſprightly genius, and his admirable gifts of nature. The careſſes, and threats of the Tyrant could neither win, nor terrify him. He continued ſtedfaſt in the generous profeſſion of the catholick faith, declaring an abhorrence to Arianiſm. Therefore Giſericus, changing his affection into fury, cauſed him to be moſt barbarouſly ſcourged, and ordered him to be ſent amongſt the vileſt of his ſlaves, reſolving that he ſhould not be put to death, to avoid the ſhame of being overcome by a child. *A. D.* 437.

But what was yet more deplorable, (after having deceived the Romans, by a ſeeming friendſhip, and ſtrictly obſerved the peace during the ſpace of four years, (*p*) the better to compleat his deſign) he managed his affairs with ſo much conduct and ſecrecy, that he ſuddenly ſurpriſed Carthage, at a time when the inhabitants of that city thought themſelves moſt ſecure of his friendſhip: 439. Carthage, which, ſeven hundred and ninety five years before, had been deſtroyed by the Romans, after having ſo often contended with them for Empire, and was now ſo well re-eſtabliſhed, that altho' it was ſubject to Rome, it nevertheleſs was not inferiour to it either in greatneſs, beauty, magnificence, or in the number of its inhabitants! (*q*) It was a wonderful thing to ſee its ſtately buildings; the infinite treaſures which were daily exported, and imported; its magiſtrates, and ſenate, and its proconſul, with his pretorian guard, his court and army, which had the appearance of imperial majeſty. You would have ſaid that it was a ſecond Rome in Africa, ſo near was the equality in all things between Carthage, and its conquerour; with this exception, that it ſurpaſſed Rome in all manner of voluptuous diſorders. (*r*) For at that time, it was one of the moſt debauched cities in the world. Its inhabitants (altho' they were Chriſtians for the greateſt part) were given up to

(*p*) Proſper. in Chron. (*q*) Lipſ. de Magn. Rom. l. 3. Salv. de Prov. l. 7.
(*r*) Salvian.

luxury

A. D. 439. luxury and drunkenness, as also to other infamous crimes, which commonly bring the divine vengeance down upon the people. They were slothful, effeminate, and dissolute, constantly in the Circus, at the theatre, or in houses of lewdness. They were haughty, and impudent in the practice of their vices, acting all kind of detestable sins in publick, and in a boasting manner; they insolently turned virtue into ridicule, and impiously despised it. For even when they met one of the solitaries of Egypt, or of Palestine, or any of those persons, who professed a life more conformable to the perfection of the Gospel, they made a jest of him, and loaded him with injuries, and curses, as if he had been a monster who ought to have been banished the world, least the sight of it should prove infectious. There were nevertheless many pious sentiments in this great city, particularly amongst the clergy, who lamented, before GOD, all these disorders, which they had made fruitless endeavours to oppose. But the number of these was so small, when compared to that of those debauched and luxurious people, that we may well say the whole city was corrupted, and that the clamours of their crimes having ascended the tribunal of GOD in order to demand justice, he was obliged to deliver them into the hands of the Vandals, (*s*) that they might execute on them the decrees of a just punishment.

On the nineteeth of October the Vandals surprised this city, at a time when they little thought of it; and as soon as Gisericus had entered it with his whole army, who seized on all the parts of the town, he acted all manner of cruelties on the inhabitants, of whatever condition they were. (*t*) Persons of the first distinction were made slaves, and others were bound in irons. He commanded all people in general to bring to him their gold, silver, jewels, and other precious moveables; after which he left the rest to be plundered. So that, in a very short time, this great city, which was one of the richest in the whole world, was reduced to an extreme poverty; and its immense treasures, which had been acquired in a criminal manner, and served daily to minister to their other crimes, fell a prey to the Barbarians, as if that were their reward for the service, which GOD required of them by punish-

(*s*) Prosper. (*t*) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

ing

ing those criminals. At the same time he gave orders that all bi- *A. D.*
shops and persons of quality should be expelled the neighbouring 439.
towns, if they would not renounce the catholick faith; and that, if they were not immediately gone, after being miserably stripped of all their wealth, they should be sent into captivity. But he found soon after, that neither banishment, nor slavery could effectually answer his end; therefore he resolved that they should all be turned out of Africa, so set them on board of ships in order to cross the seas, with no other provision but their misery. Thus they appeared in Spain, Italy, Palestine and Syria in a most lamentable condition. There were, among these unhappy fugitives, persons of the highest dignity, magistrates, and senators, with their wives, and children, reduced to beg bread for their subsistance, which drew tears from the eyes of those who considered the deplorable change of their fortune, and endeavoured to relieve them; (*u*) and, amongst others, Theodoretus, of whose letters to his friends there are yet several extant, wherein he recommends to them many of these distressed noblemen. But those, who were treated with the greatest inhumanity, were, the holy bishop of Carthage, *Quod vult Deus*, with most of his priests and clergy; for the Tyrant caused them to be put almost naked on board of an old rotten vessel without bread, or provisions, leaving them to the mercy of the wind, and waves, that they might perish either by shipwreck, or by famine, if the vessel should remain any time at sea before it sunk. And indeed they could not well have escaped the one, or the other, had not GOD, thro' a special providence, been their guide; for in a few days they happily reached the port of Naples, where they were received with all the respect, and charity that was due to these glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST.

But the pastors being thus banished, the flock was soon miserably dispersed. (*w*) For even then Gisericus deprived the Catholicks of the exercise of their religion. He seized on all the Churches of the city, and, after having plundered their treasures, he destroyed some of them, and gave those, which he had a mind to spare, to his Arians; as the cathedral, with a few others of the celebrated Churches; particularly those two which were built without the

(*u*) Theodor. Ep. 29. 30. & seq. (*w*) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A. D. 439. walls of Carthage, in honour of St. Cyprian. (*x*) The one was built on the very spot, where that holy and illustrious bishop of Carthage suffered martyrdom; and the other on the place where his shrine was reverenced by the faithful. And in order to perplex the Catholicks, he would not so much as suffer them to bury their dead with those holy ceremonies which were observed by all the Churches in those days. And to render them still the more infamous, by taking from them all the exteriour marks, which distinguished them from Infidels, he commanded them to inter their dead in a very plain manner, without the least solemnity, or singing, but with a profound silence, as we see now a days our Protestants in France bury their dead. Yet this seemed very hard to those Christians, who were then in the true Church (as indeed so it was): (*y*) For Victor of Utica, who gives us an account of this affair, says, that he cannot call to mind so grievous a persecution without shedding tears. Perhaps those persons of the pretended reformed religion, who will read this history, by way of diversion, will likewise be instructed by it, whether they like it or not: And, when they find that the ancient Church speaks of temples built in honour of, and over the tombs of martyrs; that it mentions pomps, solemnities, and ecclesiastical canticles, at the burial of the dead, with sacrifices offered up to GOD for them; as the besieged bishops in Hippon offered them up for St. Augustin: (*z*) That it speaks of the ordination of priests, the consecration of bishops, who governed the Churches, and dioceses, with a thousand other holy ceremonies of this kind, which were practised throughout the whole Church; when, I say, they will see these things, perhaps, if they have any thought at all, or the least glimps of light, they will examine within themselves, whether, or no, they have been deceived by abolishing (under a pretence of innovation) those things that were practised in the first centuries, for which they pretend to have a very great veneration, and which their first ministers proposed to them as models of their reformation. But I leave them to make these reflections, which my history offers to them, without dwelling on them.

(*x*) Procop. l. 2. (*y*) Vict. Utic. de pers. Vand. l. 1. (*z*) Possid.

Now,

Now, as it generally happens, one misfortune does not come alone. At the ſame time that the Romans received ſo fatal a blow from the Arian Vandals in Africa, they alſo bore a conſiderable loſs in Gaul, thro' the raſhneſs of Littorius, their general; whoſe arrogance, and impiety GOD was reſolved to puniſh by the arms of the Viſigoths. Theodoricus, their king, had began a war, in order to recover Narbona, which was formerly in the poſſeſſion of Ataulphus; and reſerved to the Romans, in the treaty which they made with Vallia. Aetius, who was then engaged againſt the French, and the Bourguignons, ſent Littorius, one of his lieutenants, with a conſiderable number of men, in order to relieve that city. (*a*) The latter, who was a brave and prudent general, took his meaſures ſo well, that he conveyed proviſions into the place, which was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and obliged Theodoricus ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege. He continued ſome time to carry on the war ſucceſsfully againſt the Goths, in the Narbonian Gaul, and got the better of them a ſecond time before Arles, which they had beſieged: For he fell upon them, and at laſt forced them to retire to Toulouſe the capitol of their kingdom, where he engaged them. Theodoricus, who found himſelf very much weakened by the many loſſes, which he had lately ſuſtained, was in fear of being obliged to abandon his kingdom, and therefore uſed all means to obtain peace, which he demanded in a very ſubmiſſive manner, (*b*) applying himſelf for that purpoſe, even to the catholick biſhops, who, as he thought, had a greater intereſt with, and would be more reſpected by the Romans. *A. D.* 439.

But Littorius, who was a Pagan, confided chiefly in the auxiliary troops of Huns, which he had in his army, (*c*) and yet more in the anſwers of diviners, and demons, who, with the victory, promiſed that he ſhould enter Toulouſe in triumph, and therefore he would not hear of any propoſals of peace. So that Theodoricus ſaw himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of expoſing, both his fortune, and kingdom to the hazard of a battle. We may plainly ſee on this occaſion, how the preſumption and raſhneſs of a general can render his ſtrength and valour fruitleſs, againſt an enemy

(*a*) Proſper. in Chron. Prov. Proſper. in Chron. (*b*) Iſid. Chron. Gott. (*c*) Salvian. l. 7. de

A. D. 439. much weaker than himſelf, who takes thoſe prudent meaſures, which his duty towards GOD, and man requires. (*d*) Theodoricus, altho' an Arian, ſeeing himſelf thus compelled either to conquer, or inevitably periſh, applyed to GOD. He covered himſelf with a hair-cloath, and Cilice, and proſtrated himſelf on the ground, where he paſſed the night before the day of battle in prayer, whilſt Littorius, who depended on his forces, and oracles, was already triumphant, not doubting, in the leaſt, but that he ſhould ſoon deſtroy the Empire of the Goths, and by this action, eclipſe all the glory of Aetius, of whom he had conceived a jealouſy. (*e*) After this Theodoricus placed himſelf at the head of his forces; and, being full of hopes and courage, he ſo inſpired the hearts of his people, that the Goths never fought with more bravery and reſolution. For, tho' Littorius, who had the advantage of numbers, had likewiſe at firſt, that of the battle; and the Romans and Huns, united, had already forced them, and were making a moſt horrible ſlaughter on all ſides, yet the Goths received them with an incredible courage, and reſolved to be cut to pieces ſooner than loſe a foot of ground; when on a ſudden fortune changed by Littorius's too great eagerneſs for victory.

For having imprudently ruſhed in amongſt the enemies, with the thoughts of his being invincible and invulnerable, according to the predictions of the diviners, he found himſelf ſo entirely ſurrounded, that not being able to diſengage himſelf, he was taken priſoner; this cauſed a great diſorder amongſt the Romans, who, having loſt their general, began to be diſheartened, (*f*) and were eaſily defeated by the Goths, who, inſtead of being conquered, were now become maſters of the victory. There never was any thing ſo deplorable as the fortune of this wretched idolater, who found by his own diſaſter, how vain and deceitful were the oracles, and predictions of falſe deities. (*g*) For, inſtead of that imaginary triumph, which he propoſed to have after the victory, he himſelf ſerved to make that of Theodoricus more great. When he entered Toulouſe he made Littorius follow him loaded with irons, and bare headed, with his hands bound behind his back, expoſed to the inſults of the whole army, and to the Scoffs of the people, who

(*d*) Salvian. (*e*) Proſper. (*f*) Iſid. Chron. (*g*) Salvian lib. 7.

came

came in crowds from all parts, in order to upbraid him with his ridiculous vanity; which they did in a thousand bitter expressions; after which they flung him into a deep ditch, where he was reduced to such a miserable condition, that the Goths themselves at last, out of compassion to his miseries, delivered him out of them by putting him to death, at his own request. This victory would have occasioned to the Romans the utter loss of all the Narbonian Gaul, had not Aetius, who had at that time, a great many more enemies to deal withal, come to terms of peace with Theodoricus, by the means of Avitus whom he sent to him. (*b*) This was the same Avitus who not long after became Emperour; and he managed the negociation so well with Theodoricus that at last he prevailed with him to make peace. So that this prince, who some time before, like a vanquished enemy, begged for peace in a most submissive manner, now granted it with so much the more glory, being victorious. And by this we may see how much the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human affairs, which the people of the world so often complain of, is equally useful to the fortunate and the unfortunate: Since it checks the insolence of those who swell with pride in prosperity, and gives fresh hopes to others who are oppressed in adversity. *A. D.* 439.

In the mean while Gisericus, after the taking of Carthage, (*i*) finding it easy to make himself master of Africa minor, Numidia Bizacenum, and Getulia, he divided the lands amongst his officers, reserving the best part of them to himself. After which, most of the bishops, magistrates, and noblemen, who had concealed themselves, believing that, if they acknowledged him for Emperour, he would receive them as his subjects, ventured to present themselves before him one day as he was taking the air on the sea-side. They most humbly begg'd that he would grant them at least the liberty to remain in Africa, where they would live peaceably under his government, without demanding either their Churches, or their estates; since it was his will that they should be deprived of them. The bishops added besides, that the only favour which they begg'd of him was, that he would permit them to give spiritual assistance to the people, who by that means would be able to 440.

(*b*) Sidon. Apoll. in panegy. Avit. (*i*) Victor.

support

A. D. 440. support more chearfully the change of their fortune, and would be the more loyal to him. The Tyrant, far from being moved with compaſſion at ſo deplorable a ſight, and ſo reaſonable a requeſt, looked on them with furious and threatning eyes, and made them this anſwer. "I am reſolved to deſtroy every man of you all, and "not to ſuffer that any one of your name, or of your race ſhould "remain alive; and after this dare you to come here to beg fa- "vours of me?" Whereupon, as an inſtance of his barbarity, he gave orders that they ſhould immediately be caſt into the ſea, which undoubtedly the ſoldiers would have executed, had not the officers, who were about him, by their prayers, and remonſtrances, prevailed on him to ſuſpend his reſolution; ſo he only cauſed them to be expelled his preſence in a ſhameful manner. After which theſe holy prelates returned in great affliction to their retirements, whence, from time to time, they privately came out, in order to comfort the people, and to celebrate the divine myſteries with them in remote places, when they could find a favourable opportunity.

In a little time after Giſericus, (*k*) who had formed greater deſigns than that of the conqueſt of Africa, ſet out with a powerful fleet in order to invade Sicily; but being informed that count Sebaſtian had paſſed over from Spain into Africa, he made the beſt of his way back to Carthage fearing leaſt this Roman general ſhould take poſſeſſion of it during his abſence. (*l*) This count was an experienced warrier, and had formerly been an intimate friend of Boniface, whoſe daughter he had married. And even Placidia made him general of the Roman armies, after the death of his father-in-law; (*m*) but being obliged to yield up his place to Aetius, who could not bear to ſee him at court, he repaired to that of Conſtantinople. There he found enemies who under hand had done him ſuch ill offices, that, being privately informed of the reſolution which was taken to ſeize on his perſon, he went over to Theodoricus, king of the Viſigoths, who was then at war with the Romans. This prince gave him a body of men, in order to paſs over from Barcelona into Africa, on a deſign which was quite contrary to what Giſericus imagined. For, inſtead of undertaking any thing againſt him, he went over on purpoſe to beg his protection,

(*k*) Proſper. in Chron. (*l*) Victor. l. 1. (*m*) Marcell. in Chron.

promiſing

promising to serve him with the same fidelity which he had so long shewed for the Romans, who had rewarded his services with the utmost ingratitude. Gisericus was highly pleased to find so favourable an opportunity of increasing his forces, by the means of this great man, who being against the Romans, must prove to their disadvantage. He therefore received him with all the marks imaginable of honour and affection, shewing an extraordinary esteem for his merit, being of opinion, that Sebastian, declaring for his interest, many more of the discontented Romans would be invited over by so great an example. Thus revenge, which is a most dangerous rock to the virtue of extraordinary men, caused the son-in-law to fall wretchedly into the same abyss of misfortunes and crimes which his father had been guilty of, by his fatal alliance with the Vandals. *A. D.* 441.

Nevertheless there was this difference in their fate, that, altho' revenge was the cause of Sebastian's misfortunes, yet it gave him an opportunity of behaving in a most glorious manner when he openly confessed JESUS CHRIST in the presence of Gisericus. (*n*) For this prince, fearing least a man, whose counsels he highly approved of, might repent of what he had done, and afterwards prove an enemy to him, resolved either to make away with him, or to engage him more zealously in his service by persuading him to become an Arian. Therefore having ordered him one day to attend him in the presence of his Arian bishops, and of the officers of his court, he said to him: "I have indeed a just cause to commend you, and to be satisfied with your behaviour, and the fidelity which till now you have shewed me, according to the oath you took, when you came to beg my protection. Besides I place a value on your friendship; but in order to render it lasting, you must be united to me, and to my nation, by a stronger tye than that of your oath, which I cannot entirely rely on, unless you strengthen it by a bond which I have still a greater dependence upon. This bond, my beloved Sebastian, (said he) is that of religion, which, by uniting men to GOD, does likewise unite them more perfectly together than any thing besides. Therefore, if you propose to make our friendship perfect, I require, in

(*n*) Victor. l. 1.

"the

A. D. 441. " the preſence of theſe biſhops, and my ſubjects, who ſhall be " witneſſes of your compliance, that you embrace the true reli- " gion, which the Vandals, who have adopted you, make profeſ- " ſion of.

Sebaſtian, was not prepared for this diſcourſe, nevertheleſs he did not ſeem ſurpriſed; but anſwered the king with a moſt incredible preſence of mind, and in a manner which appeared both ſerious and agreeable: " I humbly beg the favour of your majeſty, " (ſaid he) to order that one of the ſame loaves of bread which " are ſerved at your table, may be brought hither." Which being done accordingly by the king's command, who thought that he was going to anſwer his requeſt after a ſurpriſing and ſatisfactory Manner: " This bread which you ſee, (continued Sebaſtian) in order " to be reduced to the ſtate it is in, and made worthy of being " ſerved at the table of a great king, muſt be kneaded with water, " and baked with fire; after that the bran is parted from the flow- " er of the wheat: So likewiſe, in order to receive the divine cha- " racter of a Chriſtian thro' the catholick faith, which made me " worthy of GOD, there was firſt a neceſſity that I ſhould be " cleanſed by the water of holy baptiſm, and that my heart ſhould " be filled with the fire of the holy Ghoſt, after having ſeparated " it, by his mercy, from many others, who, thro' his juſtice, were " left in the number of unbelievers. But pray, Sir, do one thing " if poſſible; break this bread into ſeveral pieces, then let it be " mingled with water and ſent to the oven, in order to be baked " over again; if you can, after this, make it a better loaf of bread " than it is now at this time, I am heartily ready to comply with " what you require of me." The king underſtanding his meaning, made no reply, ſeeming as it were willing that he ſhould continue peaceably in the profeſſion of his religion; but ſoon after he cauſed him to be put to death upon another account, as it was
442. eaſy for him to find a pretence. For after having concluded the peace with Valentinian, upon ſuch conditions as were very diſadvantageous to the Empire, he became ſo inſupportably aſſuming in his proſperity, that ſome of the greateſt men of his nation conſpired againſt him. (*o*) But the plot being diſcovered, he cauſed

(*o*) Proſper. in Thron.

to

to be put to death, not only the guilty, whom he tortured in divers cruel kinds, but also treated in the like manner those, whose loyalty he barely suspected, which was enough in his opinion to convict them as criminals. So that it was no difficult matter for him to involve count Sebastian, with so many others, in this disaster. And in truth he sacrificed so many brave men to his capricious and inhuman suspicions, that, with a view of preserving himself by such unjust and barbarous means, he weakened his forces much more than he could have done by the loss of many battles. This affair proved prejudicial to religion, for he took this occasion indirectly to renew the persecution against the Catholicks, to whom he had granted some kind of indulgence, in regard to the peace. (*p*) For whenever any bishop, in his sermons, mentioned the names of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes, and other princes, whose crimes were reproved, and whose memory was rendered detestable in the holy scriptures, he was immediately accused of having hinted at the king's person, in order to render him odious to his subjects. And hereupon Gisericus, without admitting of any excuse, condemned him at once to banishment: So that, on such, or even slighter suspicions, most of the bishops were expelled their Churches; and if any of them happened to die, during their banishment, he would not suffer that their places should be filled up by catholick pastors. Yet nevertheless the people, being assisted by the special grace of JESUS CHRIST, which gave them comfort during the absence of their bishops, continued stedfast in the purity of the faith, notwithstanding the deceits and violence of the Arians. In short, the cruel suspicions of Gisericus, who was ever in fear of losing a life, which he seemed to preserve only to destroy a multitude of men, were the occasion of the ruin and desolation of many countries, by the Huns, whom that prince had called over into Gaul. And thus he endeavoured, by unjust means, to avoid the fatal consequences which he was afraid of, and the punishment that he justly deserved, for all the evils which he had committed thro' his brutal and suspicious temper. So that Gisericus, after having oppressed Africa with his cruelty, applied to the barbarity of others, for the destruction of Europe; As if

A. D. 442.

(*p*) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A. D. 442. fate had decreed that all the miſchiefs which ſhould fall upon chriſtianity, ſhould either be promoted by the Arians themſelves, who were the perſecutors of it, or by other people, thro' their means. But in order to give a more perfect account of the cauſe and conſequence of ſo diſtructive an evil, which has been related in ſo many different ſhapes, I ſhall be obliged in a few words, to turn back to ſome former paſſages of this Hiſtory.

The End of the VIII^th BOOK.



THE HISTORY OF *ARIANISM.*

BOOK IX.

THE Huns, who had forſaken thoſe large and vaſt countries which lie between the dead Lake and the Glacial Seas, having driven the Goths out of Dacia, in the year 376, continued peaceably there, from that time during the reign of the great Theodoſius, whoſe fortune, courage and high reputation were, as we may ſay, ſo many ſtrong bulworks, which oppoſed the irruptions of the Barbarians. But after the death of this prince, from the beginning of the Empire of Arcadius, and Honorius, when all things were in diſorder, the ambition and jealouſy of the miniſters who governed them, *A. D.* 442.

A. D. 442. these fierce nations, finding no body to oppose them, (*a*) passed the Danube, and laid waste the neighbouring provinces of Constantinople, particularly Thracia, and Scythia minor, where the holy bishops Theotimus, (whose virtue and goodness they highly admired) appeased their fury, and even converted many of them to the faith. There were others amongst them, who, being invited by Ruffinus, made incursions into Asia minor, and Syria, where, finding no resistance, (*b*) they gave way to their unbounded cruelty, and acted openly all the crimes that could be expected from the most inhuman of Barbarians. Several of them, following the steps of those who first entered Dacia, took the same road; and having passed the Danube, marched into Thracia, and Pannonia, where they began to settle, making war sometimes against the Romans, and at other times, fighting for them, according as it suited most with their interest, as the other nations had done, who had passed before them into the provinces of the Empire.

395.

They were divided under several little kings, or chiefs, who would sometimes even hire themselves to serve different parties. Some of them were in the army of Radagaisus, whilst others were in that of Stilico. Alaricus had numbers of them in his army, and Sarus at the same time commanded a body of them in the service of the Emperour Honorius. Aetius brought an army of them out of Pannonia, to the assistance of John, who had usurped the Empire after the death of Honorius, and sent for a considerable body of them, whom he made use of, under the command of Littorius in the wars against the Goths. But amongst all these kings of the Huns, he who became the most powerful, and made himself master of the rest, was the formidable Atila. The terrour which his name carried with it, by the dreadful desolation, which he caused throughout the finest provinces of the world, made him assume to himself the surname of the scourge of GOD, who was resolved to punish the sins of mankind, with that terrible instrument of his wrath and justice.

This Atila was Son to Munzuccus, (*c*) the most potent of those who had taken upon them the title of king amongst the Huns,

(*a*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 25. (*b*) Sozom. lib. 8 cap. 1. Hieron. ep. 3. & 40. Claud. lib. 2. in Ruf. (*c*) Jornand. de reb. Get. cap. 35.

from

from the time that they began to pursue the conquest of new dominions for their establishment. For hitherto they had lived without laws, or policy; and were subject to no government. (*d*) After the death of his father and his two uncles Octar, and Roas, (*e*) who were successors to the kingdom, he took the government upon him jointly with his brother Bleda, who reigned with him. (*f*) He soon carried his conquests much farther than his predecessours had done; (*g*) for, not being satisfied with Dacia, whence he had driven out the Goths, he marched into those provinces on the other side of the Danube, which were inhabited by the Gepidi, and the Arian Ostrogoths, who paid allegiance to him. (*h*) Ardaricus was then king of the Gepidi, and the Ostrogoths were commanded by three brothers, *viz.* Valarimus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, under the authority of Atila. (*i*) Being thus supported by such valliant subjects he found it no great difficulty to render himself master of Pannonia, (*k*) where those of his nation had already gained great advantages. (*l*) He then marched towards the West, plundering the cities of Illyria, and afterwards to the East, and South, where he caused great devastations in Macedonia, (*m*) Greece, Mysia, and Thracia, destroying every thing in his way up to the very gates of Constantinople, and demolishing all the towns, except those of Andrinople, and Heraclea; so that he compelled the Emperour Theodosius the younger shamefully to beg for peace; which he could not obtain, without giving him large sums of money. He insisted upon an immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold, and obliged the Emperour to pay him one thousand yearly: So that the Eastern Empire, whatever colour they might use, to make this pass for a pension, in order to save their honour, yet nevertheless they became tributaries to the Huns. *A. D.* 442.

Atila, who was naturally vain, was now so puffed up with pride at his extraordinary success, that he could no longer bear a partner, with whom he was obliged to share his honour and advantages, (*n*) so caused his own brother inhumanly to be put to death, and then reigned solely over all the Huns, by the means of this 444.

(*d*) Amm. l. 31. (*e*) Jorn. ibid. (*f*) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. (*g*) Dacia Ripens. Dacia Mediter. (*h*) Jorn. c. 28. (*i*) Jorn. c. 48. (*k*) Marcell. (*l*) Marcell. in Chron. (*m*) Marcell. l. 15. (*n*) Prosper. Miscell. l. 35.

cruel

A. D. cruel Parricide, which he endeavoured to conceal, in order to ſcreen
445. himſelf from the infamy of it. (*o*) Now, as he was at peace with the Emperour Theodoſius, his warlike genius and ambition together ſet him upon forming new ſchemes for the increaſe of his conqueſts. Therefore he paſſed the Danube again, and in a ſhort time, became ſo potent and dreadful both by force and policy, that
446. he ſubdued the Marcomani, Quadi, Suevi, and moſt of the other nations, who inhabited thoſe countries, ſituated between the Da-
447. nube, the Elbe, and the Veſtula, down to the Sea: So great was the name of Atila, and the fame of his conduct and forces, that it ſtruck with terror even thoſe very Barbarians who were dreadful to the reſt of the world.

448. And indeed he poſſeſſed thoſe qualities of body and mind which were able to create fear in a man of the greateſt reſolution. (*p*) It is true, he was low in ſtature according to the common ſize of the Huns; but every thing ſeemed terrible in his perſon; his ſhoulders were broad and his arms nervous; he had an extraordinary large head; his eyes were ſmall and ſparkling; he had a fierce look, and a flat noſe; his complexion was very ſwarthy; he wore a long beard, which was but thin; his behaviour was proud and haughty, and he uſed conſtantly to caſt round him ſuch threatning looks, as terrified even thoſe of great courage. Withal he had a genius, which was equally lively, ſubtil, and ſolid, full of art and diſſimulation; he was wiſe and prudent in council, quick and bold in the execution, cruel to his enemies, but eaſily moved by the prayers of thoſe who would ſubmiſſively yield to him; and what is ſtill more extraordinary amongſt the Barbarians, he always religiouſly kept his faith to thoſe whom he had once taken into his protection. Above all things he excelled in the art of war, which he practiſed, not as a Barbarian, after a furious manner, but like a great general with skill, performing much more with his head than with his arms. He had even found means to inſtil a ſuperſtitious notion into his ſoldiers, that he had ſomething divine in him, to which his happineſs was annexed. For whether or no he believed it, or that he only pretended to be convinced of it, he made them believe that he had found the cutlaſs of Mars who was wor-

(*o*) Jorn. c. 35. (*p*) Jorn. c. 25. Miſcell. l. 15.

ſhipped

ſhipped amongſt thoſe people, and that the oracles had promiſed the Empire of the whole world to the perſon who ſhould be maſter of that fatal ſword. *A. D.* 448.

Being thus fortified by ſo many nations, who acknowledged him for their ſovereign, and who at laſt were all eſteemed as Huns, there offered two occaſions wherein he had it in his power to ſatisfy the exorbitant ambition which he had to enlarge his dominions, and carry his arms into the Empire of the Weſt. Honoria, Siſter to the Emperour Valentinian having proſtituted herſelf to the ſteward of the houſhold, was ſhamefully expelled the palace by her brother's order, and afterwards obliged to retire to the court of Theodoſius in the Eaſt. This made her conceive ſo ſtrong a deſire for revenge, that not being able to find any other way of ſatisfying her paſſion; ſhe ſent privately to Atila endeavouring to perſuade him to undertake the conqueſt of Italy, which he might eaſily do at that time, by reaſon of the weakneſs of Valentinian, and the diſorderly ſtate of affairs in the Empire. As he was meditating on this great deſign, there happened a thing, which made him determine and reſolve to put it in execution by ſome other means which he thought more ſecure.

Giſericus had married his Son Hunnericus to one of the daughters of Theodoricus king of the Viſigoths; this young prince and his wife lived together perfectly ſatisfied with each other, and their marriage was attended on both ſides with an intire affection, when on a ſudden the falſe ſuſpicions of Giſericus diſturbed their peace, by a moſt horrid and barbarous action of this diſtruſtful and cruel king. For, according to the cuſtom of Tyrants, as he was continually in fear that ſome attempt or other was making againſt his life, he conceived a notion that his daughter-in-law had a mind to poiſon him, being tired of his long reign, and impatient to ſee herſelf with her husband ſoon on the throne: And hereupon, without enquiring any farther into the affair, his bare ſuſpicion being ſufficient to render this unhappy princeſs guilty, he moſt inhumanly cauſed her noſe and ears to be cut off, and ſtill to add a greater ſhame and affront to his cruelty, he brutiſhly ſent her back to her father Theodoricus in this diſmal condition. As he did not doubt but this prince, who was brave and powerful, would ſeek all poſſible means of being revenged for ſo horrible an affront, he likewiſe

A. D. likewise used all his art, in order to avoid his revenge, and pre-
448. vent him from joining with the Romans to ruin him. He could not think on a better expedient than that of persuading Atila to
449. declare war against the Visigoths, which he accordingly did, representing to him that, after he had once defeated them, he might with ease become master of Gaul, and Spain; that then Italy would fall into his hands of course. Whether Atila was prevailed upon by the sollicitations of Gisericus, or that he was determined to make an irruption into the Empire, by the way of Gaul, as the other Barbarians had already so often done, he at last resolved to go on with this design; and after having mustered together all the soldiers that he could raise out of so many different nations, who
450. were subjects to him, he marched thro' Germany, and passed the Rhine near Worms, and Mayence, (*q*) with a dreadful army of above five hundred thousand men, who carried destruction with them where-ever they went.

Nevertheless he would not intirely confide in his numbers; like a wise politician, he used art and subtilty to deceive both the Romans, and the Visigoths, and to prevent them from joining together against him. (*r*) For before he entered into Gaul, he sent Ambassadors to the Emperour Valentinian, with very polite and flattering letters, wherein he protested, "That as he was an Ally "of the Romans, from the time that he had made peace with the "Emperour Theodosius, he was resolved to live in perfect friend-"ship with him, and entreated him to believe, that, if he came "into Gaul with such innumerable forces, he had no other design, "but that of driving out the Visigoths, who had usurped the "greatest part of that country from the Romans, who should be "masters of it again as soon as he had delivered them from the "tyranny of so many strangers, who then held it in their posses-"sion." But at the same time he wrote in the like manner to the king of the Visigoths, against the Romans, intreating him to break off his alliance with them, in order to destroy with more ease those Tyrants of the world, and common enemies to mankind. Nevertheless this piece of policy did not succeed; for the Emperour, having acquainted Theodoricus with the deceitful behaviour of the

(*q*) Miscell. l. 25. (*r*) Jorn. c. 36. Miscell. l. 25.

Barbarian;

Barbarian; this generous king wrote to him in answer: "That as *A. D.* "he despised the artifice of Atila, he neither feared his fame, nor 450. "his forces which were so dreadful to the rest of the world; that "he would join the Romans, in order to fight him, where-ever he "met him, and that he knew how to bring down the pride of pre- "sumptuous men, as also to conquer, and lay in irons, those who "thought themselves invincible."

In the mean while Atila, (*s*) after having passed the Rhine, destroyed all the cities, which he met in his way. He burned Metz, plundered Rheims, and laid waste the whole countrey, excepting Troyes, which he spared at the request of St. Loupus, who came to meet him in a very submissive manner, as being the scourge of GOD; and after having left behind him the horrible marks of the fury and cruelty of such an infinite number of Barbarians, that followed him, he marched up to Orleans which he besieged in order to secure to himself a passage on the river Loire, that he might safely enter the kingdom of Theodoricus. (*t*) He attacked the town very furiously, and battered the walls with all sorts of engines, and just as he was going to take it by main force, and the bravest of his soldiers were already entering at the breach, Aetius and Theodoricus, whom St. Aignan bishop of Orleans had been to sollicit as far as Arles and Toulouse, being at the head of a powerful army of Romans and Visigoths, entered the town on that side which was next to the river, and obliged Atila to raise the siege, and retire back into the countrey, with the loss of part of his troops, who were defeated on the borders of the Loire in their retreat. (*u*) Aetius being highly satisfied with so successful a beginning, left Atila, who took to the right, in order to return to Troyes, and marched directly towards the Bourguignons, Belgi, Saxons, and other nations whom he had artfully, on this occasion, drawn into a league against Atila, but chiefly the French, who in those days, were beginning to lay strong foundations for their kingdom in Gaul.

For after having for many years fought sometimes for, and at other times against the Romans, under dukes, or particular com-

(*s*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 6. (*t*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. Sidon. Apol. l. 8. Ep. 15.
(*u*) Idat. Addit. And. Scot. Idat. in Chron. Jorn. c. 36.

A D. manders, the braveſt men of that nation, who lived on the bor-
450. ders of the river Iſſel, anciently called Sala, from whence they took the name of Sali; joined with their neighbours the Sicambri, and choſe for their king Pharamond, ſon of Marcomirus. This
420. prince being reſolved to eſtabliſh a potent monarchy, (*w*) thought the firſt thing to be done, was to make good laws, which might be a ſteady foundation for it; and in order that the people ſhould act unanimouſly, under a monarchical government, in a lawful and continued ſucceſſion from male to male, according to the order of nature, it was decreed that the next male heir to the royal family, ſhould ſucceed to the throne without depending on the capriciouſneſs or will of the people, by which means it would, in a manner, become perpetual. (*x*) His ſon Clodion, who ſucceeded
423. him in right of this law, having reunited in one monarchy the greateſt part of thoſe people, who were called Francones, and inhabited that countrey, which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe, as far as the Meyn, paſſed into Gaul and conquered moſt of thoſe countries which are ſituated between the Sceld, and the Somme; but being ſurpriſed and defeated by Aetius, he was forced to repaſs the Rhine, and ſoon after he died juſt as he was going to invade Gaul a ſecond time with a greater number of forces. (*y*) Merovee, who was related to him, ſucceeded him; and, purſuing the ſcheme of his predeceſſor with as much reſolution, tho' with more conduct and good fortune, he was beginning to make a new conqueſt of thoſe countries which had juſt been taken from him on this ſide of the Rhine, when the terror he was in at the approach of Atila, obliged him to join with the Romans, and thoſe other nations who were in league together, againſt this common enemy.

When all theſe confederate forces were united, (*z*) it appeared that Aetius (to whom the command was given by a general conſent) had almoſt as numerous an army as that of Atila. Therefore, without farther deliberation, they marched up directly to him in thoſe vaſt and large plains, (*a*) called the Catalaunick, or Mauriack fields, which lie between the rivers Aiſne and Marne,

(*w*) Proſper. Pyth. (*x*) Proſper. Pyth. (*y*) Greg. Turon. l. 1. c. 9.
(*z*) Jorrand. (*a*) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 7. Jorn. c. 36.

near

near Chalons, where is ſeen the ſmall river of Moivre, which gave the name to that famous Mauriack plain, ſo renowned in hiſtory for the battle which was faught in it. This place Atila had pitched upon, where he might draw up his horſe in order of battle, which, (as it was the cuſtom among the Huns always to fight on horſe-back) compoſed the greateſt part of his army. (*b*) Some of our modern writers have tried in vain to perſuade us, upon very weak evidence, that theſe famous fields were thoſe of Sologne; and others that they were ſituated near Cataleins in Languedoc, not far from Caſtel-ſaran, and within ſeven or eight leagues of Toulouſe. For, beſides all the circumſtances of hiſtory, which the ancient writers have agreed on, and which are intirely contrary to the opinion of late hiſtorians, Idatius, biſhop of Lemica in Galicia, who lived in thoſe days, ſaith poſitively that the plains, (*c*) where the Romans fought Atila, were not far diſtant from Metz which that Barbarian had plundered. And certainly there is no likelihood that ſo exact a writer, as Idatius was in his chronicles, ſhould be miſtaken in quoting a place, where the greateſt and moſt memorable battle that ever was heard of, was fought in his time. And I cannot believe that any judicious perſon would ſooner give credit to men, who only ſpeak by conjecture and relate a thing at random which happened above twelve hundred years before their time. Now theſe two dreadful armies, which together conſiſted of near a million of men, (*d*) (a number ſcarce ever heard of before) met each other in theſe vaſt plains, which lie between Chalons in Champaigne, and St. Menehoud, and were preparing on both ſides for an engagement. Their firſt attack began with ſmart skirmiſhes, where there was a good deal of blood ſhed, particularly between the French, and the Gepidi, (*e*) whereof two conſiderable parties, having met each other in the night, fought in the dark, with ſo much eagerneſs, that not ſeeing what they were doing, and being no longer able to avoid the blows which were given on both ſides, there was ſuch an univerſal ſlaughter, that there was ſcarce a man of them left alive upon the place.

A. D. 450. 451.

(*b*) Blonduſ. Joan. Magn. Marianæ. Bertrandi. Nauguiez.
(*c*) Idat. in Chron.
(*d*) Jornand. Paul. Diac. in Miſcell. l. 15. Idat. Marcell.
(*e*) Jornand. in reb. Get.

A. D. 451. Atila who feared the event of this battle, his adversaries being men of such great courage, consulted the demons by his diviners, who after having performed their detestable sacrifice, told him that the issue of it would not prove favourable to his army, but that the general of the enemies should lose his life in it. The second part of this fatal prediction made some amends for what was so disagreeable in the first; and he did not doubt but this answer, which he looked on as an oracle, promised him the death of Aetius; after which, believing that nothing could be able to resist him, he was of opinion that he could not purchase the loss of so great a man at too dear a rate, were it even at the expence of a battle. But in order to mitigate this misfortune as much as possible, he resolved not to give battle till late on the next day, to the end that, night coming on during the fight, his enemies might not compleat the victory, but give him an opportunity to retire into his camp, which he caused to be fortified for this purpose, by which means his troops, if defeated, might find no difficulty to make their escape in the dark. Therefore on the next day he accordingly marched out of his camp, affecting in the presence of his soldiers greater hopes of success than he really had; and the confederates on their side, who were in expectation of a battle, were likewise preparing themselves to receive him. (*f*) But the day was already so far spent, that two such numerous armies could not be drawn up in order of battle and ready for the charge till about three of the clock in the afternoon.

The army of Atila was divided into three bodies which he drew up, having room to extend them as far as he pleased in those wide plains. The first, which composed the right wing, was commanded by Valamirus, king of the Ostrogoths, with his two brothers, who were supported by some of the German nations, which encreased the army of the Huns. He was a wise and brave prince, discreet, courteous, and obliging, sincere in his proceedings, having nothing exceptionable in him, but Arianism, which he professed in compliance to his nation, tho' at the same time he did not seem very zealous in the interest of it. The second body, which made the left wing, was composed of the Gepidi, (who were like-

(*f*) Miscell. lib. 15.

wise

wise Arians), and of some other foreign nations, amongst whom were even a few Bourgignons, and French, who still inhabited those territories situated on the outside the Rhine. (*g*) This body was commanded by Ardaricus king of the Gepidi, (*b*) who, besides his courage which was as great as possible, was moreover so faithful and generous, and particularly so skilful in military affairs, that Atila, notwithstanding his own ability and great experience, scarcely undertook any thing without his advice. The third part of his army, which was larger than the two others, was chiefly composed of natural Huns, and placed in the center; where Atila, attended by the bravest and most resolute men of his nation, gave out his orders with so much dignity and majesty to those kings, who fought under his standards, that they all were awed by his presence, and punctually obeyed him, upon the least intimation of his pleasure. *A. D.* 451.

Aetius, on the other hand, followed the same order, and according to the discipline of the Romans, divided the army of the confederates into three bodies. He gave the command of the right wing to Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, attended by Torismond, and Theodoricus, his two eldest sons, who headed a prodigious number of his subjects that inhabited those countries on this, and on the other side of the Pyrenees. Aetius himself, at the head of the left wing, commanded the Roman horse, in order to fight jointly with Merovee, who headed the French, having often experienced their courage, and knowing how invincible they were, when they fought in an open country, where they were in no danger of being surprised thro' their own carelessness. And as he suspected the fidelity of Sangiban who commanded the Alani, and had already been accused of having held intelligence with Atila, even at the time when he was besieging Orleans, he placed him in the center of the line, surrounded by the Roman legions, and other auxiliary troops; so that he could neither betray him, nor fly, without being exposed to certain destruction, by which means he was compelled to fight, and behaved with more courage and fidelity than he was thought capable of doing.

(*g*) Sidon. Apol. carm. 7. (*b*) Jornand.

The

A. D. 451. The armies, being thus disposed, stood some time in the presence of each other, before they came to a general attack, because they were endeavouring on each side to take possession of a rising ground, which lay in the field of battle, and would be of a great advantage to those who could get possession of it. Atila sent a detachment of men, who were esteemed the most desperate amongst his Huns, to seize on that spot of ground; but they were prevented by Aetius, and Torismond, who having set out at the same time from the two wings of their army, took possession of it first, and stood their ground with so much resolution, that they repulsed the enemy, who after having made vigorous efforts to gain that post, were forced at last to retire to the main body of the Army, with the loss of their men, and their honour. Atila, seeing that his people seemed under some concern at so unsuccessful a beginning, made several signs to them with his eyes, and gestures, in order to encourage them: For it was impossible for him to make himself be heard by such an innumerable army. And at last, drawing his sword, he shewed it to his troops, expressing an haughty but cheerful air, and at the same time, looking at the enemy with a disdainful smile, which was to intimate that he was secure of the victory, he ordered his men to charge, and, by this bold action, inspired them with so much courage, that with a dreadful shout; which was heard from all the parts of the army, his soldiers marched up directly for the engagement, and shot off such a prodigious number of darts and arrows, that they almost darkened the air. Aetius, who appeared at the head of his troops on the rising ground, which he had made himself master of, convinced his army that the advantage, which he had gained in the first attack, and the situation of the place, promised him the victory; so he received the enemies, with a courage worthy of ancient Rome, and of the honour, which he had acquired by his former glorious actions. The French, who fought under his command, following so great an example, fell upon the Ostrogoths, who were at their head; the Roman legions, with the Alani in their center, charged the main body of Huns; and the Visigoths, who faced the Gepidi, who were of their nation, and professed the same faith, attacked with the more resolution, because they served their common enemies, even against their own brethren.

There

There never was ſeen a battle more obſtinate and bloody than this was. They could no longer make uſe of their arrows at a diſtance, but were now all engaged cloſe together, fighting with their ſwords in a moſt furious manner; and the combatants crowded in ſo faſt and in ſuch great numbers that they were not able to avoid the blows of each other. The foremoſt ranks were preſſed ſo hard by thoſe behind them, that they were forced upon the arms of their very enemies, who being treated in the ſame manner, by their own people, were under the neceſſity of loſing their own lives at the ſame time that they were killing their enemies. The whole army now cloſely engaged, and all the different troops were mixed confuſedly with each other, without either order, or diſtinction; being forced, in ſpight of their endeavours, to yield to that raging ſtorm, which drove them backwards and forwards, according to the furious motions of this deſperate and dreadful multitude of combatants. Whilſt all was thus in diſorder, Theodoricus, king of the Viſigoths, who, notwithſtanding his old age, fought with all the courage and reſolution of a young hero, fell from his horſe, by a wound which he received from Andages, one of the generals of the Oſtrogoths, and was cruſhed to pieces by his own people, who, purſuing the heat of the battle, amongſt the crowd, trampled him under their feet without knowing him, and immediately ruſhed on upon Atila himſelf, who was ſtill endeavouring to ſupport the fight thro' his own courage, tho' at the ſame time all his hopes were loſt. *A. D.* 451.

But when he perceived that his army began to loſe ground; that the Romans were making a moſt horrible ſlaughter of his troops; and that he himſelf was ſo vigorouſly purſued by the Viſigoths, that he was in danger of being either taken, or killed, he thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety. Therefore the night coming on very fortunately for him, he took that opportunity, in order to favour his retreat, and avoid the ſhame of his overthrow; ſo retired into his camp which he had fortified and ſurrounded with a prodigious number of thoſe chariots which attended his army; his people followed him without much difficulty, the night being ſo dark that the victorious confederate forces could not purſue them, nor even be ſenſible of their advantage. For indeed, as they had fought a long while after the night was come on, and could

A. D. 451. could not ſee to diſtinguiſh their troops, Aetius, attended by a ſmall number of ſoldiers, found himſelf in the midſt of a body of the enemies whom he took for his own people; they likewiſe thought that he was one of them, and it was a meer chance that he did not meet with the ſame fortune which befel Toriſmond, who, not knowing where he was going, ruſhed into the intrenchments of the Huns. This prince perceived his error, by the blows which he immediately received from thoſe who knew him to be an enemy; but he defended himſelf with ſo much courage, tho', at the ſame time, he was fallen from his horſe, and wounded in the head, that he gave his Viſigoths time to ſave him from the danger he was in, and bring him back to the camp, whither Aetius was at laſt repaired, after having wandered a long while amongſt the enemies, not knowing preciſely whether he had been defeated, or whether he had got the victory.

He paſſed the remaining part of that night in this uncertainty; and therefore rallied all his forces and fortified his camp fearing leſt he ſhould be ſurpriſed. But having marched out in order of battle on the next morning by break of day, he ſaw the field covered with dead bodies, and a rivulet, which divided the camp, dy'd and over-flowing with blood, (for it is ſaid that, on this terrible day there periſhed about three hundred thouſand men of both ſides.) And beſides, ſeeing that his army was yet very numerous, and that the loſs he had ſuſtained was much inferiour to that of Atila, who dared not to march out of his intrenchments, he then concluded that he had gained the victory; and after having remained ſometime in the field of battle, in order to aſſume thoſe honours which are due to a conqueror, he marched up directly to Atila's camp, with a deſign to compleat his defeat, if he ſhould be ſo bold as to appear; or to compel him to own the loſs of the victory, by his not daring to meet him. But Atila, who was maſter of as much prudence, as courage, acted contrary to the notions of Aetius in doing neither the one, nor the other. He would not come out of his camp, becauſe the loſs of his beſt troops made it dangerous for him to try his fortune a ſecond time in open field. But, far from ſhewing the leaſt ſigns of fear, he never behaved with more reſolution. He mounted all his chariots with archers, who, being thus intrenched and covered, were continually ſhooting

ing off arrows, which rendered the approaches of the confederates very difficult. His camp reſounded with trumpets and other muſical inſtruments of war, as if he were making a triumph after victory; and being reſolved to die rather than ſuffer that his enemies ſhould have the advantage either of taking him priſoner, or killing him, he cauſed a great pile to be made of all the ſaddles in his army, which he propoſed to ſet on fire and fling himſelf into it as ſoon as he found that there were no hopes left, and that he could no longer prevent his camp from being forced by the Romans. *A. D.* 451.

Nevertheleſs it was not theſe weak intrenchments of carrs and chariots, nor the reſiſtance or deſperate behaviour of Atila, that could have protected his whole army from being totally defeated, had not the policy or ambition of Aetius contributed to his aſſiſtance, and relieved him from the extremity to which he was then reduced. For, whether it was his deſign to carry on the war, in order to preſerve to himſelf the command of the forces, or that he feared (as he gave it out) that after the defeat of the Huns, the French, Goths, and Bourgignons ſhould turn their arms againſt him, to oblige the Romans to abandon Gaul, or whether, I ſay, he was induced by both theſe motives, *viz.* the intereſt of his own fortune, and that of the Empire, I know not: But he changed his firſt reſolution, and finding that Toriſmond, in order to revenge the death of his father, was reſolved to attack Atila, or deſtroy him in his camp, by the want of proviſions, he artfully diverted the blow, by perſuading this young prince, who was not ſo great a politician as himſelf, to take poſſeſſion, with all the expedition imaginable, of the kingdom of the Viſigoths, leaſt his four brothers, whom he had left behind him at Toulouſe, ſhould join together, in order to invade and ſhare it amongſt themſelves. (*i*) After which he withdrew with the French and Bourgignons, who marched off ſeparated, and returned into their own country, leaving Atila at liberty to make his eſcape and reinforce his army; which he did ſoon after, and came into Italy with a moſt powerful body of men, where, after having taken and utterly deſtroyed 452.

(*i*) Idat. Caſſiod. Chr. Miſcell. lib. 5. Blond. l. 1. dec. 3. Sabell. Enn. 8. l. 1. Sig. de Occid. Imp. lib. 13.

A. D. 452. the famous city of Aquilea, he cauſed ſuch horrible devaſtations throughout the whole country of the Venetians, between the Alps, the Po, and the Adriatick Sea, that thoſe nations, but particularly the inhabitants of Padoua, in order to avoid the fury of the Huns, were forced to retire into the Iſlands which are ſituated at the mouth of the Gulph.

It was on this occaſion that they reſolved to ſhelter themſelves from this prodigious inundation of Barbarians, by laying the foundations of the wonderful city of Venice, which is the metropolis of that auguſt republick, whom GOD, thro' his ſingular goodneſs, which ever can bring forth good from evil, propoſed himſelf to eſtabliſh during theſe calamities, in order ſoon to reſtore again the wiſdom, power, and virtue of ancient Rome, at the ſame time that his juſtice was going to deſtroy the Roman Empire in the Weſt. And certainly its ruin was even then inevitable, had not GOD ſuſpended his judgment ſometime longer, in order to manifeſt the merit and glory of great St. Leo, (*k*) who was ſo deſerving of the ſeat of St. Peter which at that time he poſſeſſed. For Atila, after having deſtroyed Milan, Pavia and the reſt of the cities of Inſubria, (*l*) which he attacked without reſiſtance, was reſolved to carry his arms even to Rome, where the affairs were then in ſo great a diſorder, thro' the neglect and weakneſs of the government, that he might have taken poſſeſſion of that city without much difficulty, had not this holy biſhop, at the requeſt of Valentinian, undertaken to mitigate the fury of this Barbarian, which he compleated under GOD's protection in a moſt extraordinary and miraculous manner, as it ever has been related. (*m*) For having repaired to the camp of Atila, who had already paſſed the Po in the Mantuan country, and was marching towards Rome, this prelate addreſſed him with ſo much power and majeſty, in order to diſſuade him from the execution of his deſign, that whether he was influenced by his diſcourſe, or whether he ſaw (as it was reported) or imagined that ſomething extraordinary appeared to him, which diſarmed him, it is certain that Atila complied with whatever he

(*k*) Caſſiod. Miſcell. (*l*) The country called Milanees. (*m*) Caſſiod. in Chr. Paul. Diac. in Miſcell. l. 15. Act. St. Leo.

required

required of him, (*n*) and returned immediately into Pannonia, even beyond the Danube. *A. D.* 452.

But as Atila was a man who never could bear to be at reſt, and thought he had been deceived by Sangiban king of the Alani, who in the foregoing year had promiſed to deliver up Orleans to him, he returned into Gaul, in order to drive him out of thoſe provinces, which are ſituated on the other ſide of the Loire, where he had not long before eſtabliſhed his kingdom. (*o*) But Toriſmond, who came to his aſſiſtance, engaged this bold enemy a ſecond time, and fought him with ſo much conduct, and good fortune, that, after having defeated him, as he had already done in the preceeding year, in the catalaunick plains, (*p*) he compelled him to return ſhamefully into Pannonia, where he became paſſionately in love with a very beautiful young lady, whom he married; and it is ſaid that he drank ſo much at his nuptial feaſt, that he died on that very night, his blood guſhing out at his mouth, eyes, noſe and ears; tho' it is reported by ſome writers that his new bride, who did not love him, ſeeing him drunk and a ſleep, (*q*) reſembling Holophernes, killed him with the ſtab of a dagger. 453.

Yet notwithſtanding, neither the brave Toriſmond, nor the valliant Aetius, who had conquered this Tyrant, enjoyed long after the fruits of their victory. Toriſmond who fell ill at Toulouſe was unfortunately murdered by his two brothers, Theodoricus, and Fredericus, (*r*) who took an opportunity of executing this wicked deſign whilſt a ſurgeon was bleeding him. His courage nevertheleſs did not forſake him on this occaſion: For not finding his arms, which the traitors had hidden on purpoſe, he took up a ſtool that was near his bed, and uſing it both as a ſword and ſhield, he contended for his life a long while, till at laſt, having received ſeveral wounds, he fell dead upon the bodies of four or five of his murderers, whom he had killed to revenge his death, and thus he died like a man of reſolution. Aetius met with as cruel a fate: For Valentinian, who ſince the death of Placidia led a very diſorderly life, having forced away the wife of Maximus, a Roman ſenator, the latter reſolved to be ſecurely revenged: And to this end, by

(*n*) Miſcell. ib. (*o*) Iornand. de reb. Get. (*p*) Paul. Diac. in append. Eutrop. (*q*) Caſſiod. (*r*) Idat. Iornand. de reb. Get.

A. D. 454. his falſe inſinuations he made the Emperour ſo jealous of Aetius, that this weak and violent prince, (*s*) having ſent for him into his cloſet, under the pretence of treating with him upon ſome affair of moment, he with his own hands ſhamefully and barbarouſly murdered him; and by this fatal action deſtroyed the only ſupport of his Empire, which like an old wall, whoſe foundation is undermined, ſoon after fell to the ground.

455. For indeed, at the very beginning of the enſuing year, (*t*) which we may properly ſtile the year of the deſtruction of the Empire, Valentinian the third was killed in the thirty ſixth year of his age, on the ſeventeenth of March by ſome of Aetius's guards, whom Maximus had bribed, under the pretence of revenging the death of their maſter. After which he himſelf was proclaimed Emperour without much difficulty, having ſecured a ſtrong party in his intereſt; and his firſt wife dying with grief ſoon after the affront which had been offered her by Valentinian, who had raviſhed her, he importuned Euxodia the Emperour's widow in ſo urgent a manner, that he perſuaded her to marry him. (*u*) But Maximus was ſo miſled by his paſſion, that he indiſcreetly told the Empreſs, the night of his nuptials, that it was neither the deſire of revenge, nor ambition, but the love only which he bore to her perſon, that had prompted him to find means to aſcend the throne, by the death of Valentinian, whom he had cauſed to be murdered, in order to make himſelf happy in the poſſeſſion of that princeſs. Euxodia, who had an averſion to this Tyrant, becauſe he had forced her to marry him, conceived ſuch a furious hatred to him, at this barbarous confeſſion, that ſhe reſolved in herſelf either to periſh, or be revenged, and would ſooner be buried under the ruins, even of Rome and the Empire itſelf, than be diſappointed in her deſign: So great is the anger of women, when juſtly provoked, that it ſupplies them with ſtrength to ſupport the natural weakneſs of the ſex.

Upon this reſolution, (*x*) ſhe on the next day ſent one of her confidants to Carthage with letters to Giſericus king of the Vandals, intreating him, by all the conſiderations of his own intereſt and glory, as well as the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, and his alliance

(*s*) Idat. Caſſiod. Marcell. Miſc. 15. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. 1. (*t*) Caſſiod. Marcell. Procop. Anonym. Cuſpin. (*u*) Miſc. l. 7. (*x*) Idat. in Chron.

with

with the Emperor, who had been inhumanly murdered, to come immediately in order to revenge his death, againſt Maximus, and relieve her from the inſupportable captivity which ſhe endured under the power of that cruel tyrant. Giſericus readily embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of ſatisfying his inſatiable avarice with the ſpoils and plunder of the moſt rich and potent city in the univerſe; and, as he always maintained a powerful fleet, with which, though it was a time of peace, like a pirate he ranſack'd all the Iſlands which are ſituated between Africa, and Italy. He ſoon was in a condition to put out to ſea, which he accordingly did, attended by the Vandals, and a body of Africans, (y) and in a few days came up to the port of Rome, where he landed without any oppoſition. At the news of his arrival, moſt of the perſons of diſtinction withdrew from that city, leaving it without defence. Even Maximus himſelf, finding that his friends had forſaken him, was endeavouring to make his eſcape; but before he could get off, he was ſeized by the people, and even by his own guards, who tore him to pieces, and flung him into the tyber on the twelfth of June. Hereupon Giſericus entered Rome as freely as he might have done Carthage, finding no body in his way, nor at the gates, that would oppoſe his entering the city. The holy biſhop St. Leo was the only perſon that went out to meet him; and, tho' he addreſſed him with the ſame powerful arguments, which he had uſed when he met Atila, nevertheleſs he was not ſo ſucceſsful; for the only thing which he could obtain of him was, that he would be contented with the plunder of the city, without employing either fire, or ſword againſt a people, who would not reſiſt him. A. D. 455.

Thus Rome, which had ſo often deſpiſed the warnings and judgments of GOD, became a ſecond time a prey to the Arians, (z) who plundered the city at leiſure for the ſpace of fourteen days, and ſpared only the three principal Baſilica's; viz. that of Conſtantine, and thoſe of St. Peter, and St. Paul. "So Giſerius, after having loaded his ſhips with the richeſt ſpoils of Rome, and a pro-

(y) Sidon. in Paneg. Avit. Imp. Procop. l. 1. Miſcell. lib. 15. Evag. l. 1. cap. 7. Anonym. Cuſpin. Miſcell. l. 15. (z) St. Leo Ser. in Oct. Apoſt. Iſid. in Hiſt. Vandal.

"digious

A. D. 455. "digious number of captives, for whom he expected conſiderable "ranſoms, he returned well ſatisfied to Carthage, carrying along with him the Empreſs Euxodia, (*a*) and her two daughters Euxodia, and Placidia, who were grandaughters to the illuſtrious Euxodia, widow to the Emperor Theodoſius, who received this news at Jeruſalem, where ſhe was retired in order there to paſs the remainder of her days in the practice of piety. (*b*) She was deeply afflicted at this calamity, which GOD, through his mercy, was pleaſed to make uſe of in order to convert her from the Eutychean hereſy, which ſhe ſtill adhered to, notwithſtanding the deciſions of the council of Calcedonia, which was held four years before. For, after having conſulted the wonderful Simon Stylitus, who referred her to the holy ſolitary Euthymius, that led a moſt celeſtial life in Paleſtine; this great man told her, that GOD had afflicted her after this grievous manner, in what ſhe loved above all the things of this world, only to ſave her from the abyſs of darkneſs, which ſhe was unluckily fallen into, by following the ſteps of a blind guide, the falſe biſhop Theodoſius, who had ſeduced her; that as ſhe had abhorred Arianiſm after the holy Nicene council, and deteſted the impieties of Macedonius, after he had been condemned by the council of Conſtantinople, that as ſhe had alſo renounced the blaſphemies of Neſtorius by acknowledging the deciſions of that of Epheſus, it was likewiſe neceſſary that ſhe ſhould receive with a perfect reſignation the holy decrees of the council of Calcedonia, againſt the errors of Eutyches. Hereupon ſhe immediately ſubmitted to the exhortations of this holy man, or rather to the voice of GOD, who made his will known to her afflicted mind, by his words, and at her return to Jeruſalem, ſhe went directly to the Patriarch Juvenal, who aſſiſted her in making a publick reconciliation to the Catholick Church, with the applauſe of the whole city. Her converſion brought over a great number of Lay-men, Monks and learned Clergy-men, of the Eutycheen opinion, on whom ſhe had a great influence, and who followed her example. And indeed it was plainly ſeen on this occaſion, what power a lady of underſtanding, merit, and virtue, (ſuch was the learned Euxodia)

(*a*) Idat. Miſcell. in Chron. (*b*) Cyrill. Monach. in vita St. Euthym. Sur. 20. Jan.

had

had over the minds, even of the greateſt men, to incline them either to good, or evil, juſt as her inclination dictated. This converſion was chiefly the work which GOD had deſigned to effect by the captivity of theſe princeſſes: For afterwards, he changed the heart of Giſericus in ſuch a manner, with regard to them, that he intirely forgot the tyrannical notions which he had maintained till then, (*c*) and behaved towards them with all the reſpect and politeneſs that was due to their imperial rank. (*d*) He even made the propoſal himſelf for marrying his Son Hunnericus to the eldeſt of the two princeſſes; and as he was informed that the youngeſt was bethrothed to Olibrius, (*e*) who was the moſt conſiderable perſon amongſt the ſenators of Rome, and had made his eſcape to Conſtantinople, he was ſo generous as to ſend her to him with a retinue worthy of her illuſtrious birth, together with her mother Euxodia, who was daughter to Theodoſius the younger. This Emperor was ſucceeded by Marcian, who received her with all the marks of honour imaginable. *A. D.* 455.

In the mean while it was a moſt lamentable thing to ſee the multitude of captives, whom Giſericus had brought over with him from Rome to Carthage. For the Vandals, and Africans, to whom that barbarian king had given them up, for their ſhare of the booty, divided thoſe wretched people amongſt themſelves, parting the fathers and mothers from their children, and the husbands from their wives, in order to ſell them the more readily to thoſe who came from all parts of Africa to buy them; (*f*) ſo that being out of all hopes of ever meeting again, they filled the air with their lamentable cries for their deplorable condition. The holy biſhop *Deogratias*, whom Giſerius, at the requeſt of Valentinian, had permitted to be continued as paſtor to the Catholicks, could not bear to ſee the calamities which they endured; and fearing leſt theſe unhappy captives, by loſing their liberty in this cruel manner, might alſo more unfortunately loſe their faith, through the barbarity of their Arian maſters, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to deliver them out of their hands; and after having collected what money he could amongſt the Catholicks, he ſold all the gold and ſilver

(*c*) Theoph. Procop. (*d*) Evag. l. 1. c. 7. (*e*) Niceph l. 15. c. 11.
(*f*) Vict. Utic. de perſec. Vandal. l. 1.

Veſſels

A. D. 455. veſſels which belonged to the Churches, and were ſaved at the taking and plundering of Carthage; and by theſe means he at laſt compleated his generous deſign, having raiſed a ſum of money ſufficient to redeem them.

But his charity did not end here. After having made them free, he reſolved likewiſe to put them in a condition of enjoying the freedom which he had procured them. Therefore as a great many of them were ſick by means of the barbarous uſage which they had received during their captivity, on board the ſhips, (being reduced to the extremity of wanting all manner of neceſſaries) and becauſe they were ſo numerous that he knew not where to provide them with lodgings, he turned two of his greateſt Churches into hoſpitals. There he cauſed freſh ſtraw to be laid for thoſe who were in better health, and ordered ſeveral rows of beds to be ſet up for the ſick; after which he viſited them day and night attended by thoſe who belonged to him, and cauſed food to be diſtributed to them, in his preſence, with ſuch proper remedies as were preſcribed by the phyſicians. Thus inſpired with zeal and charity, his body and mind were continually employed; and, tho' at that time he was far advanced in years, he behaved with the vigour of a young man, and was ſo conſtant in this holy and laborious exerciſe that he ſcarcely allowed himſelf any reſt. So that GOD, pouring down a bleſſing on his toils, he redeemed theſe poor wretches both from captivity, and death; and which was ſtill more, from the danger of falling into hereſy. This highly provoked the Arian miniſters, who could not bear that a Catholick biſhop ſhould preſume, in a city where they were maſters, to deprive them of a prey, which they had already devoured in their hearts. Therefore they reſolved to make a way with him; and it is very probable, (as they took the liberty to commit all manner of crimes with impunity) that they would ſoon have executed their horrible deſign, had not GOD prevented them by taking to himſelf this holy man whoſe heroick charity he crowned in heaven with everlaſting glory.

The news of his death was a great affliction to the Catholicks, who were deſirous of preſerving ſome remains of him, in order to pay that reverence to him after his loſs, which they uſed to do when preſent. And it was feared leſt the people ſhould tear his body

body to pieces to secure his relicks; for which reason those, who had undertaken his funeral service, buried him privately the night before the time appointed for that purpose. So that both the Catholicks and Arians were deceived in a different manner; the former, because they could not pay the honour to him which they intended after his death; and the latter, because they were prevented by his death from casting all their rage and fury upon his person. But they soon gratified their revenge, with the base treatment which they offered to the holy bishop Thomas, who had consecrated *Deogratias* three years before at Carthage. This good old man, in the midst of the insults, which he received from these impious people, who took delight in scourging him in publick as they would have done a boy, without any regard to his venerable years, returned praises unto JESUS CHRIST for being pleased that he should partake of the glory of his triumph, by his ignominious sufferings. *A. D.* 455.

But on the other hand, as soon as Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths was informed at Toulouse of the death of Maximus, and the invasion of Rome, (*g*) he fearing lest the Vandals, who were his enemies, should also take possession of the Empire, he immediately prevailed on the Roman army, that was then in Gaul, to proclaim Avitus Emperour, whom Maximus not long before had made general of those forces, and sent Ambassador to Theodoricus. (*h*) This was performed on the second day of July; and the Romans and Visigoths having renewed their alliance, Theodoricus, by the advice and assistance of Avitus, marched into Spain with a powerful body of men, in order to attack Richiarius king of the Suevi, who, not being satisfied with the kingdom of Galicia, where he reigned, was resolved also to make himself master of all Spain, and had insolently threatned Theodoricus to drive him out of his possessions in Gaul, if he should dare even to complain of him. (*i*) But his pride soon ended with his life and fortune; for upon a Friday, the fifth of October in the same year 456. (*k*) The two armies having met, near the little river Urbicus, within a few miles 456.

(*g*) Sidon. in Panog. Avit. Cassiod. Anon. Cuspin. Idat. in Chron. (*h*) Jornand. de reb. Get. (*i*) Idat. Jorn. Isid. Chron. (*k*) Obregario. Astorga in the Kingdom of Leon.

A. D. 456. of Asturica, which was a colony of Augustus, they came to a general battle, wherein Richiarius was totally defeated, with a prodigious slaughter of his people, and he himself, who was covered with wounds, made his escape with much difficulty; so that he now began to lose all hopes of keeping his kingdom, (*l*) and therefore put out to Sea: But being forced by stormy weather to land again at the mouth of the river Durius, (*m*) he was taken and carried to Theodoricus, who caused him to be put to death in his confinement. After this victory, the whole kingdom surrendered themselves to the conquerour, who on the twenty eighth day of October, having taken Braga, (*n*) one of the chief cities of the Suevi, he gave it up to be plundered. As the native inhabitants of that country were Catholicks, having lived so long under the government of the Romans, there was no profane action, with respect to sacred things, which those Visigoths did not commit in that wretched place, to shew their hatred to the Roman religion. They seized on all the Churches, pulled down the altars, and carried away the sacred vessels; the Virgins and Nuns themselves did not escape their fury; for tho' they did not make any attempt on their honour, nevertheless they took them into captivity with a vast number of persons of all conditions. They stripped the Clergy and exposed them naked by way of diversion, and these impious Arians, after having glutted their avarice with all the treasures they could find in the temples, in order to crown their sacrilegious wickedness, they converted them into stables.

But GOD would not permit them to ravage thus in all places. Theodoricus, who was resolved to carry his conquests farther, was marched into old Lusitania, which then contained more territories belonging to Spain than what we now call Portugal, and he proposed to exercise his barbarity in the same manner upon Merida, which was a very famous and powerful city in those days, (*o*) situated on the river Guadiana, and is now in the province of Estramadura. But the illustrious virgin and martyr St. Eulalia, who was the protectrix of that city, terrified him in so strange a manner by visions, and other prodigies, which threatned him with his

(*l*) Marian. 5. c. 4. Braga in Portugal Idat. (*m*) Duero in Portugal. (*n*) Bracara. Augusta. (*o*) Augusta. Emerita. Anas fluv. Idat.

ruin,

ruin, that he would not venture to attempt his design of carrying his arms farther. Therefore after having given proper orders for the government of the provinces which he had conquered, he returned into Gaul where his presence was required upon the account of the change which happened at that time in the affairs of the Empire. *A. D.* 457.

For whilst Theodoricus was thus running over Spain with his victorious arms, (*p*) the Emperour Avitus, who, on the other hand, was no great warriour, not being assisted by his friends the Visigoths, was forced to quit the Empire, because the Romans had conceived an aversion to him, either out of contempt to his person, (*q*) or because he led a most licentious life from the time that he was made Emperour. (*r*) And, in order to secure his life, he even agreed to enter into holy orders, and was consecrated bishop of Placentia, where his own people had seized on him. And notwithstanding this piece of policy, it was not possible for him to escape death. For, being informed that the senate was resolved to destroy him, in order to prevent a civil war, he died with despair, (tho' some people say, of the plague) whilst he was on his journey to Auvergne, which was his own country, where he proposed to retire. (*s*) Within a few months after his death, Majorianus, who was both a brave soldier, and a great politician, and then General of the Roman forces, was proclaimed Emperour, with the title of Augustus, at Ravenna, on the first day of April, with the approbation of the senate, the people, and militia; but particularly with the consent of the Emperour Leo, who had just succeeded Martian that died at Constantinople in the beginning of this year 457.

These disorders and changes in the Empire gave an opportunity to the Visigoths, and Vandals, to encrease their power. (*t*) For Gisericus immediately after the death of Valentinian, and the ransack of Rome, seized on every thing belonging to the Romans in Africa, and sent his naval forces to the coasts of Italy, which

(*p*) Idat. Miscell. (*q*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 1. (*r*) Miscell. Greg. Anonym. Cuspin. Greg. Turon. Evag. l. 2. c. 7. (*s*) Anon. Cusp. Novell. Major. tit. 3, ad Senat. Marcell. Sidon. Apollin. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. Idat. Marcell. (*t*) Victor de persec. Vandal. l. 1.

A. D. 457. they invaded and laid waſte, with the other provinces of the Empire; and in order to ſecure what belonged to himſelf in Africa, he cauſed all the fortified places to be demoliſhed, excepting Carthage, (*u*) which in the end, proved to be the chief cauſe of the ruin of the Vandals. Thus human wiſdom, which acts with ſo much caution in preſent things, where a trifling intereſt is concerned, cannot foreſee thoſe evils which it is treaſuring up to its ſelf in time to come. But what was now more deplorable, this Barbarian, who was no longer tyed by any conſideration of the peace which he had formerly made with Valentinian, renewed his perſecution againſt the Church in a more cruel manner than before. (*x*) For he not only forbad the election of a new biſhop at Carthage, but even expelled all the prieſts from that city, as alſo throughout all Africa, where the Catholick biſhops, before they were baniſhed, underwent great ſufferings, thro' the ill treatment which they received from the officers of that inhuman king, who would force them to deliver up their books of the holy ſcriptures, and whatever they had that was valuable and ſacred in their Churches. They even carried things to ſuch an exceſs of barbarity, that the holy biſhop Valerian, who was a venerable old man of above eighty years of age, having ſtedfaſtly refuſed to deliver up what they required of him (which he looked upon as throwing pearl before ſwine) Giſericus cauſed him to be driven out of the city, forbidding all perſons whatſoever to entertain him in their houſes or even in the fields: So that he was reduced to the neceſſity of lying in the common roads, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather, which ſoon compleated his martyrdom, by putting an end to that ſmall ſhare of life which he had left. (*y*) GOD, on the other hand, was pleaſed to manifeſt his juſtice and vengeance on the miniſters and executioners of the impiety of Giſericus. For Proculus, who was one of the moſt cruel and inſolent amongſt them, having taken away by force the ornaments of the ſacred altars which the prieſts had refuſed to deliver unto him, and having converted them into a garment for himſelf, turning into ridicule all the holy myſteries, he was ſuddenly ſtruck in ſuch a dreadful

(*u*) Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. 1. (*x*) Victor. de Perſecut. (*y*) 15. Decembro.

manner

manner by the hand of GOD, that he became furious and raging against himself, and perished by a most horrid kind of death, tearing his flesh to pieces, and eating his own tongue. *A. D.* 457.

But neither these warnings from heaven, nor the prayers and remonstrances of men, nor the book, which victor, bishop of Cartenna in Mauritania, (z) had resolution enough to present to Gisericus in defence of the faith against the Arians; neither of these things, I say, could prevent this Tyrant from carrying on the persecution with more cruelty, and from making a vast number of martyrs, whom the Church continues to commemorate every year. The generous virgin Maxima, shewed her invincible courage in a most wonderful manner on this occasion. She was in the service of a noble Vandal, who had also a young man belonging to him, whose name was Martinian, and who was very much in the favour of his master, because he was a great artist in making arms. This Vandal lord, in order to engage the youth more strongly in his service, having given this holy virgin to him, whom he loved, for a wife, she not only persuaded Martinian to turn to the Catholick faith, but also to live in chastity, as she did herself, keeping her virginity, and to retire into a monastry, in order to devote himself to the service of GOD, with his three brothers, who were slaves with him at the same time. She on her side did the same, retiring into a monastry of women, which was not very distant from that of Martinian, but situated in a wilderness where they thought that no body would ever come to enquire after them. But they were at last discovered; and the Barbarian, their master, having forced them away, and flung them into a prison, inflicted all manner of punishments on them, in order to compel them, not only to live together as man and wife, but likewise to renounce the Catholick faith, and receive the baptism of the Arians. As they continued stedfast and inflexible in their pious resolution, Gisericus having had notice of it, he commanded their unmerciful master to repeat his cruelty, and not to cease tormenting them, till they obeyed him. This Barbarian readily complied with this inhuman order; and caused them to be unmercifully torn to pieces (with the blows of sticks, which were notched like a saw) in such

(z) Gennad. de Script. Eccl. c. 77.

a manner

A. D. 457. a manner that their intrails were seen thro' their ribs, which were flead, and had no flesh left upon them. This way of torturing them, was daily repeated by his command; because that GOD by his omnipotence, in order to confound the cruelty of the Arians, used to heal these holy martyrs so perfectly, that there did not appear on their bodies any marks of their wounds.

At last, GOD, in order to punish this obstinate Barbarian, having destroyed him, and almost his whole family, Gisericus was ashamed to contend any longer with the invincible Maxima, and therefore set her at liberty, and sent the four brothers farther into the country, to the dominions of one of those little Mooriſh princes who were Gentiles. But the king, being informed that they had converted a great number of those people, he caused them to be fastned to chariots, which were drawn by wild horses, who, being let loose, ran full speed over thorns and hedges, and so put an end to the lives of these glorious martyrs, whose blessed bodies were in this manner torn to pieces. (*a*) The Church pays honour to their memory on the sixteenth day of October, as also to that of the illustrious Maxima, with two hundred and seventy other martyrs, who received the like crown of glory in the same cause.

The persecution grew very warm, chiefly at court, where Gisericus, influenced by the Arian bishops in particular, would not suffer any Catholick to appear. The count Armogastus, who attended one of the king's sons, after having endured divers horrible tortures, was condemned to keep herds of sheep in the fields of Carthage. The prince, his master, would not consent to his being beheaded, fearing lest the Romans (for the Catholicks were so called by the Arians) should pay him the honours which were due to the martyrs. Gisericus was under the like apprehension, with respect to one of the noblemen of his court, for whom he had a great affection, and whom he endeavoured to pervert by a thousand endearing expressions, and promises of riches and honours: But when he saw him stedfast in his generous resolution of preserving the purity of the faith even to his death, he condemned him to lose his head But he gave orders privately to the executioner to hold his sword sometime suspended in the air; and told

(*a*) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

him

him, that, if he observed any fear in Armogastus, or that he offered to stir, he should immediately cut off his head, because it could not then be said that he died like a martyr; (*b*) but that, if he still continued stedfast in his resolution, he should bring him back in order to prevent him from acquiring that glory which nevertheless the Church allowed him in spite of that tyrant, who was overcome by his Stedfastness, in the same manner as Hunnericus, the successor to his Grown, was overcome by the invincible resolution of Saturus the steward of his household. *A. D.* 457.

This generous Christian withstood the greatest shock which nature, with all its forces united, could offer to the heart of a righteous man. For after that the king had endeavoured with prayers and promises to oblige him to become an Arian, he was told that he must immediately choose one of these two things, *viz.* either to obey the will of his master, or, after the confiscation of his estate, to see his wife, whom he passionately loved, given away before him to be married to a Muletier. This unfortunate lady who, with much difficulty obtained a short time to persuade her husband, used the strongest arguments which the love, fear, sorrow, shame, honour, jealousy and dispair of a woman could suggest on this occasion, to make an impression on an honest mind, whose inward conflicts were already stirred up by these powerful passions; yet he resisted all these efforts with a more than heroick resolution, and made faith triumph gloriously over so many formidable enemies, who had all conspired together in order to deprive him of it.

In short, during this cruel persecution, many were crowned with glory, but particularly a whole congregation of the faithful; who, having shut themselves up in a Church, in order to celebrate the feast of the passover, were surrounded by a body of Vandal soldiers, under the command of an Arian priest. These men having forced their passage into the Church, they first killed the Lecturer, who fell dead on the spot by a wound of an arrow, which he received in his throat just as he was singing the sacred canticle *Alleluia*, in the same manner as we sing it to this day in our Churches. Then they massacred, without distinction, whomsoever they met in their way, priests, and Lay-men, men, women, and little chil-

(*b*) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

dren,

A. D. 457. dren, excepting only a very small number, who ran away, to save themselves from the slaughter, yet could not escape the cruelty of Gisericus; for, having caused them to be apprehended, they were all put to death. But these Barbarians carried their fury still farther. They went into other Churches, during the celebration of the sacred mysteries, and whilst the people were partaking of the holy communion, they threw themselves like men possessed with rage, on the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST. They acted a thousand insolencies against the blessed Sacrament, by flinging it on the ground, and trampling it under their feet, with many other blasphemous actions, so that the Arians followed the example of the Donatists their predecessors, who were guilty of the like sacrileges in the time of Optatus bishop of Mileva, (as he himself certifies) as the Protestants of our times have renewed those of the Arians, whose example they have followed by their abominable detestation of the blessed Sacrament on the altar. And certainly they must acknowledge, by the faithful testimonies of history, that we are as like unto those Catholicks of the primitive ages, as they are to those Hereticks, who, according to their own confession, committed the greatest disorders in those days.

These were the advantages which Gisericus reaped from the broils of the Empire, in order to usurp part of it to himself, and oppress the Catholick religion. The king of the Visigoths acquired still greater benefits on the same occasion: For, having divided his forces into three bodies, he headed one of them, and took possession of the greatest part of the Narbonian Gaul; (*c*) then carried his conquests as far as the Rhone. The other two Armies he sent into Spain; (*d*) Cyrilla, who commanded the one, subdued Andalousia, without coming to a battle; and the other, under the command of Nepotian, and Sunnericus, (*e*) marched into Galicia, where Acliulphus, whom Theodoricus had appointed governour of those parts, had revolted against his benefactor, and presumed to take upon himself the title of king. This army first seized on the city of Asturica which was betrayed to them; (*f*) and there committed as many sacrileges, as they had done at Braga, destroying, burning, and ransacking whatever came in their way; and, besides the

(*c*) Miscell. Marc. (*d*) Idat. (*e*) Jornand. (*f*) Asterga.

greatest

greateſt part of the inhabitants of that wretched city, they brought away with them into captivity two biſhops with all the clergy. They acted in the like manner at Palentia; and, after having cauſed in all places moſt horrible devaſtations, they totally defeated the army of Acliulphus, who was made priſoner, and then beheaded; after which the Suevi, having in a ſubmiſſive manner begged for peace, thro' the interceſſion of the biſhops whom they ſent to Theodoricus, he not only granted them their requeſt, but alſo permitted them to chooſe a king. *A. D.* 457.

As they could not all agree on ſo nice a point, they divided themſelves into two parties, who choſe each of them a king, theſe were Frantanes, and Maſdra; (*g*) the former died within a few months after, and was ſucceeded by Frumarus; and the other, after having killed his own brother, and cauſed great diſorders throughout Galicia, and Luſitania; was put to death by his own people. His ſon Remiſmond, (*h*) after the death of Frumarus, having reconciled the minds of all the Suevi, became at laſt ſole king of that nation, who, from being Pagans, had embraced the Chriſtian religion, through the correſpondence which they held with the Romans, and native Spaniards, and at laſt unfortunately became Arians, by the fatal political management of Theodoricus, and Remiſmond. This prince, who was of a generous mind, being reſolved to reſtore the Suevi to the flouriſhing condition, which they were in under their king Rechiarius, entered into Luſitania with a potent army, and had almoſt made the conqueſt of it, (*i*) when he became maſter of Coimbra, and even of Lisbon, which was delivered up to him by the treachery of the governour. Now, in order to remain ſecure of his conqueſt, he thought on means to defend himſelf againſt the power of the Romans and Viſigoths, who claimed a right to theſe provinces. As to the Romans, he had but little regard to them, knowing that the broils and diſorders of the Empire had reduced them to the utmoſt extremities. But he was of opinion that the only way of engaging the Viſigoths in his intereſt was, by recommending himſelf to their protection. *A. D.* 458. *A. D.* 460.

To this end he ſent a magnificent embaſſy to Theodoricus, to aſſure him of the inviolable fidelity of the Suevi, who were reſolved

(*g*) Idat. (*h*) Iſidor. in Chron. (*i*) Idat. Marian. l. 5. c. 5.

A. D. 460. to own themselves obliged to him for what they possessed, and were at all times ready punctually to obey his commands. That, in order to form a more perfect union between the two nations, he begged that he would grant him the honour of an alliance with the the princess his daughter, whose right it was to be seated on that throne which he had restored to the Suevi. Theodoricus, who was proud of having kings for his vassals, received these proposals with joy, and sent the princess with very rich presents to Remismond, under the guardianship of Salanus, who was the first great officer of his court, with whom he dispatched likewise one Ajax, a Gaul by nation, and a man of wit and politicks, but a most impious Arian, who embraced that heresy only, with the view of gaining the favour of his prince, following in this the detestable maxim of the worldly people, who always adhere to that religion which seems most to favour their interest. This man, according to the instructions which he had received of Theodoricus, did not omit representing to Remismond, "That if it was true, as the prince declared, that the welfare of his dominions depended on the perfect "union he was resolved to hold with the Visigoths, it was yet "more true that such a thing could never be brought about be-"tween the two nations, so long as they were divided, concerning "the most essential point of the Christian religion. That it was "impossible, whilst people's opinions were so contrary to each "other, with respect to a matter of that moment, not to have an "aversion to each other; and that this being the case, there was "no probability to expect that the alliance, which he was con-"tracting with Theodoricus, could form a lasting union between "these two Nations. That it had been observed in all times, when "ever religion was the pretence, which often happened where "there was the least dispute between people of a different belief, "that this interest being stronger than any other, there was no "tie in nature ever so binding, but what it would break. That "it made children rise up in arms against their parents, wives "against their husbands, and brothers against brothers. That on "this occasion people thought their piety was the greater towards "GOD, as they were the more merciless towards their nearest re-"lations, and then made it a meritorious thing to commit the "most abominable crimes in violation of the sacred laws both of

"GOD,

" GOD, and man. That for theſe conſiderations, as alſo, in order *A. D.*
" to render this alliance eternal, Theodoricus conjured him to en- 460.
" ter into a perfect union of mind with him by embracing the
" true Chriſtian religion in its purity, as it was profeſſed by the
" Viſigoths. That, by this unity of religion, their two nations
" being made one people, and renouncing the ſuperſtitions and cor-
" rupt belief of their common enemies the Romans, they would
" then join their forces together, in order to complete the deſtruc-
" tion of thoſe men, whom GOD had already abandoned becauſe
" of their impieties.

In ſhort, this wicked apoſtate carried on his negotiation ſo well, that he perverted Remiſmond, who was already influenced by the advantage which he propoſed to himſelf in the friendſhip of Theodoricus, as alſo by the prayers and careſſes of the Arian princeſs his ſpouſe, who took a proper opportunity of inſtilling into his mind the poiſonous notions of hereſy, during the firſt tranſports of his paſſion. So this wretched prince renounced the Catholick faith, and made a publick profeſſion of Arianiſm, which the Suevi embraced alſo, by following his example, according to the damnable cuſtom of ſome of the northern countries, who always model their belief upon the religion of their prince. But this happened only about five or ſix years afterward, not long before the death of Theodoricus, who had been all this while very unſucceſsful in his war againſt Majorianus.

For this Emperour, who was a man of great courage, and had the ſoul of a Roman, not being able to bear the inſolences which the Barbarians acted againſt the Empire, (*k*) entered into Gaul with a powerful army, and having defeated the Viſigoths, he compelled Theodoricus to deliver up to him all the imperial provinces which he had lately uſurped from the Romans. After theſe fortunate beginnings, he marched into Spain with his victorious army, and ordered a ſtrong fleet to be fitted out at Carthagena, in order to paſs over into Africa, to make war againſt the Vandals, (*l*) having before-hand been himſelf over amongſt them in diſguiſe to make ſome diſcoveries: But whilſt he was making preparations for an expedition of this great importance, Giſericus

(*k*) Idat. Marian. (*l*) Procop. l. 1. cap. 6.

A. D. 460. having received notice of it, he came to meet him at Sea with thoſe mighty naval forces which he always kept ready, which, having fallen upon his fleet, before it was in a condition to fight, he took one part of them without any great reſiſtance, and burned the reſt. This fatal accident obliged Majorianus to ſuſpend for ſome time the deſign which he had formed of carrying on that war. But as he was returning to Rome, after having pacified the people of Gaul, he was miſerably deſtroyed by the treachery of Ricimerus.

This man was a perſon of great diſtinction amongſt the Goths, and born of one of the daughters of Vallia, king of the Viſigoths. (*m*) As he had continued in the ſervice of the Romans, being a brave and experienced general, he was honoured with the firſt dignities of the Empire, being made count, patrician, and conſul, (*n*) and was likewiſe poſſeſſed of the greateſt employments in the army, where he did conſiderable ſervices, having even defeated, under the government of Avitus, a vaſt number of the Vandal forces, who according to their cuſtom came over in ſixty ſhips of war to plunder the coaſt of Italy; and now under Majorianus he enjoyed the firſt poſt in the Empire, being made general of the Roman armies. But withal he was a moſt inveterate Arian, and of all men in the world the blackeſt and moſt perfidious, being capable of committing the wickedeſt actions, in cold blood, when they were of ſervice to his ambition. This paſſion placed him in his own imagination above all mankind, inſomuch that he could not bear the thoughts of a rival in power and greatneſs, no not even in the throne, unleſs he would bend to him on all occaſions, and be ſubject to his will. Therefore, finding that Majorianus who, by the greatneſs of his ſoul, and his extraordinary virtues, was worthy of his fortune, preſerved his character with a proper authority, and behaved himſelf, in every reſpect, like a Roman Emperour,

461. he conſpired privately with Vibius Severus, one of the ſenators, who was entirely devoted to him; and as he had the army at his command, he cauſed the latter to be proclaimed Emperour; (*o*) but firſt ſeized on the perſon of Majorianus, who was then at Tor-

(*m*) Marian. l. 5. c. 5. (*n*) Idat. ad ann. 456. (*o*) Idat. Caſſiod. Marcell. Anon. Cuſpin.

tona,

tona, and, having deprived him of the Empire, on the second day of Auguſt, he cauſed him to be murdered after a barbarous manner about five days after. *A. D.* 461.

He was a prince worthy of commanding ſuch Romans as had ſtill any remains of the virtue of their anceſtors. But he had the misfortune of being raiſed to the Empire at a time when, we may venture to ſay, he himſelf was the laſt of the Romans. Nevertheleſs he uſed his beſt endeavours not to appear as ſuch: For he made extraordinary good laws, which he ſtrictly obſerved, and by his example was labouring to reſtore that ancient virtue, by which Rome once became the miſtreſs of the world; but by having loſt it, was now almoſt reduced to be a ſlave to the Barbarians. He alſo acted jointly with St. Leo, biſhop of Rome, in order to bring piety again into a flouriſhing condition, and reform abuſes; amongſt which was that, whereby young virgins were ſacrificed by their parents, who uſed to ſhut them up in monaſtries, that their fortunes might ſerve to bring up their other children in the world. (*p*) For he made an edict, by which it was forbidden (as St. Leo had done before by a conſtitution) that any virgin, who was deſigned for a religious life, ſhould take the veil before ſhe had attained to the age of forty years, in order, that continuing till that time at liberty to chooſe the manner of life, which they were moſt inclined to, their parents could not have an opportunity of treating them with their uſual ſeverity. (*q*) In ſhort, beſides the beauties of his perſon, he was maſter of all the eminent perfections becoming an Emperour; and the only thing with which we can reproach him, was the too great value he ſet on this perfidious Arian Goth, who put Rome into irons, and made ſlaves of its Emperours.

For indeed, after the death of Majorianus and that of the great St. Leo, who died four months before him in the ſame year, Ricimerus, conceiving that nothing could now oppoſe either his ambition, or his cruelty, aſſumed a tyrannical power over Rome, diſpoſing, as he pleaſed, of the Empire, and of his imaginary Emperour, whom he had promoted to that dignity only to be ſubſervient to his paſſions. He even carried his violence and impiety ſo

(*p*) Majorian. Novell. tit. 8. (*q*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand.

far

A. D. far that no body could bear it, bringing the abomination of deſolati-
461. on, into the holy place, (*r*) by uſurping, with an arbitrary power, one of the Churches of Rome, which was that of St. Agatha, wherein with his Arians he publickly celebrated the profane myſteries of his hereſy. In the mean while all the Arian kings acquired great advantages during the diſorders which ſucceeded the death of Majorianus, whoſe virtues they admired, and whoſe courage they dreaded. (*s*) Giſericus, who not long before was forced to beg for a peace, having now renewed the war, laid waſte the whole coaſt of Italy, and Greece, (*t*) and carried the terror of his arms even into Egypt, from whence nevertheleſs he withdrew, without having made any exploits, as the wonderful Daniel Stylitus had foretold it to the Emperour Leo. (*u*) The Suevi, on the other part, took advantage of theſe diſorders, with a deſign to eſtabliſh, and carry on their
462. conqueſts farther into Luſitania. (*x*) Theodoricus, king of the Viſigoths, took poſſeſſion a ſecond time of Narbona, which was delivered up to him by count Agrippinus, in order to obtain his protection againſt count Gilles, governour of Gaul for the Romans, who about the ſame time defeated, in Britany, and killed Fredericus brother
464. to the king of the Viſigoths. But after the death of this count, Theodoricus began to take courage again, and, improving ſo favourable an opportunity, found it no difficult task to regain the
465. provinces ſituated on the other ſide of the Loire, which Majorianus had taken from him, whilſt Childericus, king of France, after having defeated in battle the ſame Roman governour, (*y*) was conquering thoſe countries which lie between that river, and the Seine. So that the Romans, who were beaten and repulſed on all ſides by the French, the Goths, and Bourguignons, who marched forwards on the borders of the Saone, and Rhone, had nothing now left them in Gaul but the meer ſhadow of Empire in a few of its provinces.

Nevertheleſs Ricimerus ſhewed very little concern for theſe loſſes, becauſe his thoughts were wholly employed upon the eſtabliſhment of his tyrannical dominion in Rome, (*z*) where he

(*r*) Greg. lib. 3. ep. 19. (*s*) Idat. (*t*) Procop. l. 1. (*u*) Act. Dan. ap. Sur. 11. Decemb. Idat. (*x*) Idat. (*y*) Gregor. Tur. l. 1. c. 12. Aim. l. 1. cap. 8. (*z*) Marcell.

cauſed

cauſed Hermenericus, an Arian Goth, to be choſen conſul, and there reigned over the Romans under the names of thoſe inſignificant Emperours, whom he uſed to make, and deſtroy juſt according as his own fancy led him, or as he was influenced by his paſſions, or intereſt. For having promoted Severus to the imperial throne, and not finding proper diſpoſitions in him to gratify his ambition, he cauſed him to be poiſoned; after which he treated with the Emperour Leo, offering him to proclaim Anthemius, for whom that Emperour had a very great value, (*a*) but with this condition that the latter ſhould give him his daughter Euphemia for a wife. This Anthemius was a man of the firſt rank by his birth, as alſo by his employments in the court of Conſtantinople, being at that time patrician, and prefect of the Eaſt. (*b*) He was grandſon to the great Anthemius, who was firſt miniſter to the young Theodoſius; and Marcian, his ſucceſſour, had honoured him with his alliance, by giving him his own daughter in marriage. Leo, who was highly pleaſed that a Grecian, and one of his creatures, ſhould be raiſed to the Empire, readily approved of this propoſal; and Ricimerus, who was well aſſured that he ſhould ſtill continue to have all things in his power as before, thought it would be of great advantage to him to be ſon in law to an Emperour. Therefore this affair being agreed upon by both parties, Leo, after a years interregnum, ſent Anthemius with count Marcellinus and a moſt magnificent attendance into Italy, where he was received by Ricimerus, who came with the ſenate to meet him within eight miles of Rome, (*c*) and there ſolemnly proclaimed him Emperour with the title of Auguſtus, even before he entered the city. *A. D.* 465.

His arrival had like to have cauſed great diſorders in Rome, with reſpect to the religion. For whether it was that he had a mind to make himſelf agreeable to Ricimerus, who was an Arian, or that he did not foreſee the evil which his behaviour might occaſion, he had brought with him amongſt his attendants one Philotheus, a Macedonian Heretick, who had a great intereſt with him. (*d*) This man, ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the favour and authority of the Emperour, took upon him immediately to dictate publickly

(*a*) Caſſiod. in Chron. Sidon. in Paneg. Anth. (*b*) Evag. lib. 2. c. 16. Niceph. l. 25. c. 11. (*c*) Idat. (*d*) Gelaſ. ep. 11.

in

A. D. 467. in Rome, and to appoint meetings, where he ſet forth the principles and falſe reaſons of thoſe who had ſequeſtred themſelves from the Roman Church, in order that people might be at liberty to chooſe the religion which they liked beſt; but withal he poſitively maintained his own opinion, and thus artfully infuſed the venom of his hereſy into the minds of thoſe who were apt eaſily to be drawn away by new doctrines. And by this means he certainly would have cauſed great diſorders, had not Hilarius, biſhop of Rome, who was ſucceſſour to St. Leo, oppoſed him at firſt with an invincible ſtedfaſtneſs. For as the Emperour was one day in the Church of St. Peter, this holy biſhop addreſſed him in the preſence of the whole Congregation, and ſpoke with ſo much force and perſuaſion againſt the inſolent liberty, which Philotheus had preached up, that Anthemius, (either out of fear leſt the Romans ſhould riſe up againſt him, or becauſe he could not reſiſt the power of the ſpirit which ſpoke by the biſhop) promiſed him ſolemnly, and with an oath in the hearing of the people, that he would put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, and forbid all meetings of that kind, which he accordingly performed. Thus we ſee how great an influence a man of GOD, ſupported by a holy life and character, may have over the princes of the earth, ſince he can humble them, and make them ſubmit to the power of GOD, by this means the hereſy of Philotheus was prevented from taking root in Rome, tho' at the ſame time the Hereticks in other parts encreaſed prodigiouſly by the over-growing power of the Viſigoths, after the death of Theodoricus their king.

For whilſt this unhappy prince was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to bring the Suevi to the Arian religion, by means of the alliance which he made with Remiſmond, their king, to whom he had given his daughter for wife, (*e*) GOD, by a juſt judgment, permitted that, as he had inhumanly maſſacred his brother Toriſmond, he likewiſe ſhould be put to death by his other brother Evaricus; who by the means of this parricide, aſcended the throne himſelf. And, as he had cauſe to fear that Remiſmond would revenge the death of his father-in-law, he reſolved (being a man of equal courage and ambition) to prevent him by marching with his forces

(*e*) Idat. Iſid. in Chron.

into

into Spain, which at that time was divided amongſt the Romans, the Suevi, and the Viſigoths. The latter were maſters of Andalouſia, and Catalonia. The Suevi held old Galicia in their poſſeſſion, with the major part of Luſitania, and the remainder was under the government of the Romans. Evaricus, having ſurpriſed Remiſmond, plundered his whole country, and took poſſeſſion of Luſitania; then, after ſo ſucceſsful a beginning, having reſolved to invade the whole monarchy of Spain, he ſent a conſiderable body of men towards the river Ebre as far as the Pirenees, where they took Pampeluna, and Sarragoſſa. Whilſt he, on the other ſide, with his army, fell upon the remaining provinces, and behaved with ſo much valour and conduct, (*f*) that, after having taken and plundered Tarragona, which in thoſe days was the moſt conſiderable city in Spain, he drove out the Romans, and reduced the whole country to his ſubjection, excepting only Galicia, which continued ſometime longer under the dominion of the Suevi. And indeed, it is probable that he would even then have deſtroyed them intirely had not fortune, which was ſo favourable to him at that time, procured him an opportunity of making greater conqueſts in Gaul, where he returned in order to attack the Romans, at the requeſt of Giſericus, king of the Vandals, for the reaſon of which I ſhall now relate to you. *A. D.* 467.

Leo, Emperour of the Eaſt, who was a prince truly Catholick, and of a great ſoul, not being able to bear any longer the affronts which Giſericus daily offered, both to the religion and to the Empire, reſolved at laſt to make war againſt him with all his forces, in order to regain what he had uſurped from the Romans. To this end he made the greateſt preparations of war that any Emperour was ever known to have done before him. For he fitted out three great fleets almoſt at the ſame time, in order to fall upon the Vandals on all ſides. (*g*) The firſt he ſent under the command of Marcellinus, who after the death of Aetius, his intimate friend, had fortified himſelf ſo well in Dalmatia, that he continued maſter of that country. The Emperour, in order to bring him over to his intereſt, gave him thoſe naval forces, with which he drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, which they had in their poſſeſſion. The ſe- 468.

(*f*) Iſid. in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 5. (*g*) Procop. de bell. Vandal. lib. 1.

A. D. 468. cond fleet was left to the command of Heraclian, who ſet out with it in order to attack the Vandal fleet, which he defeated in fight of Tripoli, which was delivered up to him after his victory. Then, having landed his forces, he marched by land towards Carthage, with count Marcellinus, who was come to meet him; and being arrived at the Cape, where anciently ſtood the temple of Mercury, within a few miles of Carthage, he waited there in expectation of the third fleet, which had orders to attack Carthage by Sea, whilſt he engaged the enemy by land. (*b*) There never was ſeen ſo fine a fleet, which was compoſed of twelve hundred ſhips with oars, and all perfectly well fitted out, the expence whereof amounted to one hundred and thirty thouſand (*i*) pounds weight in gold, which the Emperour expended on this account. Theſe naval forces were under the command of Baſiliſcus, brother to the Empreſs Verina, who, having ſailed from the Port of Conſtantinople with a fair wind, came in very good time to the Cape of Mercury: Which cauſed ſo great a terrour in Giſericus, who (after the many loſſes he had juſt received, could not oppoſe ſuch a formidable fleet) that had they marched directly to Carthage, without giving him time to conſider of it, they might have eaſily taken that city, and from that very time rooted out of Africa, both the name, and Tyranny of the Vandals. But, through the treachery of Baſiliſcus, this favourable opportunity was loſt, with the deſtruction of ſo glorious a fleet, having firſt entered into a conſpiracy with Aſparus.

This wicked man, who was a Goth, (*k*) and an Arian, tho' at the ſame time, an experienced officer, had been a long while general in the militia of the Eaſt. As he could have no hopes of being raiſed to the Empire, by reaſon of the Arian hereſy, which he profeſſed, (*l*) and which was then deteſted at Conſtantinople; and as on the other hand his power was great, he managed affairs, after the death of Marcian, ſo as to cauſe Leo, who was one of the firſt generals in the army, to be proclaimed Emperour, believing

(*b*) Nice. l. 15. c. 27. Procop. l. 1. c. 6. (*i*) Fourteen millions of gold French, and ſix hundred and twenty five thouſand crowns. Procop. l. 1. c. 6. (*k*) Procop. l. 1. c. 6. Jorn. c. 45. (*l*) Niceph. l. 5. c. 27. Cedren. Evag. l. 2. c. 16.

that

that he would be intirely devoted to him, and that he would confer the title of Cæsar on one of his three sons. But finding that Leo took upon him the authority of Emperour, and would not suffer any one to govern him, and also that he mentioned nothing concerning the creation of a Cæsar, Asparus resolved upon his ruin. To this end, he carried on a private correspondence with Gisericus, whom he had a mind to preserve, in opposition to all the endeavours of Leo, in order to maintain so powerful a patron for the execution of his designs. And as he perceived that the command of this great fleet was given to Basiliscus, who was an Eutychean Heretick, and whose wicked dispositions and ambition were very well known to him, he, with his son Ardaburus, promised to place him on the throne in the room of Leo, provided that he would hold a private intelligence with Gisericus, who would assist them with all the forces of his kingdom in the execution of this project. This alone was sufficient to draw an ambitious man into a conspiracy of this nature. Therefore Basiliscus readily agreed to whatever Asparus required of him, which he accordingly performed by doing the most base, shameful, and detestable action that ever was known. For, instead of investing Carthage by sea at the same time that Heraclian and Marcellinus had agreed to besiege it by land, he kept his fleet in the Port of the Cape of Mercury, under the pretence that Gisericus, with whom he had conferred, only desired a truce of five days, during which time he would resolve to submit to whatever the Emperour demanded of him. But in the mean while the Vandal, having filled his large ships with all the forces he could muster up, and converted the small ones into a vast number of fireships, he sailed by night, with the first favourable wind, and fell at once upon the Emperour's fleet. The latter, being thus suddenly surprised in a Port where they had no room to act, could not prevent such a prodigious number of fireships from setting fire to their fleet, which, by the fierceness of the wind, that carried the flames from ship to ship, was soon involved in a most horrible conflagration. *A. D.* 468.

So dreadful a sight was never seen. This prodigious forest of ships, intermixt with each other, in a short time appeared to be but one fire. What with the roaring of the wind and flames: The

A. D. 468. noiſe of the fire-brands and falling maſts; the ſoldiers and ſailors, by their hidious cries confounding each other, and running up and down half dead and burnt, without knowing where they were going, it created ſo much horror and confuſion throughout the whole fleet, that there was no poſſibility either of commanding, or obeying, or giving any aſſiſtance in this general diſaſter. Thoſe, who endeavoured to prevent the fireſhips from burning them, were forced to puſh them back againſt their own people to whoſe ſhips they ſet fire, as they themſelves were likewiſe fired by other fireſhips which were forced againſt them by their next neighbours. Thus the ſoldiers of the ſame fleet were conſuming each other in the flames which their enemies had prepared for them, and were deſtroying one another, whilſt they were endeavouring to ſave themſelves. And all this while the Vandals were ſhooting darts and arrows by the light of the flames, and were ſinking down, with poles, and oars, thoſe who flung themſelves over-board into the Sea in order to get to ſhore, and ſo deſtroyed by water, all thoſe who had eſcaped the violence of the fire.

There were nevertheleſs ſome brave men who, during this diſorder fought with great courage and reſolution, tho' at the ſame time all their endeavours were rendered fruitleſs thro' this abominable treachery. Amongſt others, there was John, lieutenant general of the imperial forces, who, having with much difficulty got out of the Port, defended himſelf ſo bravely at Sea, that he was even admired by the Vandals themſelves. For, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he generouſly withſtood every ſhip that came up to him, and killed ſeveral of the enemies that attempted to approach him, till at laſt, the Vandals having laid hold of his ſhip, he ſaw himſelf upon the brink of being cruſhed by the multitude. And now, whilſt Genzo, one of the ſons of Giſericus, was entreating him to ſurrender, and promiſing him, upon the word of a prince, that he would treat him as a man, whoſe courage and virtue he greatly admired, this valiant officer, deſpiſing theſe propoſals and immediate death, conſulted nothing in the height of action, but his undaunted courage, and calling out aloud to the enemy with an haughty and diſdainful air, he ſaid —— "It never ſhall be re- "lated that John fell into the hands of ſuch dogs as you are." And then flung himſelf into the Sea, in his armour, and buried himſelf

himself under the waves. Now of all this prodigious fleet, there hardly escaped any one ship, but that of Basiliscus, which they let pass; and we may say that this was the only reward, he received for his abominable treachery. For at his return to Constantinople, Asparus, who did not expect that the affair would be carried so far, did not dare to declare himself in his interest: So that being loaded with the imprecations of the people, who all required that he should lose his head, he was forced to fly to the great Church for sanctuary, from whence he at last was taken out, and thro' the mediation of the Empress his sister, was sent into banishment to Perinthus in Thracia. After this fatal overthrow Heraclian marched with his army by land to Tripoli. (*m*) As for Marcellinus, he had been killed some time before in the camp by a Roman officer, who afterwards made his escape to the territories of the Empire. *A. D.* 468.

In the mean while the Emperour Leo, who knew the dispositions of Asparus, and Ardaburus, having inquired into the affair, had room to believe that they were both concerned in this conspiracy with Basiliscus, and that they held a private correspondence with Gisericus; therefore he resolved to use their own method of dissimulation, and destroy them by the same artifice which they practised against him. (*n*) To this end, he expressed more affection for them than he had done hitherto; and seemed as if he intended to perform his promise to them, by bringing the whole family of Asparus into his interest and alliance, (*o*) and so conferred the title of Cesar on his second son Patriciolus, to whom he promised to give his daughter Ariadne in marriage. In this he did two things, which were very serviceable to his design. For, in the first place, he deceived Asparus, who, believing his fortune as great as he could desire it, and himself at the same time restored to favour, did not harbour any suspicion of the Emperour: And in the second place, he made him by these means odious to all the orders of the Empire, who never would admit an Arian to the dignity of the imperial crown: So great was the abhorrence which they bore in those days to Arianism in the East, where it had for- 469.

(*m*) Marcell. Procop. (*n*) Niceph. l. 15. c. 27. (*o*) Cedren. in Compo. Evag. l. 1. c. 16. Cand. ap. Phot.

merly

A. D. merly reigned with the utmoſt rage and inſolence. (*p*) And in-
469. deed, this news cauſed great murmurings at Conſtantinople, particularly amongſt the clergy, who made ſtrong repreſentations to
470. the Emperour, in order to prevent an Arian from being his ſucceſſor. The fathers of the deſert, the holy Abbots, and Monks, quitted their monaſtries, (*q*) and came in crowds into the very hyppodromum, crying out aloud, that the abomination of Arianiſm ſhould be driven from the ſanctuary, and that an Arian ſhould not be created Ceſar. The Emperour, who was pleaſed to ſee his deſign meet with ſucceſs, replied in a cool manner, that all things would go well in time: But under-hand he declared that what he had done, was only in order to ſecure himſelf from the plots and attempts of Aſparus and his children; (*r*) which coming to the knowledge of the people, they roſe up one day againſt them with ſo much fury in the hyppodromum, loading them with imprecations, that, fearing leſt they ſhould be torn to pieces, they made the beſt of their way towards the Streights of Calcedonia,
471. and retired to the Aſylum of St. Euphemia. (*s*) The Emperour, who ſtill carried on his diſſimulation, and was no wiſe ſuſpected by them, went himſelf to the place where they were retired, in order to bring them back; hereupon they thought themſelves ſo ſecure of his protection, that they went to viſit him at his palace where he received them after a civil manner, and admitted them even to eat with him at his table. But afterwards Zeno, who was the Emperour's confidant, and who had received private orders from him, cauſed them all to be maſſacred by the Eunuchs of the palace; and for his reward Leo gave him Ariadne for wife, and made him prefect of the Eaſt. Oſtris, who had a great value for Aſparus, and was his protector, with Theodoricus, whoſe ſiſter
472. Aſparus had married, (both Arians and princes of the Goths) came ſome time after with a potent body of men, and marched up to the very gates of Conſtantinople, (*t*) in order to revenge his death, but they were ſoon obliged to retire, being repulſed and beaten by Zeno and Baſiliſcus, who by the means of the Empreſs his ſiſter, had been recalled from baniſhment not long before.

(*p*) Act. S. Marcell. ap. Sur. 29. Decemb. (*q*) Zonar. Ann. t. 3. (*r*) Niceph. l. 15. 27. (*s*) Niceph. ibid. Marcell. in Chron. Iornand. de reb. Get. c. 45. (*t*) Theoph.

After

After this bloody revolution, Giſericus, who now had no protector at Conſtantinople, nor any intelligence from thence, began to apprehend that Leo on the one part, and Anthemius his creature on the other, would renew the war againſt him in Africa, with all the forces of the two Empires united. For which reaſon, as he was a well-experienced politician, he immediately thought of making a diverſion, that ſcheme having been already ſo ſucceſsful to him, when he ſent Atila into Gaul againſt Theodoricus, king of the Viſigoths. (*u*) Therefore applying now to the ſame artifice, he ſent two Ambaſſadors; the one into Pannonia to the Oſtrogoths, in order to perſuade them to riſe in arms againſt the Emperor Leo; and the other to Evaricus in Spain, with preſſing ſollicitations to improve ſo favourable an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of what remained in the poſſeſſion of the Romans in Gaul; promiſing him that he would, on his part, cut out ſo much work for them, as would prevent them from ſending any of their forces againſt him, in order to obſtruct his conqueſts. Evaricus, whoſe courage was naturally great, and who, at this time, was puffed up with the ſucceſs of ſo many victories, which he had gained in Spain, received with pleaſure theſe propoſals, which equally flattered his expectations, and ambition. On the other hand he received intelligences from Gaul, thro' the treachery of two governours, (*w*) Arvandus, and Seronatus, who were convicted of having ſecretly treated with him, in order to deliver up the provinces to him, which were under their Government: And tho' they had been puniſhed as Traitors, there were nevertheleſs ſeveral accomplices with them in this conſpiracy, who he doubted not but would declare themſelves in his intereſt. Beſides, the Tyranny of theſe governours, (*x*) and of ſome other Roman officers, was become ſo intolerable to the Gauls, who were treated by them with great injuſtice and cruelty, that they would rather have had a Hun, or Goth, or any other Barbarian, for their maſter, than a Roman. This gave him room to believe, that, as the Viſigoths had governed in Toulouſe with a great deal of lenity and moderation, moſt of the Gauls would the more readily ſide with him, in *A. D.* 472.

(*u*) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 47. Marian. l. 5. (*w*) Sidon. l. 1. Ep. 7. L. 7. Ep. 7. (*x*) Sidon. l. 2. Ep. 1. Salvian de vero Jud. l. 7.

order

A. D. order to throw off a yoke which they could no longer bear. But at
472. last, what prevailed upon him to take a Resolution, was, the great weakness of the Romans, and the dreadful disorders then raging in the Empire of the West, under the cruel Tyranny of Ricimerus.

For this Barbarian, (*y*) who was resolved to destroy the Emperour Anthemius his father-in-law, whom he thought a man of too much virtue, having been disappointed in his attempt, declared open war against him; and some time after, having wickedly deceived him under the false pretence of a peace, which he had prevailed on St. Epiphanus bishop of Pavia, to demand of him, (*z*) he killed him in the very city of Rome, where he also massacred all those whom he suspected to be over-zealous in the interest of Anthemius. He had not long before caused the senator Olybrius to be proclaimed Emperour, (*a*) who had married the young Placidia; (*b*) but neither the one nor the other enjoyed long the fruits
473. of so horrible a crime. (*c*) The wicked Recimerus, who was the author of it, died forty days after on the eighteenth of August, and Olibrius, (*d*) who was one of the accomplices, did not out-
474. live him much above two months. So within four or five months after his death, as no body declared for the Empire, Glycerius, encouraged by Ricimerus's Goths, and chiefly by Gondiband, to whom Olybrius had given the title of patrician, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperour at Ravenna. (*e*) But in the following year, Julius Nepos, son of the sister of count Marcellinus, who had driven the Vandals out of Sardinia, dethroned him, and, in order to save his life, compelled him to enter into holy orders, after which he admitted him to be made a bishop at the Port of Rome, from whence he departed, and took upon him the government of his Church at Salona in Dalmatia, whither Nepos banished him.
475. But this new shadow of an Emperour soon vanished, as had done the others: For in the following year, Orestes, an officer of the Goths, (whom he had made general of the militia, in order to be assisted by those of his nation) having risen up against him at the

(*y*) Cassiod. Marcell. Miscell. lib. 15. (*z*) Ennod. in reb. gest. Epiph. (*a*) Cassiod. Anonym. Cuspin (*b*) Idat. (*c*) Idat. (*d*) Cassiod. in Chron. Marcell. (*e*) Marcell. Iorn. de reb. Get. c. 45. Evag. lib. 2. c. 16.

head

head of the army, he quitted the Empire, and retired into Dalmatia, (*f*) where, after having lived a private life during five years in a country house which he had near Salona, he was murdered, by the treachery of his own servants. *A. D.* 475

Nevertheless Orestes, about two months after expelled Julius Nepos, (*g*) and, being desirous of reigning under the name of another, caused the army to proclaim his son Momyllus Emperour, whose name also was Augustus, (*h*) and who afterwards was called Augustulus by way of Derision, because that, having nothing august in him, but the bare name, with the vain shadow of Empire, he was the weakest and meanest of all the Emperours who had born that title. For those amongst the Romans, who were concerned for the loss of Nepos, and could not bear to see a man so unworthy of the Empire seated on the throne of the Cesars, applied, as it commonly happens in rebellions, to a remedy yet worse than the disease; and in order to deliver themselves from the son of a Goth, they called in another Barbarian for their master, who was an inveterate Arian.

This was Odoacer, king of the Eurily, the Sciri, and Turcilingi; who, having passed the Danube, as the Goths, and Huns had done before him, had made his way thro' the Noricum up to the Alps. (*i*) He was a young prince of a beautiful form, an extraordinary courage, and eminent natural parts; and had nothing in him of a Barbarian but his birth, and heresy, which all those people had taken from the Goths thro' a fatal infection. He was chosen king by his own nation, who were in hopes that he would one day make them masters of part of Italy; and it is reported that St. Severinus, the Apostle of the Norici, (*k*) had foretold him when he was in a private station, that he should reign in Italy, and be happy there during the space of thirteen or fourteen years. (*l*) As he now only waited for a favourable opportunity of compleating this good fortune, he passed the Alps, (*m*) as soon as he found that the Romans invited him over, in order to oppose Orestes; and, after having taken Pavia, where that general proposed to stop his march, 476.

(*f*) Cassiod. Jornand. Marcell. (*g*) Anon Cuspin. (*h*) Cassiod. Marcell. Jornand. (*i*) People of Pomerania, Prussia and Poland. (*k*) Cluver. l. 3. Part of Austria, Styria and Carinthia. (*l*) Procop. de Bello. Get. l. 1. Eugipius in vita St. Sever. (*m*) Cassiod. Marcell.

A. D. 476. he purſued him vigorouſly to the very gates of Rome, which were opened to him by thoſe of his party. Now to ſecure his conqueſt, he immediately cauſed Oreſtes and his brother to be put to death: But having little to fear from the youth, and much leſs from the weakneſs of the wretched Auguſtulus, he only confined him to the ſtately houſe of Lucullus, ſituated near Naples, that he might paſs his life more agreeably there than he could have done on a throne, which he was no wiſe capable of gracing. Thus the Empire of the Romans in the Weſt, five hundred and twenty years after its eſtabliſhment by the great Auguſtus, fell from the unfortunate Auguſtulus into the hands of the Arian Barbarians, who held it under ſeveral kings, beginning with Odoacer, who reigned about ſeventeen years. Nevertheleſs he would not wear the purple, nor would he aſſume any other marks of Empire, or title, but that of king of Italy, which his ſucceſſors retained ever after him, either in honour to their nation, who had a great regard to the name of king, which the Romans had aboliſhed for ſo many ages; or in order to convince the French, the Bourguignons, the Viſigoths, and Vandals, who poſſeſſed Gaul, Spain, and Africa, that they had no deſign to make any attempt on their conqueſts, being ſufficiently ſatisfied with the kingdom of Italy. The Empire was thus reduced to this deplorable ſtate after ſo many terrible revolutions.

Evaricus, being ſollicited, during theſe diſorders, by the king of the Vandals, to drive the Romans out of Gaul, did not doubt but he might undertake it with ſucceſs in ſo favourable a conjuncture; ſo he marched immediately towards Toulouſe into the provinces of the Empire with a powerful army which was juſt returned victorious from Spain. As all things were now in confuſion throughout Gaul, and no Roman forces in the field to oppoſe him, he advanced towards Bourges, where he defeated Riothimus, king of Brittany, (*n*) who was come with twelve thouſand men to the relief of the Romans, and who after the defeat of his army retired into Burgundy on the other ſide of the river Loire. After which a freſh body of Oſtrogoths, (*o*) under the command of Vilemirus, whom Glycerius had diverted from Italy by

(*n*) Jorn. de Reb. Get. c. 45. (*o*) Jorn. c. 56.

the

the force of money, came and offered themselves to the Visigoths, in order to make but one nation with them. Therefore Evaricus, finding himself so timely reinforced with such a potent army, carried his conquests up towards the Rhone. (*p*) This obliged the Emperour Nepos to beg peace of him by the intercession of St. Epiphanus bishop of Pavia, with whose request he complied in appearance. Tho' soon after he marched into the field; (*q*) and, having run over all the provinces which lie between the Garone, and the Rhone, he even passed this river and went into Provence, where he made himself master of Arles and Marseilles, and subdued the Bourguignons, who had declared themselves in the interest of the Romans; but the latter not being able to appear in the field, from the time of Odoacer's entring Rome, (*r*) he compelled all the Gauls who were between the Ocean, the Loire, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, to submit to his Empire, for the sake of obtaining peace; and to deliver up to him Clermount in Auvergne, which was the only place that remained un taken, and that had been a long time defended by the arms of Ecditius, son of the Emperour Avitus, and thro' the sollicitations of the famous Sidonius Apollinaris his brother-in-law who was bishop of that city.

A. D. 476. 480.

Yet, what proved still more deplorable in this conquest, was, that Odoacer, who was strenuously zealous for his sect, and could not bear so much as the name of a Catholick, having now no more enemies to oppose him, (*s*) he turned his arms against the true religion, which he endeavoured to destroy in his dominions, by using all imaginable means to suppress the exercise of it. For he expelled the bishops and pastors from their Churches; some he put to death, and would not suffer that any one should succeed them. He behaved in the same manner to those who died after having escaped his fury. He caused most of the Churches both in town, and country to be destroyed, (*t*) so that the very cattle went to eat the grass which grew at the foot of the Altars; and he ordered that the passages into other Churches should be filled up with

(*p*) Ennod. Ticin. de reb. St. Epiph. (*q*) Jorn. c. 47. (*r*) Sidon. Apol. l. 3 ep. 1. l. 7. ep. 16. Greg. l. 1. c. 25. Jornand. Marian. (*s*) Sidon. l. 7. Epist. 6. (*t*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 25.

A. D. 480. thorns. He expelled the priests, (*u*) whereof many were massacred, some thrown into prison, loaded with irons; and others, in a manner banished; insomuch that the people, particularly the inhabitants of Bordeaux, Perigueux, Rodez, Limoges, Mendez, Bazas, and Auche, besides many others who were barbarously treated, finding themselves without bishops, priests, Churches and Sacraments, were in danger at last of losing their faith and piety, for want of proper food for the support of the one, and the other. But GOD 483. put an end to this cruel persecution by taking out of the world Evaricus, who died at Arles, (*w*) three months after, leaving his son Alaricus for his successour, who was not of so inhuman a disposition as his father.

On the other hand the embassy, which Gisericus had sent into Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, was likewise as fatal to the Empire as that which had brought Evaricus and his Visigoths into Gaul; but we must first give some account of the state which the Ostrogoths were in at that time. After the death of Atila, (who was king of so many princes, and of such a number of Barbarian nations,) (*x*) his sons, (who were very numerous), being all desirous to succeed him in his Empire, were deprived of their expectations. For the other kings, seeing them divided amongst themselves upon the account of their portions, joined altogether against them, and drove them out as far as Pontus Euxinus, after a battle wherein Ardaricus, king of the Gepidi, had defeated them and killed Ellarus the bravest of them, whom Atila had appointed to be his successour. Hereupon they applied to the Emperour Marcian, praying that he would grant them those provinces which Atila had possessed, and which they were desirous to enjoy under him, promising at the same time that they would serve him faithfully; upon condition, that he would also give them a yearly pension. As the Emperour could not well refuse them a thing which they might have taken without his consent, they easily obtained what they required. Therefore the Gepidi took possession of Dacia as the reward of their victory; and the Ostrogoths, under the command of these three valiant brothers, Valemirus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, their kings, who fought with Atila in the Cata-

(*u*) Sidon. ibid. (*w*) Jorn. c. 47. (*x*) Jorn. de reb. Get. c. 50.

launick

launick plains, had Pannonia for their ſhare, which they divided, tho' at the ſame time they governed their ſubjects with a perfect union among themſelves. (y) Nevertheleſs they did not continue long in peace with the Emperour; for their penſion not being duly paid to them, and believing that they were deſpiſed by Marcian, they fell upon Dalmatia, and Illyria, where they paid themſelves out of the plunder of thoſe wretched provinces. This obliged the Emperour to ſend Ambaſſadours in order to pacify them; and at laſt the peace was renewed, upon condition that all the arrears that were due ſhould be paid to them immediately, and that for the time to come their penſion ſhould be continued by more punctual payments. This being agreed upon, the Oſtrogoths, on their part, offered the ſon of Theodemirus as an hoſtage of their fidelity. This young prince was the great Theodoricus, who then was not above ſeven years old, and being brought to Conſtantinople, he was preſented to the Emperour Leo, ſucceſſor to Marcian; who, finding him a lovely youth, gave him his education in the palace, till he attained to the age of eighteen, (z) and treated him with as much regard and tenderneſs as if he had been his own ſon. After this, Theodemirus having done conſiderable ſervices, in defence of the Empire againſt the Suevi and Sarmati, he ſent Theodoricus back to his father, indued with ſo many princely qualities, that the Goths held him in admiration. And, in order to give them a trial of what they might expect from him, he paſſed the Danube with ſix thouſand men who followed him, unknown to his father, and attacked Babaius, king of the Sarmati, (who was now puffed up with the ſucceſs of a victory which he had lately gained over the Romans,) and killed him with his own hand, then returned home to his father loaded with ſpoils and plunder, and gave him an account of his voyage and victory. After which he went into Myſia, where he took Singidona, which the king of Sarmati had formerly ſeized on; and tho' this town was ſituated in the territories of the Empire, he nevertheleſs, kept poſſeſſion of it for the Goths. A.D. 483.

This was the condition which they were in when the Ambaſſadours from Giſericus came to entreat them to make war againſt

(y) Jorn. c. 52. (z) Jorn. c. 55.

the

A. D. 483. the Romans. They did not find much difficulty to ſucceed in a negociation of this moment. (*a*) For the Goths, ſeeing that a peace was diſadvantageous to them, and that their ſubſtance was waſting, with the ſmall penſion they received from the Romans, which was in no manner ſufficient to maintain them, they daily importuned Theodemirus, in order to perſuade him to take up arms againſt them. (*b*) Therefore the promiſes, and reaſons, and much more the preſents of Giſericus, working ſtrongly upon him at ſo favourable a conjuncture, a freſh war was at laſt declared, (*c*) and it was reſolved to fall upon the Empire both in the Eaſt, and Weſt at the ſame time. Whereupon Theodemirus, who, ſince the death of Valemirus, (who was killed in a battle againſt the Suevi and Scythians,) had taken upon him the principal command, divided the Goths into two Bodies. (*d*) The one he gave to his brother Videmirus, in order to march with it into Italy, where he died; and his ſon being bribed with money and other preſents which Glycerius made him, went into Gaul, where he joined the Viſigoths. As for Theodemirus, who commanded the greateſt number of forces, having paſſed the Savus with his ſon Theodoricus, he laid waſte the countries of Illiria, and Dalmatia, as far as Epirus, then entered into Macedonia, and Theſſalia, where he took Lariſſa and Heraclea, and plundered the fineſt and richeſt country of Greece; after which, marching back towards Thracia, he laid ſiege before Theſſalonica, where Clarianus, general of the imperial army, who did not dare to keep the field, had ſhut himſelf up. But at laſt a peace being purchaſed with money and additional territories, he died ſoon after, leaving the whole kingdom of the Oſtrogoths to his ſucceſſour Theodoricus, who did not reign very long before he broke that peace which his father had made.

This was the conſequence of Giſericus's two embaſſies, who, thro' thoſe political proceedings, obtained what he had propoſed to himſelf, and, by theſe two powerful diverſions enjoyed a perfect peace in Carthage, where at laſt he died in the ſame year wherein Odoacerus entered Rome. (*e*) Hunnericus, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him, and in the beginning of his reign gave ſome cauſe to be-

(*a*) Jorn. c. 56. (*b*) Idat. c. 47. (*c*) Cap. 53. (*d*) Cap. 59. (*e*) Victor. de Utic. Perſect. Vand. l. 2.

lieve

lieve that he would prove much more compaſſionate than his father. He at firſt ſhewed an averſion to the Manichees, whom he proſecuted with ſeverity; and would not ſpare even his own Arian prieſts, who for the moſt part were infected with that peſtilential hereſy. As for the Catholicks, he took ſo little notice of them that they began to believe themſelves at liberty to aſſemble in their Churches in order to celebrate the holy myſteries in publick. He even permitted them, at the requeſt of the Emperour Zeno, and of Placidia, widow of the Emperour Olybrius, to chooſe a biſhop at Carthage, where Giſericus had not ſuffered any for twenty four years. Accordingly they made choice of Eugenius, who was a man of an extraordinary piety, but in particular, ſo charitable towards the poor, that he daily diſtributed amongſt them whatever mony he had left, after having reſerved what was barely ſufficient for a very frugal maintenance; and relied ſolely on that divine providence, which (during the extreme poverty which his Church was reduced to, from the time that Giſericus had ſeized on all the revenues) was ever aſſiſtant in ſupplying him, thro' the charity of the faithful, with a ſufficient proviſion for the ſupport of the poor. A. D. 483.

This Hunnericus diſſembled for ſome time out of policy, in order to ſettle his government, and take proper meaſures for the execution of a cruel deſign which he had formed. But as ſoon as he found that his power was abſolute, and that he might undertake whatever he pleaſed, without fear of any one's oppoſing him, he threw off all diſguiſe, and acted openly in the moſt cruel and inhuman manner that was ever done by any Tyrant. For as he had no children, and could not bear the thoughts of any one's having a right to ſucceed him, he became the executioner of his own relations. He expelled his brother Theodoricus, and cauſed him to be treated ſo barbarouſly in his exile that he ſoon died. He put to death the princeſs his ſiſter-in-law, with her eldeſt ſon who was a young prince endued with many excellent qualities, whom Giſericus himſelf had eſteemed worthy of the Empire. All the reſt of his family, with his other nephews the ſons of Genzo, he baniſhed to the deſerts of Africa, in order that they might periſh there. And becauſe Jocundus, the firſt of all his Arian biſhops, was an intimate friend of Theodoricus, he cauſed him to be burned.

A. D. 483. ed in the publick place at Carthage, destroying likewise by some cruel torment or other, all those who had been zealous for the service of that unfortunate prince.

These were only trials of his cruelty, which soon after broke out most violently against the Catholicks, who were persecuted in a more terrible and inhuman manner than had ever been practised by any barbarous Tyrant, who had resolved the destruction of christianity. He began this persecution upon his family and those of his attendance. For he immediately broke and banished all the officers and soldiers, who refused to be baptised, in order to profess Arianism, which was a thing that even the Arians did not require, because in their baptism, they used to observe the same form with the Catholicks. He forced the holy virgins from their monasteries, and caused them to be tortured in a most cruel manner, by applying red hot irons to their bodies, in order to compel them in the height of their torment, to accuse falsely both priests and bishops of having a criminal conversation with them, because this Barbarian was willing to cover his cruelty under this pretence, in order to deprive the clergy, by this calumny, of the honour of being martyrs. But seeing that the stedfastness of these holy virgins (whereof several expired in the midst of their torments,) rendered his cruel and vilanous design fruitless, he at once, without any farther dissimulation openly declared himself; and after having caused about four thousand nine hundred clergymen to be taken up, bishops, priests, deacons, lecturers, and acolythes, nay even the children who were employed in the service of the Churches, he delivered them into the hands of the Moors, in order to carry them into their most dreadful deserts, where they were condemned to perish with hunger. But before they could arrive thither, they endured the most inhuman treatment that can be imagined, even worse than death itself. For the Moors wounded, with their darts, those, who, being tired, could not walk fast enough; and as for those who fell down on the road with fatigue and faintness, he tyed them by the feet with ropes and dragged them along like beasts, thro' stones and thorns, till at last, their bodies being torn to pieces, they expired.

But what was most wonderful and comfortable in the midst of much misery, was to see on the one side these illustrious confes-

sors

ſors of JESUS CHRIST, expreſſing the joy of their ſoul, by ſing- *A. D.*
ing canticles of praiſe unto GOD, and glorying in their ſuffer- 483.
ings, by openly confeſſing the Trinity of three perſons in one only GOD; and on the other ſide to ſee an infinite number of people coming from all parts, and walking before theſe martyrs with burning tapers in their hands, then flinging themſelves at their feet with theſe lamentable expreſſions. "In whoſe hands do you leave "us, ye glorious confeſſors of JESUS CHRIST, who are now go- "ing to receive that crown of glory which is deſigned for you? "who ſhall hereafter baptiſe our children? and who ſhall bury our "dead with the ſolemn prayers of the Church? who ſhall abſolve "us from our ſins, by a reconciliation to GOD thro' repentance? "and whom ſhall we now have to offer up for us the divine ſacri- "fice with the holy ceremonies?" I ought not, in my opinion, to have ſuppreſſed ſo beautiful a circumſtance of this hiſtory, in order to convince the world, that the Chriſtians and Martyrs of the African Church, ſpeaking like us, and acting as we do to this very day, in the uſe of the ſacraments, were no wiſe Proteſtants, and that as they in thoſe times were the true Catholicks, ſo likewiſe are we the ſame in this age.

In the mean while Hunnericus, after having deliberated upon this affair, with his Arian biſhops, was of opinion, that, before he went on with this violent perſecution, it was proper to appoint a conference wherein the Catholick biſhops ſhould be obliged to prove the conſubſtantiality of the word by ſcripture. And as it would be an eaſy matter to give it out that they were not able to do it, there would be a good pretence after this, in caſe they ſhould perſiſt in their belief, to treat them as obſtinate Hereticks. This being agreed on, Hunnericus ſent Zeno's Ambaſſador to the biſhop Eugenius, with an edict dated on the twentieth of May in the ſeventh year of his reign, which he likewiſe publiſhed throughout Africa, whereby he commanded him and all Catholick biſhops to repair to Carthage on the firſt day of February in the following year, in order to give an account of their belief in a publick conference. Eugenius uſed his utmoſt endeavour in humble repreſentations to bring the matter about (as the cauſe of the whole catholick Church was here concerned) ſo as the other biſhops who were out of Africa might alſo be ſummoned to aſſiſt at his conference, and particu-

A. D. larly that deputies of the Roman Church, as being the head of all
483. the other Churches, ſhould be admitted to it. But far from granting ſo powerful an aſſiſtance to the party of Eugenius, Hunnericus, who was abſolutely reſolved to take all opportunities of ſuppreſſing them, excluded from the aſſembly thoſe who were reputed the moſt learned amongſt the Catholicks, and condemned them for ſuppoſed crimes, ſome to baniſhment, and others to death. He even cauſed Lætus, who was one of the moſt ingenious and learned men in Africa, to be burnt alive, in order to terrify thoſe who were called to this conference, and by this means diſpirit them, and prevent their being ready to defend and maintain their cauſe.

484. But GOD was reſolved to maintain it himſelf, which he did in a moſt miraculous manner, before the day appointed for the aſſembly. A blind man, whoſe name was Felix, and who was well known throughout the city, in the night time, on the Eve of the Epiphany, heard three times following, in a dream, a voice which commanded him to go on the next day and preſent himſelf before the biſhop Eugenius, who would reſtore his ſight to him, by touching his eyes, at the ſame time that he was conſecrating the waters which were deſigned for the baptiſm of the Catechumens. This command being repeated a third time with threatnings, he obeyed, and having cauſed himſelf to be conducted very early in the morning, to the Church, where the people (who in thoſe days celebrated that feaſt with great devotion) were already aſſembled in order to ſing hymns and the pſalms appointed for Matins, he proſtrated himſelf at the feet of Eugenius, acquainting him with the command, which he had received. And upon the holy biſhop's refuſing, out of humility, to grant his requeſt, he ſtill proteſted that he would not leave him till the command of GOD was fulfilled. At which Eugenius complied, and prayed to GOD that he would bleſs the blind-man's faith, then touched his eyes with the ſign of the holy croſs, and at that very inſtant Felix recovered the uſe of his eyes in the preſence of all the people, who ſaw him with admiration, walk without any guide up to make his offering unto GOD, into the hands of the holy biſhop who laid it on the altar. The whole city, who knew Felix to be blind, and now ſaw him reſtored to his ſight, witneſſed this miracle with tranſports of joy not to be expreſſed; and the man who was born blind, never occaſioned

occaſioned a greater noiſe at Jeruſalem, than Felix did at Carthage. *A. D.* 484.

Hunnericus, who was ſurpriſed at ſo wonderful a thing, was reſolved to be ſatisfied himſelf of the truth of it, and therefore ordered Felix to be ſent for. He knew by the teſtimony of thouſands of people that he was actually blind before this happened; and ſeeing now that his eyes were very good, he examined him, and heard from his own mouth the whole hiſtory of his recovery: Hunnericus ſeeming to be moved at this relation, his Arian biſhops, who had not the aſſurance and impudence to conteſt a fact which he ſaw with his own eyes, were wicked enough to ſay what the Phariſees uſed often to report of JESUS CHRIST, *viz.* that Eugenius had performed this cure by a diabolical and magick operation. As they were very deſirous of being delivered from this troubleſome witneſs, who was (as may be ſaid) a living and undeniable conviction of the falſity of their ſect, they would have made away with him, if they could have done it conveniently.

But Cyrola, who was one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, and whom the Arians called their Patriarch, found out another expedient which ſeemed to him more moderate and ſafe for the honour of his party, tho' at the ſame time it only ſerved to make it more odious. (*e*) For having bribed, with a ſum of fifty crowns, a poor wretched fellow, who feigned being blind, and who in a large place of the city in the preſence of the people, prayed him to reſtore him to his ſight, as he had done to many others; this falſe biſhop rendered him really blind, at the very time that he was gravely acting his part as if he intended to heal him, by way of a confirmation of that belief which he profeſſed. Hereupon the wretched counterfeit flung the fifty crowns to him, and in a lamentable voice urged him to reſtore to him the uſe of his eyes, which he had juſt deprived him of by his impiety, and thus diſcovered the impoſture. Then praying ſome perſon who was ſtanding by to lead him to St. Eugenius, who was then in company with two other holy biſhops, Vindemialis and Longinus, and having openly profeſſed the catholick faith, he received the grace of a miraculous recovery, the two biſhops holding their hands over

(*e*) Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Franc. lib. 2. c. 3.

A. D. 484. his head, and St. Eugenius, crossing his eyes with the sign of the cross, and saying in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy ghost, whom we confess to be one only true GOD, in three persons of co-equal power, may thine eyes be opened. This confirmed the Catholicks in their faith, but did not change the hardened hearts of Hunnericus and his Arian bishops. (*f*) For the first day of February being come, they insisted upon the appointed conference, which was only a snare contrived against the Catholicks.

There came to this meeting four hundred and sixty six bishops, from all the provinces of Africa, Corsia, and Sardinia, which, Gisericus had retaken after the defeat of the Emperour's army commanded by Basiliscus. But some days passed before they began the conference, during which time Hunnericus made away with those bishops whom he thought most eminent for their learning, besides others whom he had banished for false crimes which were laid to their charge. As soon as they began to meet, it plainly appeared that nothing would be transacted according to the laws of a formal conference, and that the Catholicks would be tyrannically oppressed by the Arians. (*g*) For in the first place Cyrola, who assumed to himself the title of Patriarch, would be president, or rather give laws to this assembly: And to this end he had caused a magnificent throne to be erected, which he immediately ascended, leaving the orthodox clergy standing without any mark of distinction. The latter, who had chosen ten bishops out of their whole number, who were appointed to speak for all the rest, in order that the Arians might have no room to say that they interrupted the conference by their multitude, first of all demanded by what authority Cyrola took upon him that pre-eminence; then said, that as he was a party concerned, it was not convenient that he should be judge; and that it was but reasonable that arbitrators should be named, who were capable of enquiring into the cause and proceedings of those who should dispute. Hereupon the Arians cryed out in a loud voice, with abusive expressions from all parts, saying, that as the Catholicks could not prove the *Homo-*

(*f*) Sirmond. Notit. Provinc. & Urb. Eccl. Afric. t. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. A. 1671. (*g*) Victor. l. 2.

ousion,

ouſion by ſcripture, nor give a reaſon for their belief, they were only endeavouring to find evaſions, in order to prevent a conference. To this they modeſtly replied, that, ſince the Arians would not admit of any arbitrators, it was but juſt that ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons and eminent citizens of Carthage ſhould be permitted to be preſent at the conference, in order to witneſs what was debated on both ſides. This alone was ſufficient to exaſperate thoſe furious men againſt the Catholicks, whom they aſperſed, ſaying that they were endeavouring to excite the people to ſedition, and hereupon they called in the ſoldiers, who were upon guard without the doors, and who at a ſignal which was given to them, made a reply for the Arians, by falling upon the Catholicks, whom they beat unmercifully with ſticks. *A. D.* 484.

Eugenius, who was the chief of the orthodox biſhops, called upon GOD and man to witneſs this violent treatment: But at laſt, in order to convince the Arians that, notwithſtanding the injuſtice of their proceedings, they had no mind to evade a diſputation, he addreſſed himſelf to Cyrola, deſiring that he would begin the conference, by propounding what he had to ſay againſt the belief of the Catholicks, aſſuring him that they were ready to anſwer him. This falſe Patriarch, who was very ignorant, and dreaded nothing more than to enter upon a diſpute, replied, that he did not underſtand the latin tongue. They immediately told him, that he underſtood it of courſe, ſince he generally uſed to ſpeak it. So that being confounded, and finding that he had people to deal with, who were prepared to diſpute reſolutely with him, he himſelf acted that ſhameful part, with which he had ſo falſely and arrogantly reproached them not long before. He endeavoured to bring himſelf off by evaſions and little ſubtleties, which plainly ſhewed that he was no wiſe inclined to bring matters to a debate. (*h*) Therefore Eugenius who had foreſeen this, cauſed his colleagues to preſent the aſſembly with an ample and excellent expoſition of the catholick faith relating to the conſubſtantiality of the Word and of the Holy ghoſt, (*i*) which he proved by ſcripture, by the fathers, and by the continued and inviolable tradition of the

(*h*) Gennad. c. 97. (*i*) Apud. Victor. l. 2, falſo ſub ejus Nomine, Tom. 4. Biblioth. Patr. t. 4. Concil. Pariſ. A. D. 1671.

Church

A. D. 484. Church down from the apoſtles, and this he compoſed with the conſent and approbation of all the biſhops of his party in whoſe name it was preſented. The other biſhops could not refuſe reading it, in as much as the Catholicks were ſummoned to give an account of their belief. But as it was perfectly well drawn up, and the Arians, who were then preſent, could no wiſe reſiſt the invincible force of thoſe reaſons and quotations which were therein ſet down in a moſt wonderful light, they interrupted the reading of it with a tumultuous noiſe contrived on purpoſe, which occaſioned the aſſembly to break up; and the Arians laid their complaints before Hunnericus, repreſenting to him that the *Homo-ouſians* (for thus they ſtiled the Catholicks) had cauſed a moſt horrible diſorder by their ſeditious murmurings, and furious behaviour, in order to prevent the aſſembly from enquiring into the truth of their doctrine, (*k*) which had been condemned by ſo many councils, and particularly by that of Rimini.

Hunnericus hereupon, without examining any farther into this accuſation, cauſed a decree to be publiſhed which was already drawn up by the management of his biſhops, whereby, after having falſely declared that the catholick biſhops had endeavoured to excite a ſedition, in order to prevent the conference, he took their Churches from them, and having given them to the Arians, it was reſolved that all thoſe who would not profeſs Arianiſm by the beginning of June, ſhould undergo the puniſhment which had been decreed by the edicts of the Emperours againſt Hereticks. This being done, he expelled all theſe biſhops from the city, after having ſtripped them of their poſſeſſions, and forbidden, upon pain of being burned alive, any one to receive them or give them any ſubſiſtance. And as they had propoſed to repreſent their unhappy caſe to him, they watched an opportunity one day as he was taking the air out of the town, and preſented themſelves before him; but inſtead of giving them an anſwer, he ordered his guards to trample them under the feet of their horſes, who killed ſeveral of them, particularly ſome of the eldeſt of them, who were not able to ſave themſelves. In ſhort, not one of theſe prelates could eſcape his cruelty: For he ſent ſome of them to till the ground like

(*k*) Victor. l. 3.

ſlaves;

slaves; (*l*) others he banished to the Isle of Corsica, in order to cut down timber for the use of his ships; and some he put to death after a most cruel manner; amongst others the holy bishops Vindemialis, and Longinus; several more with the bishop of Carthage were sent into the deserts, where, in a most distressed condition, they suffered a long and painful martyrdom. *A. D.* 484.

The pastors being thus cut off, the whole flock was not only dispersed, but horridly tortured by all manner of torments which were inflicted on those who generously persisted in confessing the divinity of the son of GOD. (*m*) Hunnericus sent executioners throughout Africa in order to persecute the Catholicks, on whom the cruel mandates of this inhuman Tyrant were unmercifully put in execution. All the torments that ever were invented by the first persecutors of christianity, as wooden horses, scourges with steel points, iron hooks, fire, flaming blades, wild beasts, and other instruments of cruelty; all these, I say, were put in use by this Barbarian against the Catholicks, without distinction of condition, age, or sex; ladies even of the first quality were not exempted from these inhuman tortures. All Africa abounded with martyrs, who suffered with a resolution equal to that of the first christian heroes; and GOD likewise on his side wrought miracles on this occasion, that were not inferiour to those, which he had done in favour of those primitive martyrs; one particular instance hereof he was pleased to shew in a manner, that had never been seen before, which both declared and most miraculously proved at the same time the divinity of his only son.

Cyrola, the false patriarch of the Arians, having invaded the bishoprick of Typasus in Mauritania, the inhabitants of that city bore so great an aversion to him, that the major part of them quitted the country, and set out to sea in order to retire to some other part. Nevertheless he used his utmost endeavours to persuade the remainder of the people both with prayers or threatnings to be rebaptised, and profess Arianism; but he found them so stedfast; that, far from complying with his request, they disdained him; and, having upbraided him with his impiety, they left him in the Churches which he had seized, attended only by the ministers of

(*l*) Gregor. Tur. l. 2. Hist. Franc. c. 3. (*m*) Vict. l. 3.

his

A. D. 484. his rage, whilſt they repaired to other places in order to celebrate the holy myſteries, and ſing openly the praiſes of JESUS CHRIST conſubſtantial with his Father. This impious man being enraged to ſee himſelf thus affronted, as he thought, made his complaint to Hunnericus, at which this Tyrant was ſo highly incenſed againſt thoſe holy people, that he immediately ſent his officers to Typaſus, with orders to cut out the tongues even to the root, and the right hands of all thoſe who would refuſe to become Arians. This cruel order was executed with more barbarity than it was given; and as they all came in crouds to receive their martyrdom, this bloody execution was performed indifferently on people of all conditions, tho' nevertheleſs it did not prevent the divinity of JESUS CHRIST from being loudly proclaimed. For after their tongues were cut out, they cried more diſtinctly and with a ſtronger voice than ever, ſaying, that JESUS CHRIST was true GOD, and thus gave a teſtimony of it, in a manner which was ſo much the more divine, in that nature, in the condition they were in, could no wiſe have aſſiſted them in the doing it. (*n*) What gave an addition to this miraculous work was, that a young man who was born dumb, tho' at the ſame time he had a tongue which he had never had the uſe of, began to ſpeak like the reſt as ſoon as his tongue was cut out; and to the end that this miracle, which had no other witneſſes but the executioners of Hunnericus's cruelty, ſhould not be conteſted, and that it might be known to the whole world, (*o*) theſe wonderful confeſſors of JESUS CHRIST ſpoke ever afterwards during life upon all ſubjects in this manner without their tongue, excepting two only, who, having ſometime after fallen into the ſin of incontinency, were deprived of this grace, and became utterly dumb. For GOD had decreed that ſo great a miracle, which he had performed in behalf of his ſon, who was the infinite pure production of his knowledge, ſhould have no effect on the perſon of thoſe who razed his image out of their hearts by the impurities of their body.

Now this is not one of thoſe imaginary wonders, or fables, nor any of thoſe deceits, or ſubtle illuſions which your too credulous

(*n*) Marcell. in Chron. (*o*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. c. 8.

people

people are apt to take for miracles. For there are so many undeniable witnesses who assure it, not only upon the credit of those that saw it, as hath done St. Gregroy the great, (*p*) but upon having seen it themselves, and enquired into the matter with all the strictness imaginable at Constantinople, where several of those Saints had retired, that it is impossible to disown it without purposely and impudently belying those men whose veracity is inconteſtable. Victor of Utica, who was then on the place, wrote some time after concerning it, wherein he says, that if any one cannot easily believe it, he desires him to take a journey to Constantinople in order to be confirmed in it by his own Eyes, because he may there see the Deacon Reparatus, who speaks perfectly well, without his Tongue, and is for that reason in great honour at the Court of Zeno, and particularly esteemed by the Empress Ariadne, (*q*) who even pays him a kind of religious veneration. The Emperour Justinian, who was then at that court, declares that he himself saw those venerable men, who gave a plain account of their martyrdom without any tongue. Procop the historian (*r*) who was a man of undeniable honour, and who served in that Emperour's army with great reputation, that in his time he saw several of them at Constantinople, who could talk with a great deal of freedom. Æneas of Gaza a Platonick philosopher, (*s*) who has given us an excellent dialogue upon the immortality of the soul, and who flurished in those days, says in this work which was written under the name of Axitheus, that being invited thither by the report of so wonderful a thing, he was resolved to see with his own eyes, and examine these miraculous men, and having caused them to open their mouths, he found that their tongues were cut out to the root, and that nevertheless they talked freely and distinctly, and gave him a perfect account of the whole affair. So many great men all agree in the same thing, and give testimonies of it in their publick writings, and undoubtedly would have been convicted of falsity by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of Constantinople, had they been so impudent as to aver publickly that they had seen a thing in that city which had never happened. Now after this I cannot well conceive that any

A. D. 484.

(*p*) Dialog. l. 2. c 32. (*q*) Constitut. de Offic. P. Præt. Afric. Nicepb. l. 17. c. 11. (*r*) Lib. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 8. (*s*) Tom. 5. Bibl. P. P.

A. D. man of common sense would say that he did not give credit to it.
484. But in short this persecution was too violent to continue long. GOD declared his wrath against it, and severely punished the Vandals, by the famine and plague which destroyed, and were the forerunners of a war, which he had designed for their utter extermination, and in the mean while, he shortened the days of Hunnericus, (*t*) who died in the same year of a most horrible kind of disease, being eaten up alive by worms, which issued out of all the pars of his body; he tore his flesh to pieces with his own teeth, and at last became his own executioner, after having put to death an infinite number of martyrs, in order to restore Arianism, and, what is particular, he died like the impious Arius, (*u*) whose bowels fell from him whilst he was yet living. He was succeeded by Gondabond the eldest of his nephews, whom he had banished from his court, and who, in hatred to his uncle that had used him so ill, at first restored peace to the church, (*x*) and called home all those whom he had sent into banishment. But some years after being led away by his cruel and barbarous inclinations, he renewed the persecution against the Catholicks.

During this interval of time (*y*) many of the priests and lay-men, having been seduced by fair promises, or terrified by fears and tortures, had submitted to be re-baptized, and being desirous to be received again into the church, they applyed themselves for this
A. D. purpose to Felix the third, then bishop of Rome, (*z*) who on this ac-
487. count called a council of thirty eight bishops, wherein such penances were ordered to be inflicted on every one, as were suitable to the nature and circumstances of their crimes before they could be re-admitted to the communion. Thus the church of Rome acted freely with respect to spiritual affairs, even under the government of Odoacerus, who, tho' he was an Arian, did no ways concern himself with matters of religion. But his good fortune, which had continued till then, according to the prediction of St. Severinus, was at last destroyed by a more powerful Arian than himself. This

(*t*) Victor. l. 3. (*u*) Greg. Tur. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. Isid. in Hist. Vand. (*x*) Isid. ibid. (*y*) Procop. l. 1. c. 8. (*z*) Conc. Rom. Sub. Fel. 1. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

was

as Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths, who became master of Rome about that time. *A. D.* 487.

This prince, notwithstanding the peace which Theodemirus his father had made with the Emperour, being desirous to make himself agreeable to the Ostrogoths, who could acquire no riches but by means of a war, (*a*) invaded from time to time the imperial provinces, and caused great devastations throughout the country. Zeno, in order to bring him over to his interest, paid him all the honours imaginable. He first made him general of his forces, and gave him that part of Dacia which was adjacent to the Danube, with part of the lower Mysia, and at last conferred on him even the dignity of consul, which he held with Venantius in the year four hundred and eighty four. (*b*) But seeing that all these favours could not prevent this fierce nation from often rising up in arms, (*c*) having even fired and ransacked Thracia, up to the very gates of Constantinople, he found means artfully to remove such dangerous neighbours who in the midst of peace became his enemies whenever they had a fancy to satisfy themselves with plunder. In order to complete his design, as he was well acquainted with the dispositions of Theodoricus, who was full of ambition, and fond of great undertakings, he took an opportunity, whilst the Goths were peaceably inclined, and proposed to him the conquest of Italy, then in the possession of the Eruli, (*d*) who had usurped it from the Empire. He told him that as he was Emperour of the Romans he had an undoubted right to Rome and to all Italy, and that he could dispose of it as he thought proper; But that having the same value and affection for him, as if he were his own son, he would be highly pleased to acknowledge him for his colleague, and therefore would call him to the Empire, provided he would drive out the usurper. It was no difficult matter for Zeno to give away what he had not in his possession, tho' at the same time it was an advantage to him that That Theodoricus would accept his offer, by which means he might be delivered from a troublesome neighbour, and procure to himself a most powerful friend at a very small expence.

(*a*) Marcell. in Chron. (*b*) Marcell. in Chron. (*c*) Idat. (*d*) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 1. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15.

A. D. 488. Theodoricus whose sentiments were noble, and who had the soul of a Roman, being of opinion that nothing could be more glorious for him, and for his nation, than to be placed on the throne of the ancient Cesars, and preside over Rome, (*e*) very readily accepted the proposal; and after having returned his humble thanks to Zeno, to whom he promised whatever he required of him, he easily persuaded his Ostrogoths to follow him with their wives and children, into the finest country in the world. He therefore quitted Pannonia, and marched along the river Savia, till he came to the head of it, where he entered Italy by (*f*) the Carniolan Alps, and fixed his camp in the province called Frioli, upon the borders of the river Sontius, in order to refresh his forces. But his incampment there was not very long. (*g*) For Odoacerus, who was come to meet him with an army, tho' too late to prevent him from passing the Alps, challenged him to battle, which he accepted. And hereupon Theodoricus fought with so much courage and conduct, that he soon routed the whole army of the Eruli; (*h*)

A. D. 489. then pursuing Odoacerus, who had made his retreat towards the river Athesis, he defeated the remainder of his troops, in a second engagement which he gave him in the plains of Verona. After these two victories, having wintered his army in so plentiful a country, he marched with his forces, and gave battle for the third time to Odoacerus, who was incamped near the river Adda. Fortune still continued to be favourable to him at this juncture; for he defeated his enemy, who retired to Ravenna, where, in spite of his perverse fortune, he behaved with all the courage and resolution imaginable, and held out the siege for the space of three years, (*i*) making continual sallies by night, till at last Theodoricus, who had no naval forces to prevent Odoacerus from receiv-

A. D. 490. ing succours by sea, having no hopes of forcing the place, agreed to make peace with him upon condition that they should both reign jointly together in Italy. But it has been seldom seen that ambition could long be easy under this dividing of Empire.

A. D. 493. Theodoricus having entred Ravenna, according to the Treaty, (*k*) at first lived pretty well, at least outwardly, with Odoacerus. But whe-

(*e*) Jorn. de reb. Get. c. 57. (*f*) Carniola. (*g*) Silonze Jorn c. 57.
(*h*) Cassiod L'Adiret. (*i*) Cassiod Jornaud. Procop. (*k*) Procop. l. 1.

ther

ther he had discovered that Prince was carrying on some secret design against him, or whether he laid hold on this occasion to colour over a very wicked action, and induce the world to believe that he had only been beforehand with his enemy; however it might be, a few days afterwards, having invited Odoacerus to an entertainment, (*l*) he had the unfortunate Prince cruelly massacred; who having no mistrust, by his frankness, plain enough shew'd, he had no thoughts of surprising Theodoricus. But at length, as the dead no longer had it in his power to prove his innocence, so the world was willing to believe the living, who was the stronger, to be in the right. Thus the Romans, and the Eruli themselves, who were at Ravenna, and afterwards all Italy, acknowledged Theodoricus, who resolved to take upon him no other Title than that of King, as Odoacerus had done. *A. D.* 439.

After this, he shewed plainly that if he had till then appeared a great captain, he was still a greater politician. For the more strongly to establish himself in his new dominions, he endeavoured to gain the friendship of all the most considerable Princes then reigning in the world. He had already treated with the Vandals during the siege of Ravenna, (*m*) and afterwards gave his sister Amalfreda to Torismond their King. Tho' he was master of Italy, he entered into alliance with the three princes who held the Empire of the Gauls. (*n*) He gave his two natural daughters, one to Alaric, King of the Visigoths, and the other to Sigismund son of Gondeband, King of the Burgundians; and as Clovis (*o*) the French king was every day gaining ground on the Gauls; he demanded his sister Andofleda for a wife; and he obtained her, because it was of consequence to the reputation of the French, that a king, in possession of the Empire, should think himself honoured by an alliance with them.

Anastasius had succeeded Zeno in the Empire of the East. He sent ambassadors to him to desire a peace, and the honour of his friendship, and so artfully gain'd him by flattering letters, (*p*) and feigned submissions, by offering always to act in concert with him, as if they both govern'd but one Empire, that it is highly

(*l*) Cassiod. (*m*) Cassiod. (*n*) Procop. de Bell. Vandal. (*o*) Jorn. c. 58. (*p*) Aim. l. 2. c. 1. (*q*) Cassiod. Ep. 1. ad Anast.

probable

A. D. 494. probable that it was particularly in favour of Theodoricus, that Anastasius, who otherwise was a heretick of more than one sect, (*r*) gave a toleration to the Arians, and allowed them a great deal of liberty at Constantinople. Indeed, after that time we find that they there had both Churches, and a bishop named Deuterius, to whom happened a strange accident, which contributed more than ever to discredit those hereticks. (*s*) For as that wicked wretch was going to baptize one whose name was Barbarus, he, according to the custom of some new Arians, changed the form of baptism instituted by JESUS CHRIST, and said: *Let Barbarus be babtiz'd in the name of the Father, thro' the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, and in the very instant the water in the Font vanished, which so frightened this poor proselyte of the Arians, that he immediately ran out of the church, and went and published the miracle all over the city. It is even said, that a learned orthodox Bishop, not being able to reduce an obstinate disputant, who was always using his false philosophical subtilties to support Arianism, ordered a great fire to be made, and proposed to him, that, without longer amusing himself with philosophical disputations, they should both go into the fire, which would be a sensible and convincing proof of his faith, who should come out of it without being burnt. The Arian refused to accept of this condition, or to put his sect to so dangerous a proof. But the orthodox Bishop animated by a great confidence which he had in God, who inspired him with this action, went couragiously into the fire, and from the midst of the flames began to preach to the standers by, the Divinity of the Son of God, which he prov'd by this miraculous argument, to which the Arian was able to make no reply. But Anastasius, hardened in his heresies, was not moved by it, (*t*) no more than he had been some years before, by the terrible punishment of Olympius, another Arian, who having blasphemed the holy Trinity in the publick baths, to the great scandal of all Catholicks, was no sooner got into the cold bath, than he began to cry out sadly that he was burning. And indeed, he was taken out so consum'd, that notwithstanding all the assistance they could give him, his flesh falling off from his bones, he soon after expired in

(*r*) Cedren. (*s*) Theod. lect. Collect. l. 2. Theoph. Cedren. (*t*) Damasc. Grat. 3. de imagin.

the

the most excessive torture. Such was the Emperor, with whom Theodoricus entered into alliance, and who permitted the Arians again to establish themselves at Constantinople. *A. D.* 494.

After this, one would have said that Arianism, protected by so many powers, and supported by such strong alliances, was going to triumph in the West, and chiefly among the Gauls, and in Italy, where all the princes were Arians, except the French king, who was a heathen; but God disposed affairs otherwise, for Theodoricus, who was a prince extremely politick, (*u*) did not pique himself upon a false zeal for the advancement of his Arian sect, about which he gave himself very little trouble, being in all probability very indifferent in matters of Religion. He not only reigned many years at Rome, in a manner no way inferior to that of the greatest and wisest of the Roman Emperors, but likewise would not suffer the Catholicks to be molested, whom he made use of in employments of the greatest consequence in his kingdom. He even always, till a little before his death, heartily and sincerely supported the authority, rights, and liberty of the Church of Rome, even to the extinguishing a dangerous schism by his presence in a legitimate council at Rome, and even to the causing Odoacerus's ordinance to be abolished, which decreed that a Pope could not be chosen without the king's consent. (*x*) It is also said that he did an action which made a great noise, and which gave all the Catholicks at Rome as much assurance, as it took away from the Arians the hopes of spreading their heresy. For, as one of his officers, for whom he had some esteem, from a Catholick which he had been before, was turn'd Arian, thinking thereby to advance himself in his favour; this prince, far from looking upon himself as obliged by this change, ordered him to be beheaded, saying that he who had so basely betray'd the faith he owed to God, could never be faithful to his King. And as to the Gauls, these alliances which Theodoricus had made with the Arian Kings, and with Clovis, who was still a heathen, did not hinder God by a miracle of his power, from making use of this French King, in order at length to destroy the forces of Arianism there: And we must now see how so wonderful a thing was effected.

(*u*) Procop. l. 1. c. 1. (*x*) Theod. lect. l. 2. Niceph. l. 16. c. 35. Cedren.

THE



THE HISTORY OF *ARIANISM.*

BOOK X.

THE Eaſtern Empire was groaning under the ſhameful yoke of Anaſtaſius, an heretick of the Eutychian and Accephalian ſects; and the Weſtern, divided into ſeveral Kingdoms by ſtrangers who had conquered the Romans, was reduced under the power of Kings, either Arians, or Heathens, when God reſolved again to eſtabliſh the Church, and deliver his people from the tyranny of Arianiſm, by beginning this important work with the converſion and victories of the great Clovis. This prince, now in the thirtieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign, had made a conſiderable conqueſt by defeating the remains of the Romans under Syagrius then reigning at Soiſſons and the Thuringians: *A. D.* 494.

But

A. D. 494. But still he put off the accomplishment of the promise he had made to queen Clotilda when he married her, to embrace the law of JESUS CHRIST whom she adored. (*a*) The extreme danger he was in upon the day of the battle of Tolbiac near Cologne brought his promise fresh into his mind, and obliged him to make a vow to keep it, if the GOD of Clotilda should assist him on that occasion. Victory ensued upon his vow, and his conversion was the consequence of his victory, After being fully instructed by several godly bishops; (*b*) and especially by St. Remi archbishop of Rheims, he was baptized by him, who caused him to make profession of the catholick faith, and particularly of the mystery of the holy trinity, against the Arian heresy, which the Visigoths mantained in a great part of the Gauls, (*c*) which they held on the other side the Loire. After which he babtized him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which the Arians did not at that time. For at first they babtized in the name of the three persons of the Trinity, keeping to the form which the Catholicks used. Wherefore the Church held their babtism valid, but not that of the Paulianists, and Photinians, who absolutely denied the Trinity. But after the Arians thought that this form, instituted by Jesus Christ himself, too clearly expressed the equality of the three persons, which they denied, they altered it, as they had done the doxology, and baptized in the name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.

Above three thousand French of the king's army at the same time received the same benefit, the rest soon followed. Albofleda, one of his sisters, who was babtized at the same time with him, (*d*) died soon after her being babtized: and the other, named Lautilda, abjured Arianism with which she had been unfortunately infected, this heresy insensibly spreading it self by the intercourse there was with the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians. St. Remi endeavoured to comfort Clovis on the death of his sister, by a beautiful letter, which we have remaining from amongst the works of this

(*a*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 31. (*b*) St. Vast. Bp. of Arras. St. Solemne B. of Chalons. St. Medard B. of Soissons. (*c*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. cap. 31. (*d*) Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. ibid. Ado. in Chron. Martyr. Rom. 9. Feb.

great

great man: and we have that too, which the famous Alcimus Avitus Bishop of Vienna, the scourge and conquerour of the Arians of his time, wrote to him, with as much force and eloquence as piety, to congratulate him upon his so happy Conversion. *A. D.* 494. 497.

In the beginning of this letter he says, "that the choice he had "made of the Christian Religion by rejecting the other sects, into "which the hereticks had endeavoured to seduce him, was an ex- "cellent precedent for all nations to direct them to the belief "they ought to embrace, as the only true one, and that the "faith of which he had lately made profession, was an illustrious "victory for the Catholicks over heresy. And after a very eloquent elogium upon his piety in his babtism, which he tells us was on Christmas Eve, and not in Easter Eve, as had been hitherto believed on the testimony of Hinemarus, he adds, "that if he "takes the freedom of exhorting him, it is not to cause the faith "to encrease in him, for that he was perfect: nor christian humility, of which he had given such shining instances by his submission to the Church: nor compassion, nor clemency, since the "captives he had set at liberty, so fully proved them to all the "world: but that it was to conjure him in the name of GOD to "take care of the conversion of other foreign nations not yet corrupted with heresy, that he would be pleased to draw from the "treasure of his heart, the good grain of the faith, which he had "received, and cause it to be scattered amongst those poor people, "by sending them even ambassadors to that purpose, to the end "that he might, to his utmost, encrease the kingdom of GOD, who "had already so gloriously raised his own in the world." This is part of the holy arch-bishop's letter to Clovis. Pope Anastasius, who was but just entered upon his pontificate, at the same time sent him one, wherein he tells him, amongst other things, (*e*) "that the "holy Church his mother was rejoiced at having spiritually be- "gotten unto GOD so great a king, who would defend her a- "gainst the attacks of all her enemies, and of those pestilent men, "who were risen against her.

(*e*) Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Paris. Specileg. t. 5.

A. D. 497. I believe, that after these circumstances of Clovis's conversion and baptism have appeared, it will not be taken amiss, if I demand of the present age and of posterity, (*f*) that they would do me justice upon that French writer, who has dared to question, whether Clovis at his conversion became a Catholick, or an Arian, as was the king of the Visigoths, and of Burgundy, whose niece he had married. For if that author was acquainted with the least part of what I have just now mentioned, he cannot avoid the charge of the blackest malice, in betraying truth wholly evident, by a sort of insincerity, not in the least pardonable. And if he was not acquainted with it, can it be denied to be an extream ignorance joined to as great a rashness, to have thus unworthily treated the memory of so great a prince, who acquired for his successors the glorious title of most christian, and eldest son of the church, by having been the first Christian and Catholick king.

And indeed, all the princes then reigning were without the pale of the church: and this holy mother of christians, who has children all over the earth, had not one on a throne. The emperour Anastasius was not only a heretick, but a persecutor of the Orthodox; Theodoricus at Rome and in Italy: Alaricus in the Narbonese Gauls, in Aquitain, and Spain; the Suevi in Galicia; the Burgundians in the Lionese Gaul, and along the Saône and the Rhône as far as Durance; Trasamond king of the Vandals, who had just succeeded to his brother Gondamond in Africa, were all Arians; and the other kings in Germany and Great Britain, were still wholly buried in idolatry; so that Clovis having been beyond dispute the first king, really christian and catholick, the first rank amongst Kings, and that illustrious title of eldest Son of the Church, cannot be denied the Kings of France, his august successors. This reflection is so essential to my subject, and so necessary to the history of Arianism, that I am not afraid of censure for lightly reprimanding this author, who certainly deserves a severer punishment for having so disrespectfully treated a truth so well backed by such a number of convincing proofs.

Clovis then being so happily converted to the christian and Catholick faith, resolved to make war upon the two other Arian

(*f*) Paquier in his Recherctus de la France.

kings

kings, reigning in the Gauls, beginning with the Burgundian. The cauſe was juſt, and the pretence ſpecious, Gondericus king of the Burgundians had left four ſons heirs to his eſtates, Gondeband, Godegeſil, Chilperic, and Godemar. Ambition which eaſily breaks tho' the ſtricteſt ties of nature, ſoon diſunited the four brothers, and armed them againſt each other. The two laſt being aſſiſted by the Germans their neighbours, conquered their elder brothers, and put them to flight, but Gondeband having ſurpriſed them at Vienna, at a time when they thought him dead, had Chilperic beheaded, his male-children killed, his wife thrown with a ſtone about her neck into the Rhone, and Godemar burnt in a caſtle whither he had eſcaped. The two daughters of Chilperic, Mucurune and Clotilda were preſerved from this Barbarian's cruelty, who did not think he could reaſonably be under any apprehenſions from them. The eldeſt became a Nun, and Clotilda, who was as good a Catholick as her ſiſter, was kept as a priſoner in the palace, ſo ſtrictly was ſhe guarded, and narrowly watched by her uncle's guards. *A. D.* 497.

However, tho' the Burgundians profeſſed Arianiſm, which the Goths had ſpread all over the barbarous nations, yet they ſuffered the Gauliſh Catholicks under their goverment to live at peace, and the biſhops exerciſed their office with as much liberty as they had done under the Roman Emperors. Nay, they even laboured to convert the Burgundians without any oppoſition, and Avitus, the holy arch-biſhop of Vienna, endevoured to convert king Gondeband. This prince, who had a great deal of wit, tho' a very wicked man, willingly heard him, and was ſo moved by his diſcourſe, and convinced by the ſtrength of his reaſons, as freely to confeſs that in his heart he believed the equality of three perſons of the trinity, and even to preſs him to reconcile him privately to the church. The holy man did what he could to induce him to make a publick profeſſion of his faith. (*g*) He repreſented to him, "that "the ſon of GOD proteſted in his goſpel, that he would own be- "fore his heavenly father him who ſhould own him before men, and "that he would reject all ſuch as ſhould be aſhamed of confeſſing

(*g*) Matt. 10.

him

A. D. 497. " him in publick. (*b*) That according to the divine Apoſtle we " believe with the heart to obtain juſtice, and with our mouth con- " feſs what we believe to attain ſalvation. That he ought to imi- " tate that holy king,(*i*) who ſo often tells GOD, that he will con- " feſs his holy name before all nations, and in the great aſſemblies " of his people. (*k*) That it were ſhameful for a great king, like him, " and who was ſo abſolute in his ſtate, to betray his conſcience out " of fear. That it would be not only an obſtacle to his ſalvation, " but to his glory too, to deny GOD what was due to him, for fear " of diſpleaſing any of his ſubjects, who could not approve ſuch an " action in him. That it was his duty to give the law, and not to " receive it, that his people ought to follow him, and not draw " after them: and that it was better for his ſubjects to embrace " the truth in following his example, as they did in war, than to " leave them to continue in error, by unworthily condeſcending " to their weakneſs.

Theſe words, though they ſatisfied his judgment, yet they had not their proper effect upon him, but a worldly fear prevailed over the convictions of his mind. He was too wicked, and too cunning to become a ſincere believer: And GOD leaving him to his own malice he till his death perſiſted, by a terrible obſtinacy, to contend againſt the divinity of the ſon of GOD before men, (*l*) which he acknowledged in his heart. The holy biſhop however did not loſe courage. He often returned to the charge againſt this ſo hardened a heart, and ſtill to make the greater impreſſion on him, compoſed an excellent treatiſe againſt the Arian Hereſy by way of dialogue, which he dedicated to him.

In ſhort, during the war which Clovis made upon this miſerable prince, and ſhortly before his entire ruin, Avitus made the laſt effort to bring him over in a conference the Catholics had with the falſe Arian biſhops which was held by his conſent, and in his preſence at Lions. (*m*) The kings of Burgundy allowed the Catholick biſhops ſo great a liberty, that thoſe of the province of Lions met every year on the feſtival of St. Juſtus at his ſepulchre, in

(*b*) Rom. 10. (*i*) Pſal. 34. (*k*) Pſal. 56. (*l*) Avitus Ep. 12. Sigiſmundo Gond. filio. Ado. in Chr. (*m*) Sidon. l. 5. Ep. 117. Avitus. Ep. 58. and 59.

order

order then to celebrate his memory, and afterwards treat of ecclesiastical affairs. The arch-bishop Stephen, (*n*) who had a mind to engage the Arians to a conference, being strongly sollicited to it by St. Remi, took his opportunity when the king was at Lions and invited the bishops to be at this festival in as great a body as they could, to the end that under pretence of waiting on him to pay their complements together, this conference might be desired, as it were by accident, without any formed design appearing. The thing succeded as he had imagined. Going all together to pay their duty to the king, who was at one of his country-houses, Avitus who had been chosen for their speaker, as he was very adroit, and eloquent, turned his discourse, very appositely, upon the peace of the church, which the king seemed to desire in his kingdom, and said very gracefully that he should be very glad to enjoy so great a blessing as soon as possible, if the king pleased: *For, my lord*, said he, we are all ready so clearly to demonstrate the truth of our faith by the gospel, and by the constant doctrine of the apostles, that there will no longer be any room to doubt our being in the true belief, and your being against GOD, and his church. Your majesty, who has such bright parts, and so good an understanding, may have the pleasure of informing your self in this matter in person, you have your bishops here, who are skilful men, and well instructed in all sorts of learning; be pleased only to command them to confer with us in your presence, and to " observe whether they answer our reasons, as we are ready to " give a satisfactory reply to whatever they may be willing or " able to object to us. " The king, who saw himself embarrassed with the war, which the French began to make upon him a little briskly, answered with chagrin; " If yours be the true belief, how " comes it that your bishops do not prevent the French king's " injustice, who has declared war against me, and made alliances " with my greatest enemies, to ruin me? can the true faith be " reconciled with a desire of seising upon the possessions of an- " other, and with that insatiable thirst which he shews for the A. D. 499.

(*n*) Collat. Epis. coram rege Gundebal. ex Hist. Epis. Gall. Hieron. Vignerii Spicileg. to. 5. Tom. 4. Concil. Gall. Edit. Paris.

blood

A. D. 499. "blood of nations? Let him shew the genuineness of his faith by "his works."

After these words from an Arian (for these are king Gondeband's, own words) can we ever doubt of Clovis's belief? Avitus answered with a holy liberty, together with an extream respect, "that they "knew not the reasons why the French king made war upon "him, but that they well knew, having learnt it from the scrip- "ture, that GOD often pulls kings from their throne, who have "abandoned his holy law, and that he raises enemies from all sides "to those who have declared themselves his. But return, my "lord," added he, "return to GOD, with your people, and you "will surely have a blessed peace over your kingdom, which GOD, "who will be then on your side, will defend against the insults "of your enemies. Why then," replied the king, "do I not "profess the true faith? You say I do not, because you are pleased "to take it amiss that I do not worship three GODS as you do; "yet I do not find in the scripture that there are more than one. "GOD forbid, answered the bishop, that we should ever be "guilty, either of imagining, or of uttering such a blasphemy. "There is but one GOD in essence, but in three persons, which "consisting but of one indivisible substance, can be but one "divinity." Whereupon, as he had aleady more than once in- structed the king in private on this great mystery, he had no great trouble in informing him in the Catholick faith, touching the unity of nature, which is reconcileable in GOD with the trinity of the divine persons, of which the Son is consubstantial with the Father, and the Holy Ghost with both. And as he saw he was favourably heard by the king, who seemed pleased with the dis- course, he enlarged with great strength and eloquence, on this sublime subject: And on a sudden added, as by a divine enthusiasm, that if his majesty had a mind to have this great truth explained, and laid open before him, and all his people by a regular conference with his bishops, he could assure him it might turn aside GOD's wrath, which the enemies of his Son were going to bring down upon the kingdom, and thereupon throwing himself at the king's feet, embracing them, and weeping bitterly, he was immediately followed by all the rest, who did the same, which drew tears from the whole assembly.

The

The king was exceedingly moved at it, and ſtooping very low to raiſe him, anſwered with great humanity, that he would conſider of what the biſhop of Vienna had juſt been ſaying to him, and would ſoon let them know his pleaſure. He did ſo the next day, when, being returned to Lions, he ſent for archbiſhop Stephen and Avitus, whom he told that they had what they deſired, that his biſhops were very ready to ſhew them that nobody could be conſubſtantial with GOD; but that he would not have the conference held in publick, before all the people, to avoid confuſion and diſorder; that it ſhould be held before the members of his council and ſome others whom he would appoint on his ſide; as he likewiſe promiſed them to chuſe ſome of the members of the ſame on theirs, but in a ſmall number, and that it ſhould be held in his palace the very next day, which was the feſtival of St. Juſtus, being the ſecond of September. The biſhops, having returned the king their moſt humble thanks, went and informed their brethren, who, in order to be prepared for that celebrated day, paſſed the night at church in prayers at the tomb of St. Juſtus, to ask of GOD, by the interceſſion of his ſervants, the accompliſhment of their deſires, and the king's converſion. But at that very time there happened a melancholy preſage, which plainly ſhewed them they would not be heard in the manner they intended. For as the reader, according to cuſtom, was beginning the holy reading by the books of Moſes, he happened upon thoſe terrible words of Exodus: (*o*) "I will harden his heart, I will "multiply my ſigns and wonders in Egypt, and he ſhall not "hear you." When the pſalms had been ſung, he opened the book of Iſaiah, (*p*) and there found what GOD ſays to his prophet: "Go, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this people; hear, and un- "derſtand not; ſee, and comprehend not: blind the heart "of this people, and ſtop their ears, and ſhut their eyes, leaſt "they ſee, hear, or underſtand, and ſhould thereupon be convert- "ed, and I ſhould heal them." This very much ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed the biſhops, but their aſtoniſhment ſtill became greater, when, after ſinging ſome pſalms, they heard read out of the goſpels the reproach made by JESUS CHRIST to Choraſin

A D. 499.

(*o*) Exod. 7. (*p*) Iſai. 6.

A. D. 499. and Bethſaide, (*p*) and when upon reading the Epiſtle to the Romans, (*r*) theſe aſtoniſhing words were found: "know ye not "that the goodneſs of GOD inviteth you to repentance? But by "your hardneſs and impenitence of heart, you heap up to your- "ſelves a treaſure of wrath againſt the day of vengeance." They ſaw plainly, by ſo ſurpriſing an accident as this, that GOD manifeſtly ſhewed, that the king's heart was hardened; and that GOD had abandoned him to make his juſtice ſhine out. The reſt of the night paſſed in ſighing, and bewailing the misfortune of this miſerable prince; however, they prepared for the conference they were to enter upon: firmly to mantain the intereſts of the ſon of GOD againſt the Arians.

The hour then which the king had appointed them drawing on, all the biſhops, together with many prieſts and deacons, and ſome catholicks of the court and city, and, amongſt others, with Placidius and Lucanus, two of the chief officers of the army, proceeded to the palace, whither the Arians alſo came. When every one had taken his place, Avitus, who ſpoke for the Catholicks, ſet forth the faith of the church, with ſo much force and eloquence, and proved it by ſo many paſſages from the ſcripture ſo convincing, and ſo fairly laid before them, that as great aſtoniſhment and confuſion appeared amongſt the Arians, as aſſurance and joy amongſt the Catholicks. And indeed, Boniface, the moſt learned of the Arians, whom that party had made choice of to ſupport their cauſe, inſtead of a preciſe anſwer to what Avitus had advanced to prove the divinity of the ſon of GOD by teſtimonies from ſcripture, entered into a long, tedious, confuſed diſcourſe, wherein he propoſed by philoſophical arguments, all the difficulties which human reaſon, not enlightned by faith, finds in the myſtery of the trinity. When he had ended, Avitus replied, that philoſophy was not the buſineſs at preſent, but faith ariſing from the word of GOD, and which, being above reaſon, is not however againſt it, whatever difficulty ſhe could urge againſt it. Wherefore that he beſought him to give a plain anſwer to what he had propoſed; drawn from the ſcripture: and that after that, he promiſed him ſatisfaction, as to

(*q*) Matt. 11. (*r*) Rom. 2.

what

he had advanced, according to the Maxims of philoſophy. But Boniface, finding himſelf pinched, inſtead of anſwering, fell into invectives, ſaying the Catholicks were idolaters, who held a plurality of GODS; and nothing more could be got from him. This was a direct confeſſion of his weakneſs. Therefore the king, who perceived the perplexity his party was in, broke up the aſſembly, telling them that this was ſufficient for that time; and that Boniface ſhould anſwer the next day. *A. D.* 499.

The Catholick prelates, very well pleaſed with this firſt skirmiſh, being returned to the palace the day after, met Aredius, one of the chief lords of the court, and a Catholick, but one who favoured the Arians, out of a ſervile complaiſance to the king. The firſt thing he ſaid to them was, that, as their humble ſervant, he adviſed them not to purſue their deſign, but go back: that theſe diſputes were diſagreeable to well-meaning perſons: that they only ſharpened peoples tempers; that no good could come from them: and for certain the king was not pleaſed with them, But the archbiſhop anſwered him, that an enquiry into truth, from a mere ſpirit of charity, in order to procure the ſalvation of his brethren, far from diſturbing the peace, was the propereſt means of reuniting hearts by a perfect chriſtian friendſhip, and that in ſhort they were come by expreſs command from the king. To which Aredius not daring to reply, they went in, and the king, as ſoon as he ſaw them, received them very graciouſly, and ſeating himſelf between the archbiſhop and Avitus, entertained them with what he had moſt at heart, the war which king Clovis was making upon him, of whom he complained extreamly, telling them that he ſollicited his own brother againſt him. The biſhops anſwered, that there was no better method to have a peace with that king, than to embrace the faith he profeſſed: and that if his majeſty would be pleaſed to take that method, they eagerly offered themſelves to negotiate the peace. But as the king made no anſwer to it, each went back to his place: and the biſhop Avitus made an excellent diſcourse, wherein, in relation to Boniface's inſiſting, that the Catholicks worſhiped many GODS, he ſhewed with ſo much ſolidity, prudence, and perſpicuity, and in ſo agreeable and eloquent a manner, that they acknowledged but one GOD in the trinity of the perſons,

A.D. 499. that he was admired by the Arians themſelves, who could not help giving ſigns of their aſtoniſhment. They waited a long time, expecting ſomething to the purpoſe from Boniface; but the king ſeeing the poor man (who knew not where-abouts he was,) did nothing but heap an infinite number of abuſive words one upon another, crying out with all his might, ſo as to grow hoarſe, and to be able to go no farther, he roſe up haſtily, looking with an ill eye on Boniface, ſhewing the contempt he had of his weakneſs, and his indignation at his manner of proceeding. Avitus, that he might make all the advantage that could be expected from ſo remarkable a victory, took all imaginable pains in order to oblige the king to reconcile himſelf to the church, ſeeing his biſhops could make no anſwer. He went ſo far as to propoſe to him, by a ſudden inſpiration from GOD, that they ſhould all, at that very inſtant, go in one body to St. Juſtus's tomb, and that each ſide ſhould enquire of the ſaint which of the two was the true faith, and that by an internal motion which he felt within his ſoul, he took upon himſelf to aſſure his majeſty, that GOD, to confirm the Catholick faith by a miracle, would order the ſaint to anſwer. But, tho' this prince was convinced, and tho, ſurpriſed by a propoſal which promiſed him the ſight of a miracle, he ſeemed to accept it; yet his fear of his ſubjects, and above all of his Arian biſhops, who made a terrible outcry in the aſſembly, that recourſe was had to magick and enchantments, to deſtroy the true belief, had ſo great an influence over his mind, that he had not the courage to proceed any farther. However, he could not help ſhewing the ſentiments of his heart, and the violence he put upon himſelf by reſiſting truth ſo ſelf-evident. For as he went out of the hall where the conference had been held, he took the arch-biſhop by the hand, and having carried them into his chamber, tenderly embraced them, and conjured them to pray to GOD for him. But he in vain deſired thoſe two biſhops to beg that of GOD for him, which he himſelf was reſolved not to obtain. What was matter of conſolation to the Catholicks was, that this example of the king had no influence on his ſubjects. For ſeveral Arians, having learnt what had paſſed at the conference, owned the falſeneſs of their ſect, and were converted; and after they had for a few days

days been prepared to receive the favour of baptiſm, were baptiſed according to the form of the church. *A. D.* 499.

Such was king Gondeband, on whom Clovis was making war, not only for the ſake of queen Clotilda, but to revenge the death of Chilperic and his wife, whom that king had inhumanly cauſed to be murthered, but alſo upon a ſecret correſpondence which he had with Godegeſil, who ſollicited him to enter Burgundy, and to reſcue him from the oppreſſion of his brother who moleſted him in the poſſeſſion of his ſhare. Gondeband, who was a ſtranger to this correſpondence, ſeeing Clovis had declared war againſt him, preſſed Godegeſil to join with him, and oppoſe their common enemy. But he was extremely ſurpriſed, at the time the three armies were in view of each other before Dijon, to ſee that of his brother joined with Clovis againſt him. (*r*) This accident which he had not foreſeen, ſo diſconcerted him, that he fled towards the Rhône, almoſt without ſtriking one ſtroke, and took refuge in Avignon, where Clovis, in purſuit of his deſign, having beſieged him, he was at laſt forced to humble himſelf, and to ſue for peace to Clovis, by making himſelf his tributary, and yielding up Vienna to his brother. But Clovis was no ſooner retired into his own Territories than Gondeband went and laid ſiege to Vienna, (*s*) which he took by ſurpriſe by an aquaduct ſhewn him by one who had the care of it, and who had been turned out of the city with 500. 501.
ſuch people as they looked upon as uſeleſs. And poor Godegeſil, having taken refuge during the hurry in a church belonging to the Arians, was killed there, together with the biſhop of the ſect, by the command of the Barbarian, who thus became the murtherer and executioner of his three brothers. It is even reported, (*t*) that he cauſed all the French who were at Vienna in his brother's ſervice to be maſſacred: But others affirm he only made them priſoners, and ſent them to Alaricus, whom he knew to be the moſt dangerous and formidable enemy that Clovis had. However it might be, the treachery was too black; and the injury done to Clovis too remarkable, and of too high a nature, not to be revenged and puniſhed by ſo great a king. Clovis therefore returned

(*r*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 32. (*s*) Greg. Tur. c. 33. (*t*) Aim. l. 1. c. 19. Greg. Tur. l. 12. c. 33.

into

A. D. 502. 503. into Burgundy with a strong army, (*u*) engaged Gondeband, and entierly defeated him without the assistance of Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths, who had entered into an alliance with the French to have a share in the conquest. He afterwards easily made himself master of the whole kingdom; but at last, at the instance of Clotilda, he relinquished that part of it which is on the other side the Rhône (containing Savoy, Dauphine, and Provence, as far as Durance) to Segismond, Gondeband's son.

After so happy a conclusion of the Burgundian war, Clovis found himself in a condition to undertake that which he had long resolved upon, against the Visigoths. Many reasons obliged him to this attempt. The protection Alaricus generally gave to his enemies and rebels, the hatred and jealousy which that Prince on all occasions shewed against him, (*x*) the pains he took to raise him enemies on all sides, the ambuscade he had laid to surprise him at an interview: (*y*) The law of nations violated in the person of his ambassador, who had been treated with great indignity: But above all, the uneasiness Clovis was under to see the greatest part of the Gauls in the hands of the Arians. (*z*) For in an assembly of the principal of the French nobility which he called in order to propose the war to them, he told them plainly, he could not bear to see the avowed enemies of JESUS CHRIST reigning over the Gauls, and that they must rescue the remains of those people from so unworthy a slavery, by reducing them under their own Empire, to which they all unanimously consented. Besides, altho' Alaricus was not at all of his father Evaricus's humour, who cruelly persecuted the Orthodox; and tho' he suffered them to live unmolested, yet the Gauls, who were extreamly zealous for the true religion, very impatiently bore to see themselves governed by those Arians, whom they abhorred above all other hereticks. And as they saw that Clovis, and, in imitation of him, all the French had embraced the Catholick faith which flourished under him; they most ardently wished to have him for their master. (*a*) Then they gave the Visigoths some jealousy who mistrusted them, and especially the most pious amongst the bishops, some of

(*u*) Procop. de bell. Got. l. 1, Paul. Æmil. (*x*) Aimoin. l. 1. c. 20. (*y*) Ibid. (*z*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 37. (*a*) Greg. Tur. c. 36.

whom

whom Alaricus himself banished, upon suspicion of holding a correspondence with the French, as amongst others St. Quintianus bishop of Rhodez. And for the same reason, three or four years after St. Cæsarius arch-bishop of Arles was made a prisoner by the Goths, who accused him of intending to betray the city to the French, and were going to throw him into the Rhône, had not his innocence appeared by the discovery, and apprehending of the criminal. *A. D.* 503.

All these reasons, with others respecting the state, and the desire of aggrandising himself, which is natural to conquering kings, determined for a war, for which Clovis made such vast preparations, that Theodoricus king of Italy took umbrage at it, fearing, should the Visigoths be defeated, lest the French, mortal enemies to the Arians, would fall upon him. (*b*) He did all he could, by remonstrances, by prayers, and even by threats, and by his Ambassadors to the rest of the kings of Germany, bordering upon the French, to divert Clovis from the war. But that prince, more exasperated than ever at those letters of the Ostrogoth, whose menaces he despised, and whose power he was not afraid of, far from laying down his arms, and referring himself to arbitrators, as Theodoricus demanded, sent Alaricus a defiance even into Thoulouse; offering him to make an end of their quarrel at the head of both their armies, to save the blood of their subjects, and to see to which of them GOD would give the victory, and determine the Empire of the Gauls. But Alaricus, who, tho' a man of great valour and courage, did not intend to fight but like a king with a powerful army, (*c*) refusing the challenge, accepted the war; and having drawn together all his forces, marched to make himself master of an advantageous post, where he kept within his camp which he had strongly fortified, waiting for a powerful assistance which Theodoricus had promised him. 505.

In the mean while Clovis took the field, (*d*) in order to march directly against Alaricus, and one way or other to oblige him to fight, and perhaps both ways, if he could once bring him to an

(*b*) Cassiod. Var. l. 3. Ep. 2. 3. 4. (*c*) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. (*d*) Hincmarus in vitâ St. Remig. Epist. Remig. ad Clodov. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris. Hinc. in Vit. S. Remig. Epist. Clodov. ad Episcop. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

Engage-

A. D. 505. engagement. Before he ſat out, he received letters from St. Remi with his bleſſing, who promiſed him the aſſiſtance of Heaven; and that he might prepare himſelf by his actions to receive it, he, by queen Clotilda's advice, gave orders for the building a church to the holy Apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, which is at this time conſecrated to GOD in the memory of St. Genevieve. (*e*) He made admirable regulations for the preſervation of order and diſcipline in his army, even to the putting to death a ſoldier, who had forcibly taken a few truſſes of hay from a peaſant near Tours, in the territory of St. Martin. He ſent offerings to his ſhrine, by his interceſſion to implore help from GOD, (*f*) whom he himſelf beſought that he would vouchſafe to give his deputies ſome happy omen of the victory he was in hopes of gaining; and as they were going into the church, they heard them ſinging this verſe of the pſalmiſt; (*g*) "Lord, thou haſt ſurrounded me with ſtrength, to make war: "thou haſt caſt under my feet thoſe who have riſen againſt me; "thou haſt turned back my enemies, and thou haſt utterly deſ- "troyed thoſe that hated me." With ſo favourable a preſage, the king paſſed the river Loire, and came to Vienna, which he forded by the means of a hind, that ſtarting out of a wood at the noiſe of his army, had thrown herſelf into the river: this the ſoldiers took for an aſſurance that GOD himſelf took care to conduct them by extraordinary ways (*h*) After which, as the king, who found no enemy in the field, laid the country waſte all around, Alaricus was at laſt conſtrained, by the complaints and murmurs of the Viſigoths, to quit his entrenchments, and march to give the enemy battle, without waiting for the Oſtrogoths.

Clovis was advanced towards Poitiers, where, as he had done before Tours, he forbad his ſoldiers to take any thing, intending by this to ſhew his reſpect to St. Hilarius, who in his time had been the great ſcourge of the Arians. (*i*) It is even ſaid that he ſaw a bright flame riſing out of the church of that holy biſhop, which came and ſettled over his royal tent,

(*e*) Greg. Tur. l. 1. c. 37. Ibid. (*f*) Aimoin l. 1. c. 21. (*g*) Pſal. 17.
(*h*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. (*i*) Greg. Tur. c. 37. Aimoin. cap. 21.

whether

whether it was one of thoſe flaming exhalations that are ſome- *A. D.*
times ſeen ſpreading in the air, and falling in the form of 505.
long trains of light, or whether there was really any thing extraordinary in it, whereby that holy conquerour of Arianiſm meant to promiſe him his aſſiſtance againſt the ſame enemies which he himſelf had formerly fought againſt, both with his tongue and pen, as this great king was going to do with his ſword. Be that as it may, it is ſure that it inſpired the whole army with an extraordinary courage, who no longer doubted that heaven declared itſelf in their favour. Thus the French and Viſigoths each ſeverally deſiring nothing more than to come to a battle, this great affair was ſoon decided.

The two armies met five leagues from Poitiers, in the plain of Voclade, then ſo called, and which is between that city and Vienna. The forces were numerous on both ſides, and their courage animated, not only by the deſire of glory, and by the emulation that was between thoſe two celebrated nations, but by the averſion too which difference in religion generally raiſes, and by the hatred which the two Parties, in imitation of their kings, had for each other. Theſe two princes were both in the ſtrength of their age, being each about forty years old, and tho' Alaricus whoſe reign had ſeldom been diſturbed by wars, had neither the experience, the glory, nor the reputation which Clovis had acquired in ſo many wars, and by ſo many victories, yet he was brave, and might have pretended to the rank of the moſt valiant of his predeceſſors, had fortune thrown any other enemy than Clovis in his way. However, in drawing up their armies for the engagement, they neither of them neglected to improve what courage and ardor they already found in their men, by laying before them every motive that could induce them to behave well on this occaſion, which was to decide the fortune of thoſe two great kingdoms. Clovis animated the French, "by putting them "in mind of the victories they had under his auſpices gained "over the Romans, the Burgundians, the Germans, and by the "contempt they ought to have for the Viſigoths, ſo long buried "in idleneſs, having nothing remaining of the valour of their "anceſtors; but eſpecially by the conſideration of the glory they would acquire on earth, and of that which they would ſecure

A. D. 505. " to themſelves in heaven, ſhould they reſcue the Gauls from " the tyranny of the Arians, enemies of the true religion, which " themſelves had embraced, and which the poor oppreſſed Gauls, " who ſtretched their hands out to the French, had no hopes of pre- " ſerving but by their means. Alaricus laid before them the " glory of their victorious nation over Pannonia, Thrace, Ma- " cedon, Illyrium, the Gauls, Spain, and Rome itſelf, whom ſhe " had ſubdued to her Empire under the great Alaricus, whoſe " name alone, which he had the honour to bear, ought to be " an earneſt of victory to them. He added, that after conquer- " ing ſo many nations, a ſingle one could not ſo much as bear " up againſt their firſt efforts, if they fought with the ſame ar- " dour, as they had not long ſince demanded an opportunity of " fighting, and conquering; only let them follow him, and do " what they ſhould ſee him do, and that then he would anſwer " for the victory.

Thereupon each ſide fell on courageouſly, and for ſome time they fought with equal hopes, the danger, and advantage being equal. Thoſe of Auvergne, when Appollinarius, a relation of the biſhop Sidonius, and a vaſſal to Alaricus, had brought to his aid, generouſly bore the firſt ſhock of the Van of the French; But when Clovis, who fought at the head of the main battle, came thundring with the troups of his own guard upon Alaricus; he charged ſo furiouſly, being ſeconded by the French nobility, who after his example fought like ſo many lions, that having beat down the braveſt and moſt reſolute, who in vain oppoſed his fury, he forced the enemy to retire, and then puſhed them ſo vigorouſly, without giving them time to rally, bearing down and killing every thing in his way, that at length they turned their back, and ran away in confuſion. (*k*) The Viſigoths who by the long peace they had enjoyed ever ſince Alaricus's death, were grown rather haughty than brave, firſt took flight, and almoſt all the Auvergnat auxiliaries with the flower of their nobility, (*l*) diſdaining to run away as they had done, were cut in pieces. However Alaricus clearly made appear, that it was out of prudence only that he had endeavoured to defer the

(*k*) Greg. Turon. (*l*) Marian. l. 5. c. 6.

battle

battle: for in this engagement he performed every thing that could be expected from a great commander. He was every where, he gave the orders, he executed them himſelf, he encouraged his ſoldiers with his eyes, his motions, his voice and hand by his own example: and when he ſaw they every where gave way, and yielded to the fury of the French, and that the Viſigoths every where loſt ground, he ran himſelf to the colours, in order to ſtop them; he forced ſuch as were running away to turn again, and rallied his troops, in order to bring them back to the fight. *A. D.* 505.

It was then that Clovis perceiving him, and knowing him by his behaviour, and the beauty of his guilt armour, performed a memorable action, and worthy of a hero. For tho' he had it in his power to conquer without danger, and to diſſipate with eaſe that remnant of an army, which the ſhame alone of deſerting a king, made ſtill to deliberate whether they ſhould fly or fight, yet he ſcorned to make uſe of his advantage, but riding forward a good diſtance before his troops, he called to Alaricus both with his voice and his hand, and defies him to a ſingle combat. Alaricus, who plainly ſaw all was loſt, if he had not recourſe to thoſe means, which fortune and Clovis's bravery offered him the only means to raiſe again by killing his enemy, ſpurred on immediately full ſpeed againſt him with his lance couched. Clovis, on his ſide, did the ſame, and at firſt gave his enemy ſo violent a ſhock, as ſtretched him upon the ground. At that inſtant two Viſigoths leaving their ranks, ſo rudely aſſaulted the king, ſtriking both on the right and left, that had it not been for the goodneſs of his armour and the valiant Clodericus, who threw himſelf upon thoſe infamous wretches, he had been in danger of his life, at the ſame moment he was depriving his enemy of it; for immediately diſmounting, he plunged his ſword thro' the extremities of the armour into Alaricus's body, juſt as he was riſing ſword in hand to renew the combat.

The battle being ended, Clovis, who knew how to make the beſt uſe of victory, as well as to conquer, divided his army into two bodies. One part he gave to Thierry his natural ſon, who marching on the right to the eaſt, eaſily reduced Auvergne, and the reſt of the provinces as far as Languedoc to the

A. D. 505. king's obedience. As for himself, having reduced all Poitou, (*m*) which surrendred without resistance, he marched to the left, entered Aquitain, made himself master of Bordeaux, about two leagues from thence, in the Lands defeated another army of of the Visigoths, composed of such as gaurded that province, and those who had escaped from the battle of Poitiers, or Voclade; received the submissions of all the cities of Novempopulania, now Gasgogne, and was at last received into Toulouse, where he seized upon the treasures of the Visigoth kings. After which, having sent Thierry his natural son, to take in Carcasson, he returned thro' Aquitain, and as he was beginning the siege of Angouleme, where the remainder of the Visigoths of the province had shut themselves up, resolved upon a vigorous defence, a great part of the walls suddenly falling, the army, which took this favourable and wonderful accident for a miracle, (*n*) entred the town thro' that breach, which GOD had made for them, put most of the Goths to the sword, and in compassion turned out the rest. At last, having no more enemies to fight against, and every thing being reduced, he repassed the Loire, and came to Tours, in order to pay his vows in the church of St. Martin.

507. It was there he received ambassadors from the emperour Anastasius, who, to honour his merit, and gain the friendship of a prince, whose reputation over the earth, and who might be useful to him, sent him the ensigns of Consul and Senatour, (*o*) with the imperial Diadem woven with gold, and covered with pearls, which Clovis received in ceremony, as an instance of the friendship of so great a prince, who courted his alliance, and treated him with the title of emperour. (*p*) And indeed, after that time, the king always had the title of August given him. It was then too that having settled the empire of the French upon so firm a footing in the Gauls, they began to call it France. (*q*) After this Clovis came to Paris, which he pitched upon from amongst all the rest of the cities, tho' then larger, to be the seat of it, as if he had foreseen the grandeur and majesty in which we at at this day see this capital of the French;

(*m*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 38 Aimoin. l. 1. c. 21. 22. (*n*) Aimoin. c. 22. Greg. c. 37. (*o*) Greg. c. 38. (*p*) Greg. Ibid. (*q*) Greg. Ibid.

and

and whereas that it was then almoſt upon the Frontiers, the day ſhould come when it ſhould be the heart of France, by the victories of another Louis, who ſhould, in one campain, puſh his conqueſts as far as the ocean which waſhes Holland. But at the ſame time, to ſhew he had been fighting for GOD, and for the faith of the Church of Rome, againſt the Arian hereſy, (*r*) he ſent a crown of gold to Rome to be conſecrated to JESUS CHRIST the true GOD, at the ſhrine of the Apoſtles. *A. D.* 507.

In the mean while the Viſigoths, ſoon after the loſs of the battle acknowledged Giſalicus, natural ſon of Alaricus, for king, becauſe his legitimate ſon Amalaricus, grandſon to Theodoricus king of Italy, was but five years old. This new king having paſſed the Rhône, threw himſelf haſtily into Languedoc, which king Evaricus had conquered; (*s*) but as he was mean-ſpirited and cruel, and as beſides Theodoricus was diſſatisfied with their ſetting up a king in prejudice to his grandſon, he did not remain long on the throne. For, Theodoricus who had been making ready, tho' ſlowly, to go to the aſſiſtance of Alaricus, in a ſhort time compleated his preparations, paſſed the Alps with a powerful army of fourſcore thouſand men, without any trouble made himſelf maſter of provence, paſſed into Languedoc where he raiſed the ſiege of Carcaſſon: and the French having fortified themſelves in Aquitain, (*t*) where he did not dare to attack them, he left them wholly unmoleſted: after that cauſed is grandſon Amalaricus to be declared king, to whom he reſigned the lower Languedoc, he kept Provence to himſelf; and took care of Amalaricus's territories, in the quality of guardian: leaving in his room Theudis an Oſtrogoth nobleman for governour, who, after the young king's deceaſe, ſeiſed on the kingdom of the Viſigoths.

Thus the greateſt part of the Gauls was reſcued out of the hand of the Arians by the great Clovis, who left his children little to do towards the accompliſhment of ſo glorious an enterprize, and of ſo much importance to the glory of JESUS CHRIST. But yet, as it was impoſſible but the church of France muſt have ſuffered much during this oppreſſion, and great abuſes have crept in amidſt the confuſion of ſo many wars, the king, by St. Remi's advice, re-

(*r*) Hincmar. in vita S. Remig. Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 12. (*b*) Ibid in Chron. (*t*) Procop. ibid.

ſolved

A. D. 511. solved (*u*) that the Bishops of his ancient dominion on this side the Loire, and of that which he had lately conquered on the other side of the same river, should meet at Orleans, as in the centre of the two parts of his kingdom, to rectify all disorders, upon the articles themselves and heads which he had taken the pains to propose to them. (*x*) The fathers thus assembled, writing to him to commend the zeal he had shewn in the advancement of the Christian religion, in the superscription of that letter gave him the glorious title of son of the holy Catholick church. After which, in answer to all the king's articles, (*y*) they send him the thirty one canons which they had composed for a Rule to the Churches, whereby, amongst other things, they ordain that such clerks as shall sincerely abjure Arianism, and lead a life agreeable to their profession, may be admitted by the bishops to any of the ecclesiastical orders, whereof they shall be by them thought capable, first receiving imposition of their hands; and that those churches which such Goths as had been Arians had employed and prophaned by the exercise of their heresy might be made use of by the Catholicks, being again consecrated and blessed by the bishops.

This council was purely for reforming abuses, and drawing up rules for ecclesiastical government, according to the king's desire; but another was held for matters of faith, and the confounding of Arianism, tho' the time and place of it are uncertain. (*z*) What we are very sure of is, that, among so many Catholick prelates as came to this assembly from all parts of the Gauls, there was one of those Arian bishops, who had had the government of some churches under Alaricus, and that GOD wrought a miracle on him, which contributed more to confirm the faith, than all the most learned and subtil discussions could have done. This Arian, who was extremely proud, and a great sophist, challenged all the Fathers to dispute: and trusting much to his philosophical arguments, which he thought invincible, boasted with insupportable pride and arrogance, that he would confound the most skilful among them, and that he would reduce him to that degree, as not to be able to answer him,

(*u*) Hincm. in vita S. Remig. (*x*) Concil. Aurel. 1. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. (*y*) Can. 10. (*z*) Hincm. in vita S. Remig. Flodoard. l. 1. Hist. Eccles. c. 16. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris.

and

and put him to silence out of shame. Tho' there were several very learned men met, to be present at the council, yet they had so much respect for the great St. Remi, whose learning was as famous among men as his piety, that they would not permit the matter to go any further, till he came. As he came later than the rest, and was entering the assembly, where the fathers were already waiting, all the bishops rose in honour to him, except the Arian, who looking at him with a haughty and scornful air, did not vouchsafe to stir, to pay him a regard which civility and decency alone required. But as the saint was passing by him, the insolent man found himself of a sudden struck by a secret and invisible power, which upon the spot deprived him of the use of speech, without any one's preceiving it. The saint in the mean while taking his place, made an admirable discourse, wherein, as he was profoundly learned in the knowledge of the scripture, and a great master in the art of reasoning, he proved the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the mystery of the trinity, with so much strength, by the principles of the faith which he had laid before them, that it was not doubted but this Arian philosopher, who boasted of perplexing others, would soon be found in a great perplexity himself, and all present were preparing, with pleasure, to hear his answer. But they were exceedingly surprised to see that being got up in order to answer, still imagining that by making an effort he should be able to speak, they saw he several times in vain opened his mouth, and that remaining in this sad condition, quite stunned and speechless, he did not bring out one word, and they were much more surprised, when the poor man, so visibly finding the hand of GOD upon him, went and threw himself at St. Remi's feet, and melting into tears, by his gestures and signs begged of him to pity his calamity, making him and the whole council plainly enough understand by such sensible expressions, that GOD had struck him dumb, as a punishment for his crime, and his insolence. Upon this, the saint who clearly saw what so wonderful a blow had wrought in the soul of this bishop said to him with a becoming majesty and confidence in GOD: "In the name of our lord JESUS CHRIST, the true son "of GOD, if thou really hast the sentiments, that man ought "to have of his divinity, speak, and openly confess that which the A. D. 511.

A. D. 511. "the Catholick church believes concerning it." This powerful voice of St. Remi, animated by the spirit of GOD, who spoke, and operated by his mouth, immediately restored both voice and speech to that bishop, who from a proud and obstinate Arian, was become an humble and submissive Catholick. He publickly confessed the trinity of the divine persons, inseparable, and most distinct, in a perfect unity of essence and nature. By this signal confession, he restored to the son of GOD the glory he would have robbed him of, by the blasphemies of his heresy, and protested he would be as constant and firm till death, in professing this truth before all the world, as he had till then been obstinate in mantaining the error and impiety of Arianism, which he condemned with all his heart.

After this, it is not known what was done in this council; but sure it is that this great event was a decision, which had more effect in it than many canons and decrees would have had, towards rooting out this heresy from amongst the Gauls, to which Clovis had given the mortal blow by his victory, and which he absolutly put an end to and destroyed, by the care he took of the Church. And indeed, GOD resolved to crown him soon after. For he died at Paris the same year he had caused this first council of Orleans to meet, in the fortyfifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, leaving France divided amongst his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Clothaire, and Childebert, who enlarged it with the Remains of the kingdom of Burgundy, already become Catholick under king Sigismund.

This prince, to whom Clovis had left a part of Gondeband's kingdom, (*a*) had taken the title of king after his father's death, whom sometime after his losses died without honour amongst the Ostrogoths. As the son's soul was entirely different from that of the father, the holy bishop of Vienna, Avitus, who had so long in vain laboured for the conversion of the latter, soon had reason to comfort himself of the son, whom he found well disposed to receive the fine instructions he gave him. So that being fully persuaded by the reasons he had so strongly and so clearly laid before him at the conference of Lions, (*b*) and by the excellent

(*a*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5. Sigebert. in Chron. (*b*) Ado Vierun. in Chron.

things

things he ſtill was ſaying to him every day, to convince him of the truth of the Catholick faith, he ſolemnly renounced Arianiſm; and the Burgundians, of whom the king his Father had been ſo much afraid, as not to dare generouſly to profeſs the truth he was convinced of, far from taking it ill, all followed his example, and became Catholicks. For beſides that this people had never been ſtrict profeſſors of Arianiſm, which they only followed from a national engagement, the commerce they had carried on with the Gauls, who were ſuffered to live unmoleſted in the exerciſe of the true religion, had in a great meaſure fitted them for that happy change, which is wrought from error to truth, in imitation of a king; ſince it is but too often ſeen, that the ſingle example of princes, who paſs from truth to error, can eaſily enough draw their people into the ſame ruin. In ſhort, Sigiſmund, with the gift of faith, received the principles of the Chriſtian virtues, which he learnt from the leſſons which St. Avitus gave him, by whoſe advice he had a council aſſembled at Epaone, a town or borough not now known by that name, and which probably might be ſome where near the Rhône, in the lands belonging to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Vienna, (*c*) for it was Avitus that called, and preſided at that council. Forty canons were made for the regulation of church-dicipline, (*d*) and there appeared ſo great an abhorrence of Arianiſm in them, that it was not thought that ſuch churches as had been built by the Arians, could be ſufficiently purified, ſo as to ſerve for ſacred uſes: And it was reſolved that ſuch only as had been taken by violence from the Catholicks ſhould be reconſecrated. But all theſe excellent qualities of Sigiſmund, and all theſe virtues were obſcured by an horrid crime, which the wickedneſs of a mother in law, and jealouſy of ſtate, made him commit. *A. D.* 517.

He had married one of the queen's daughters, after the death of that princeſs his wife the daughter of king Theodoricus. (*e*) This new queen, not being able to bear the contempt of prince Sigericus, ſon of the deceaſed, ſo prepoſſeſſed her husband that That prince was endeavouring to come at his crown by parricide, that without far- 526.

(*c*) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. (*d*) Can. 33. (*e*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 6. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 3.

A.D. ther examining into a thing of that consequence, he had him
526. strangled in his sleep. He had no sooner commited so wicked an action, than opening his eyes, which his passion had shut, he was convinced of the enormity of so horrible a crime, which he wore out by a long and very severe repentance in the famous monastry of Agaunum, (*f*) which he had built and endowed for the maintainance of a great number of Fryers, who were to divide amongst themselves all the hours of the day and night there without interruption to sing the praises of GOD. But tho' he had blotted out his sin, by his tears and fastings, GOD was determined to punish him more rigorously in this world, (*g*) that he might spare him in the other, as he had earnestly begged in his most fervent prayers. Clodomir king of Orleans, part of whose territories were surrounded by those of Burgundy, some time afterwards made use of this circumstance to make war upon him, in which he engaged his brothers, and principally Thierry king of Austrasia, who was Sigericus's brother in law, whose sister he had married. (*h*) Sigismund was overcome in the battle, and taken with his wife and children by Clodomir, whom he carried to Orleans in irons. And as after the retreat of those victorious kings, Gondemar, Sigismund's brother, had easily retaken all Burgundy, Clodomir was so enraged at it, that before he returned to the war he inhumanely ordered his prisoners to be massacred, and
527. their bodies thrown into a well, from whence they were taken sometime after with great honour: GOD having by many miracles signally declared Sigismund's piety, whose repentance, by the wonderful use he made of his afflictions, (*i*) has deserved that place which the church has given him in the number of such saints, whom she every year solemnly honours. After that Clodomir and Thierry returned against Gondemar, whom they defeated in a second battle before Vienna: But Clodomir was killed in it by
528. some Burgundians in disguise, whom he took for French; and four years after Childebert king of Paris, and Clotaire king of Soissons having revenged his death, by the entire destruction of Gondemar, divided amongst themselves and their brother Thierry the kingdom

(*f*) St. Mauritius, or Chablais. (*g*) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr.
(*h*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5. (*i*) Mart. Rom. 1. Maij.

of

of Burgundy, which became a part of that of France. Thus of two kingdoms which the Arians had poſſeſſed in the Gauls, only the firſt and ſecond Narboneſe Gauls, (*k*) remained to be wreſted out of their hands. To which the ſudden change, and afterwards the death of Theodoricus king of Italy at once extremely prepared matters. *A. D.* 528.

After the death of Anaſtaſius the heretick Emperor, (*l*) who was killed by a clap of thunder, Juſtin, who from a private ſoldier taken from the dregs of the people, had riſen thro' all the degrees of honour to the imperial throne, ſoon eſtabliſhed the Catholick faith in all its ſtrength, by his edicts, exterminating all the Hereſies, except the Arian, which he ſeemed reſolved to ſpare, for fear of exaſperating Theodoricus, with whom, for reaſons of ſtate, he had been obliged to make alliance. (*m*) But in the ſixth year of his reign, ſeeing himſelf ſo firmly ſettled, as no longer to be under any apprehenſions from that Arian prince, he renewed his edicts againſt the Hereticks, therein comprehending the Arians, from whom he took all their Churches. Theodoricus, who till then had permitted the Catholicks to live in full peace, without ſhewing any great warmth for the intereſt of his ſect, looked upon himſelf ſo highly offended by this Edict, that whether thinking his honour concerned, or fearing the Chatholicks might enter into ſome engagements with Juſtin, to turn him out of Italicus, he reſolved either to have it revoked, or to carry matters to an extremity. (*n*) To this end, he obliged Pope John, who had ſucceeded Hormiſdas, to go Ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, with four of the chief members of the ſenate, which he ſuſpected to have an intelligence with the Emperour, Two things he gave them principally in charge; the firſt, to take care that Juſtin undertook nothing againſt his intereſts; the ſecond, to oblige him to re-eſtabliſh the Arians, (*o*) proteſting that if they failed in either of thoſe points, he would revenge himſelf on the Catholicks, on whom he would make a cruel war throughout his dominions. (*p*) The Pontif found himſelf under a neceſſity of undertaking the journey, during which GOD was pleaſed in an

(*k*) Lower Languedoc and Provence. (*l*) Miſc. l. 15. (*m*) Miſc. l. 15. (*n*) Anaſt. Bibl. in Joann. Boet. de. Conſol. l. 1. Proſp. 4. Marcell. in Chron. (*o*) Anaſt. (*p*) Greg. Mag Dial. l. 3. c. 2.

A. D. 528. extraordinary manner to signalize his eminent piety by uncommon miracles, even to the restoring a blind man to sight at his entrance into Constantinople, (*q*) where he was received with all imaginable honours. All the city came out to meet him, with crosses, banners, and tapers in their hands, to the number of twelve thousand, (*r*) and the Emperor, at his coming up, condescended so far as to throw himself at his feet, in order to adore JESUS CHRIST's vicar on earth, tho' this Pontif had so slender an equipage as to be forced to make part of his journey upon borrowed horses.

He celebrated Easter-day in the great Church, in Latin, and according to the Roman ceremonies; and the Emperour who had already been crowned, had a mind again to receive the Imperial crown from his hand. (*s*) After this, when they were to go upon business, he did all he could for Theodoricus's interest, and to make Justin observe the peace, that he might remove the suspicion the Goths had conceived against the Roman Senate. But far from endeavouring to prevail on the Emperour to let the Arians alone, to revoke his Edict, (*t*) and restore them their churches, to prevent any persecution falling upon the Catholicks in Italy, as some have written; he himself protests in a letter he wrote the year after to the bishops of Italy, to encourage them to suffer, (*u*) and vigorously oppose the Arians, that he reconsecrated all the churches which the Emperour had taken from the Arians; by this new consecration, making them holy and Catholick, whereas before they were prophane and unholy. (*x*) And indeed, Theodoricus was so provoked at it, that as soon as the holy Pontif was returned to Ravenna, to give him an account of his Embassy, he threw him into prison loaden with chains, where he died the year after, oppressed with miseries, thus ending his Embassy by a glorious Martyrdom, which the church yearly celebrates. (*y*) He added impiety to his cruelty, having insisted on the nominating a pope, which no Emperor, expect Constantius, an Arian as well as he, had ever dared to attempt; and ever since the Emperours pretended to a right

(*q*) Anast. Bibl. (*r*) Greg. Mag. ibid. Marcel. in Chron. (*s*) Anast. (*t*) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. Marian l. 5. c. 6. (*u*) Ep. 2. Jo. Tom. 1: Ep. R. Pontif. (*x*) Greg. Tur. glor. Martyr. c. 40. (*y*) 27. Maij. Ep. Athal. ad Senat. ap. Cassiod. l. 8. Ep. 15.

at

at leaſt of confirming every new elected Pope. So that it was an Arian who began the reducing of the Roman church into captivity, from which ſhe was at length freed by Charlemagne, who broke her chains, and re-eſtabliſhed her in the happy condition of her former liberty, which ſhe ſtill enjoys to this day. But GOD did not ſuffer ſuch monſtrous crimes to go long unpuniſhed, for fifty eight days after this violent attempt, and ninety after the Pope's death, Theodoricus, who had at the ſame time put to death Boëtius and Symmachus, the two moſt illuſtrious members of the Roman ſenate, falſly accuſed of conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, was taken out of the world by a kind of phrenſy, with which he was ſtruck on a ſudden, upon looking at the head of a large fiſh that had been ſerved up to his table, and which he took for that of Symmachus threatning him. But as we ought always to do juſtice to merit, wherever we find it, we muſt own, that taking from his life the firſt and laſt action of his reign which laſted more than thirty years, he would by his military and political vertues have equalled the greateſt men of ancient Rome. His grandſon, Athalaricus, a youth of no more than eight years, ſucceeded him, under the regency of Amalaſonta his mother, daughter to king Theodoricus, who had married her to Eutharicus, a Gothick prince of the blood of the Amalis; a princes worthy of ſuch a father, whoſe good qualities ſhe had inherited, without any of his vices or defects. *A. D.* 528.

Theodoricus's death, which was the ruin of the Oſtrogoths, was ſoon ſucceeded by the diſaſters of Amalaricus king of the Viſigoths, whom his brutality, and falſe zeal for Arianiſm, (z) hurried into his laſt misfortune. He had demanded the princeſs Clotilda their ſiſter of the kings of France, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf by an alliance with ſuch powerful princes, (a) whoſe friendſhip was of conſequence to him. They ſent her to him into Spain, with an equipage ſuitable to her high birth; But this young king, who ought to have learnt, by his father's example and misfortune, not to provoke the ſons of Clovis, ill returned the honour they did him. He did all he could to engage her as

(z) Greg Tur. l. 3. c. 10. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 8. Goth. l. 1. c. 13.

(a) Procop. de bell.

he

A. D. 528. he already had himself, into Arianism; and seeing she remained immoveable in her resolution to perish rather than abandon the faith, there was no sort of indignity which he did not make her suffer, either to gratify his hatred to the Catholicks, or to revenge himself for her refusal to obey him, or to tire out, and at last get the better of her constancy. For he even went so far as to suffer, and even privately to command the Goths, upon her going to the churches of the Catholicks, publickly to load her with abusive and opprobrious language, and to throw dirt at her; and at last carrying his fury beyond all bounds, he struck her in so outragious a manner himself, as to make her run down with blood.

530. As all the virtues have a sort of Harmony amongst themselves, and have their just bounds and measures, this virtuous princess, having allowed every thing she thought due to patience, also thought she ought to make satisfaction to justice, by causing the injury offered to the majesty of the kings of France so outrageously insulted in her person to be repaired. She therefore writ an account of the cruel and barbarous treatment she every day received to her brothers. She told them, "that if her person was the only thing "concerned, she would suffer till death without complaining, "rather than arm her brothers against her husband. But as the "interests of religion, an attempt to oppress which was made "thro' her, and the glory of France, to which the greatest of af- "fronts was offered, were equally concerned, she could no longer "forbear speaking, without in some measure betraying them both "by her silence. That it would be glorions for her to dye a "Martyr, as she certainly should do, if she waited ever so little "till Amalaricus's fury should be completely discharged upon "her; but that it would be too great a dishonour to the French, "for the daughter of the great Clovis to be so ignominiously "treated by the son of him whom he had conquered, and by his "Arian Visigoths, who by law of arms ought to be his slaves. "However, that as it had been her brothers who had innocently "engaged her in that miserable slavery, under which she was the "most unhappy person upon earth, they were likewise in their "turns obliged, by all sorts of reasons, divine and humane, to "extricate her out of it. That they imagined they had given

"her

" her a king for her husband, but that they had delivered her *A. D.*
" into the hands of an executioner, or rather that they had ex- 530.
" posed her to the mercy of a wild beast, that nothing was capa-
" ble of taming: and that if her words were too weak to convince
" them of a thing so very improbable, that what she sent them
" with the letter, would be a convincing proof of so melancholy
" a truth." And indeed, she sent them a handkerchief dipped in the blood of a wound she had received by a blow from Amalaricus. (*b*)

Childebert, who was then at the head of a powerful army in Auvergne, upon a design he had been attempting in prejudice of his brother Thierry, being the first who received that letter, and handkerchief, sent them both to his brothers; but however, without waiting for them, as he burnt with desire of revenging so heinous an injury done to the blood of France, he hastily lead his army over the Pyranean mountains, and came thun- 531.
dring upon Amalaricus, who, having neither courage nor forces to bear up against so violent a blow, (*c*) was soon routed by the single Cavalry of the French, who cut the greatest part of his army in pieces before Barcelona, (*d*) whither he had fled: (*e*) and as he was just upon escaping on board a fleet he had ordered to be in readiness for all accidents, his avarice detained him, by his death to compleat the punishment due to such a brutal cruelty. For calling to mind that he had left in his closet a basket, in which were his jewels, he went back to get them; but he found himself surprised by the French, who entering the city, almost at the same time, cut off his retreat. (*f*) And as in this extremity he was endeavouring to escape into the church belonging to the Catholicks, there to find a sure asylum, a French trooper, who made at him before he could reach thither, ran his lance thro' him, and stretched him dead on the ground. (*g*) After this, Childebert, still to carry his vengeance farther, having laid waste the greatest part of Spain, as far as Toledo, which was taken and plundered, returned loaded with booty into France together with Clotilda, who died in the journey,

(*b*) Greg. Tur. (*c*) Aimoin. (*d*) Mar. l. 5. (*e*) Greg. Tur.
(*f*) Greg. Tur. Aimoin. Marian. (*g*) Ado. Vienn. Aimoin.

and

A. D. 531 and whoſe body was carried to Paris, and placed in the church of the holy Apoſtles, near that of her father the great Clovis *(h)* whilſt Childebert, to complete his glorious enterpriſe, conquered a great part of Languedoc, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the Viſigoths, moſt of whom, after the defeat of their army, retired into Spain, with their wives and children.

However neither was it here that Childebert checked the courſe of his revenge. For ſometime after marching back with Clothaire into Spain, *(i)* he ravaged all Catalonia and Arragon; and juſt as he was upon the point of making himſelf maſter of Saragoſſa, moved with the people's piety who were all Catholicks, and who daily with bitter ſighs implored the aſſiſtance of Heaven, by the interceſſion of St. Vincent, whoſe ſtool they carried in proceſſion round the walls, he drew off his army, contenting himſelf with that precious Relick, of which they made him a preſent, and which he reſolved himſelf to carry in triumph at Paris, as the monument and fruits of his victories, and of the revenge he had taken of the Arians the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and the perſecutors of Clotilda. And to render the remembrance of it eternal, by tranſmitting ſo rich a depoſit to all ages to come, he cauſed a great and noble church to be built in honour of St. Vincent, which now bears the name of St. Germains, Biſhop of Paris, who conſecrated it, there to preſerve it in a ſacred place. Thus the dominion of the Arians, already almoſt wholly extinct in the Gauls, was very much weakned in Spain and Italy, by theſe loſſes of the Viſigoths, and by the deceaſe of Theodoricus king of the Oſtrogoths. They did not laſt long after the ruin of the Vandals, which was the happy earneſt of theirs: And it is here that I ſhould give an account of it, ſince it was exactly at this time that it happened. But it is neceſſary for me to begin a little higher, to take a view of the ſtate of the African church under the Arians, after ſo many terrible perſecutions, it had ſufferd under the kings Giſericus, Hunnericus, and Gundamond, who, in the cloſe of his reign, imitated the cruelty of his predeceſſors againſt the Catholick's.

Traſamond, his brother, who ſucceeded him, behaved in a dif-

(h) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13. *(i)* Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 9. *(k)* Procop de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8.

ferent

ferent manner, tho' not less bigotted to his heresy, than he. He took another method, which he thought would be more effectual to pervert the Catholicks. (*l*) He attacked them not by violence and torments, but by lenity and gratuities. He gave offices and honours to those who embraced Arianism; he made them magnificent presents; and when any one had committed a capital crime, he was sure of pardon provided he turned Arian. (*m*) And what was still more dangerous in this new kind of persecution, was that, in order to scatter the flock, by depriving it of Pastors, insensibly and without violence, he all over Africa prohibited the choice of any bishops into the place of those who should be dead. The bishops of the Byzacene province seeing that this in effect was a way to ruin the faith, assembled in the form of a council, and thereupon ordered, that, without having any regard to the Edict, they should immediately establish bishops in all the cities which had none: Which was immediately done. It was then that St. Fulgentius, (who had hid himself, for fear of being made a bishop,) being found in the Monastry of which he was abbot, and whither he, believing all the vacancies were filled up, and that he no longer was in danger, was returned, was granted to the citizens of Ruspa, who earnestly desired him for their pastor. Trasamond, tho' a wise and moderate prince, and tho' he had resolved not to proceed to violent measures, could not here be master of his resentments, nor hinder his anger from breaking out. (*n*) He condemned all those bishops to banishment, and immediately had sixty of them transported to Sardinia: He afterwards swelled the number so high that it rose to two hundred and twenty five, amongst whom was St. Fulgentius. During this exile he was the comforter and adviser of those glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST, who in all emergencies consulted him as an oracle, upon account of his eminent learning, his consummate prudence, (*o*) and extraordinary virtue, formerly manifested in the midst of torments, at a time when a wicked Arian priest seising upon him and his Abbot Felix, caused them to be inhumanly torn to peices with whips, because Fulgentius with admirable force preached the divinity of the son of GOD.

A. D. 531. 507.

(*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Ferr. Diac. in vit. S. Fulgen. ap. sur. 1. Januar. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. (*n*) Miscell. l. 15. Sigeb. in Chron. (*o*) Ferr. Diac. Ibid.

A. D. 531. In the mean time, the king, who would have had it thought that it was from reaſon, and not at all from paſſion, that he ſhewed ſuch an ardor for his ſect, affected ſaying on all occaſions that he was no way prejudiced, that his aim was pure truth and reaſon, being intirely ready to follow it, even among Catholicks, provided they could demonſtrate it to be on their ſide; but that he met with none of them, tho' he gave them all manner of liberty to ſay what they pleaſed, who ſatisfied him upon the difficulties and reaſons he propoſed to them. At laſt, as he was often repeating the ſame thing, ſome body one day told him very freely, that if he ſincerely had a mind to be informed of the truth of the Catholick faith, he need only ſend for the biſhop Fulgentius, whom he had baniſhed into the iſland of Sardinia; and that provided he would hear him, he would ſurely find reaſon to be ſatisfied. Traſamond, who had engaged to act the philoſopher, and to ſay he only looked for one who ſhould anſwer his reaſons, gave orders for his being immediately brought to Carthage, where he made an incredible progreſs by his admirable diſcourſes upon the divinity of the ſon of GOD. The king laid before him the difficulties he formed upon the myſtery of the trinity in writing, and commanded him to ſend him preciſe anſwers to each point. The Saint did it with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity, that the king, who read them with great application, could not help admiring the depth of his learning, and the beauty of his wit, as they are ſtill every day admired in reading thoſe anſwers in his works.

But he was reſolved ſtill to put him to a more difficult proof. For towards the evening he ſent him home a large book, containing not only all the principles and arguments of the Arian hereſy, but likewiſe all thoſe of the Eutycheans, againſt the myſtery of the incarnation and union of the two natures in JESUS CHRIST, and bad the meſſenger tell him, that he would have him anſwer all the articles of that volume in order, without allowing him any longer than till night, however earneſtly the holy man deſired to be allowed at leaſt the whole night to read it over. So that he ſcarce had time haſtily to run it over, before he was obliged to return it to him, who had expreſs orders to bring it back as ſoon as poſſible to the king; and yet by a prodigious effort of mind, the ſaint did not fail to retain the contents of the volume, and exactly anſwer it in

in thoſe three admirable books which we have among his works. This ſo much ſurpriſed the king, who imagined he had put him to a proof, from which he could never get clear, that from that time he never dared to propoſe any thing more to him. But tho' he admired his learning and eloquence, was fully convinced, and had ſeen the moſt skilful of his Arian biſhops, who undertook to write againſt St. Fulgentius, confounded by another book; this unhappy prince ever remained obſtinate in his hereſy, had the St. carried back into exile, and inceſſantly continued ſolliciting the Catholicks by his artifices to renounce their belief. But he was puniſhed for it by GOD even in this world, having a little before his death loſt a numerous army in the war he made upon Cabao prince of thoſe Moors, who inhabit in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. (*p*) *A. D.* 531.

That prince was a Heathen: But having heard of the miracles of JESUS CHRIST, and knowing that the Vandals cruelly preſecuted thoſe who worſhipped him as the true GOD, he thought he ought to implore his aſſiſtance, and by ſome eminent piece of ſervice, merit his protection againſt thoſe impious men, who were enemies to his nation. To this end, he ſent ſome to Carthage in diſguiſe to diſcover the deſign of the Vandals, and follow them in their march, with orders to repair whatever damage they ſhould do in the churches of the Catholicks. They acquitted themſelves of their commiſſion very faithfully. The army of the Vandals having taken the road to Tripoli, by horrible Sacrileges prophaned all the churches they met with in their way, putting beaſts into them, filling them with ordures, and doing a thouſand injuries to the prieſts who had the care of them: And as ſoon as they had left them, Cabao's ſpies took care to clean them, to light the lamps, and to ſet up the altars and holy tables again, and throwing themſelves at the feet of the prieſts, put large alms in their hands, to make up the loſſes they had ſuffered. After which, upon drawing near Tripoli, they went before, to give their maſter an account of all that had paſſed, and of the condition of the Vandal army, which was marching towards him, in order to give him battle. Whereupon this prince, who

(*p*) Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8. Evag. l. 4. cap. 15. Niceph. l. 17. c. 11.

A. D. 505. knew the GOD of the Christians was to be gained by the exercises of a holy and penitent life, having prepared his men for the combat, by abstinence and chastity, separating them from their wives, forbidding them the use of them on pain of death, drew up his army in order of battle in a very extraordinary manner. For he ranged them as it were in a circle, in the midst of which he placed the women, children, and the baggage, and then surrounded it with his camels. He placed them twelve deep in the foremost ranks, in the midst of which he put his best soldiers covered with their shields, and guarded by those animals as by a rampart.

The Vandals, who all fought on horseback, and who did not doubt but they should trample down those Moors under their feet, whom they despised, both for the smallness of their number, and their little experience, being upon the point of charging, were extremely surprised and confounded at the sight of this new camp. For as their only arms were a sword and lance, they could only fight hand to hand: And the horses, frightned at the sight of the camels, curvetted, instead of advancing, and exposed their riders to flights of darts and arrows thrown at them, and which were darted, without ever missing, from all quarters of this new entrenchment, as from so many towers of a fortress. So that a great slaughter of men and horses, squeezed and entangled together, being made in a short time; as the Moors saw they were in disorder, and that each man's only endeavour was to get out of the confusion, in order to run away; then, coming out of their entrenchment, they fell on them so furiously, that they cut them almost all in pieces, except a few that escaped from the slaughter, to carry the news of it to Trasamond, who shortly after died with vexation at it, having reigned seven and twenty years (*q*) This blow however, which was the manifest work of heaven, for the punishment of the Sacrilege of those Arians, did not soften his heart; for on his death-bed, he obliged Hildericus, his successor, by an oath never, during his reign, to restore to the Catholicks those Churches which he had deprived them of, when he turned out their Bishops.

But it happened quite otherwise. This Hildericus, who was the son of Hunnericus and Eudocia, daughter to Valentinian III.

(*q*) Isid. in Chron. act S. Fulg. Paul. Diac.

whom

whom Gisericus had brought from Rome to Carthage, was not at all of the humour of his father, and Cousins, who had reigned before him, by the prerogative of their age, according to Gisericus's law. For this Prince was of a mild disposition, an enemy to violence, a lover of repose and a quiet life, and particularly careful to secure the Catholicks from any ill treatment. (*r*) Wherefore as soon as Trasamonds's eyes were closed, even before the taking possession of his kingdom, that it might not be said he had violated his oath, he recalled all the exiled bishops, and gave the Catholicks liberty to chuse new ones, as it was done at Carthage, where Boniface was elected bishop: and ever after the African church, after so many persecutions, enjoyed a profound peace, under this Vandal king, who permitted the bishops to hold their councils with as much liberty, (*s*) as they did under the Roman Emperors. He had even contracted a strict friendship with Justinian, who was not as yet Emperor, but who already governed the empire during the infirmities of Justin his uncle's old age, who had declared him his successor. *A. D.* 531.

However, Hildericus did not long enjoy the repose he endeavoured to give others. (*t*) Gilimer, who being the eldest of all the princes of his blood, was, according to the Vandal law, to succeed him in the crown, entred into a conspiracy with the great men of the realm against him, and had the art so fully to persuade them that this unactive king was from his cowardice unworthy to command the Vandals, (whom he every day shamefully exposed to the insults of the Moors, and that he even had a design of delivering them up to Justinian, with whom he to that end kept up so strict a correspondence,) that they imprisoned this poor prince with his two brothers Hoamer and Evagenes, and set Gilimer upon his throne. Justinian, who had succeeded his uncle Justin, could not bear an attempt that set so ill a precedent, and that was of such dangerous consequence to crowned heads, especially against a prince with whom he had always entertained a most intimate friendship. He sent an embassy to Gilimer, and writ to him to oblige him to let him enjoy at least the

(*r*) Victor. in Tunnun. in chron. Isid. in Chron. vita S. Fulg. (*s*) Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8. (*t*) Procop. ibid.

name

A. D. 531. name of king, and the appearence of royalty, and to be content with the reality, with the Government of the kingdom. But this traitor, inſtead of any anſwer, having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, cauſed Hoamer's eyes to be put out, who was a prince of great bravery; and as for Hildericus, and his brother, whoſe weakneſs he deſpiſed, he put them under a cloſer confinement, bidding them with a cruel raillery, go and ſeek their protector at Conſtantinople.

Juſtinian, tho' heinouſly affronted, would not carry things to an extremity: but writ a ſecond time to Gilimer, "that ſince "he had choſen rather to uſurp the throne by a crime, than "enjoy it by lawful ſucceſſion, he was welcome to keep it, if "fortune was ſo favourable as to preſerve him in it. But that "at leaſt he would ſend him thoſe poor princes whom he kept "in chains, to the end they might in ſome meaſure alleviate "their ſufferings by the kind treatment they might receive at "Conſtantinople. In ſhort, that if he was refuſed ſo reaſonable "a requeſt, he ſhould be forced to break the alliance which the "emperors had had with the Vandals, and to attempt a ſatiſ-"faction of this injury by arms." To which Gilimer, blinded by his ambition, inſtead of endeavouring to ſoften and oblige ſo great a prince, without any loſs to himſelf, as he might eaſily have done, anſwered with inſupportable haughtineſs, "that the "Vandals having depoſed Hildericus, whom they judged unwor-"thy of reigning, Gilimer had aſcended the throne, not by a "crime, nor by force, nor by the choice of his ſubjects, but by "right of birth, by the prerogative of age, and by the authority "of law, which had called him to it. That he knew not by "what right he meddled in other Peoples affairs; but that he "well knew if he broke the alliance which the emperor Zeno "had made with the Vandals, he would find a prince ready to "anſwer him at the head of a powerful army, in order to teach "him that it would have been more advantageous for him to "have cultivated his friendſhip."

There needed no more to make Juſtinian reſolve upon war; tho' he was already engaged in one with the Perſians. However he was obliged to diſſemble, till he had made it up with the latter, that he might have all his forces at liberty. But as ſoon

as

as he had made a treaty with them, and had got happily over that terrible ſedition at Conſtantinople, (*u*) in which there fell in one day above thirty thouſand men, he made all his preparations, and choſe Beliſarius, whom he had recalled from Perſia, to command his army againſt the Vandals. Never was there a war, wherein the protection of GOD, who was its author, more manifeſtly appeared than in this. When Juſtinian propoſed it in his council, there was not one ſingle voice for undertaking it. The remembrance of the loſs of that vaſt army which Baſiliſcus had formerly commanded againſt Giſericus, gave a horror to all the world: and as nothing was to be ſeen that came near the forces of that time, it was not doubted but the event of this ſecond attempt muſt be ſtill more unhappy. The captains, and the ſoldiers, the treaſurer general, and the men of buſineſs, were all equally againſt this war: the latter becauſe they feared being too cloſely preſſed to raiſe money; and the former, becauſe being uſed to fight by land, they were extreamly averſe to ſea-fights, which they knew nothing of, and in which they thought the Vandals invincible. In ſhort, the Præfectus Prætorij, who had the reputation of one of the braveſt men of his age, ſaid ſo many things againſt this war, and ſo clearly ſhewed the emperor, that he riſqued every thing by loſing, and gained nothing by victory, Africa being of no uſe to him without Sicily and Italy, that Juſtinian himſelf began to condemn the enterpriſe. But a holy Biſhop who came on purpoſe from Aſia to Conſtantinople, having deſired an audience to communicate a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, told him he was come from GOD to reproach him with having, for the ſake of vain fears, laid aſide the glorious reſolution he had taken of delivering Africa from the Tyranny of thoſe Arians, who, for more than a century, had miſerably oppreſſed it. Then aſſuming the air of a prophet, he added, as by an immediate inſpiration, appearing quite another man: "Behold "that which the Lord ſaith; I will ſuccour thee in the battle; "and I will bring Africa under thy dominion." Then Juſtinian no longer doubting either the will or the protection of GOD, gave the neceſſary orders for the embarking of his army as ſoon as poſſible.

A. D. 532.

(*u*) Procop. l. 1. Perſ. Theoph.

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A. D. 532. It conſiſted of no more men than ten thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, as well Romans as foreigners, upon five hundred veſſels, of which there were but ninety two fitted out for war, tho' to no purpoſe, becauſe the ſoldiers all proteſted they would not fight by ſea, which was a ſort of an omen of what was to happen. The moſt favourable circumſtance was the number of Veteran Officers that had ſerved in the former wars with great reputation, and eſpecially Beliſarius, who was the greateſt captain of his age, and who kept an exact diſcipline in his army, which extreamly contributed to gaining the Africans. This army ſat out from Conſtantinople in the month of June: and as it was detained by ill weather, did not reach Africa till three months after, in the beginning of September. Beliſarius, in paſſing by Syracuſe, had learnt from a man that was come from Carthage three days before, that he might boldly ſail for Africa, that there was no news there of his coming; that all the coaſts were left naked, and that Gilimer having ſent his fleet againſt Godas, who revolted in Sardinia, was paſſing his time at Hermione in the Byzacene province, about four days journey from the ſhore, without having the leaſt thought that he was ready to be attacked. Hereupon Beliſarius, without giving heed to ſome who would not have had him gone a ſhore, for fear of engaging in an enemy's country, without proviſions, water, or a certain harbour for the ſhipping, went and landed his army at a place about five days journey from Carthage, on that part of the ſhore called by the Romans Caput vada, or chief of the Flats, as the ditch for encloſing the camp was digging, they in ſo dry a quarter found a fine fountain which ſerved all the army for refreſhment, and for a happy omen of the victory.

Having given his army a little reſt, he ſent his guards before to ſeiſe upon Sillectum a town lying upon the ſea about a days journey from the camp, on the road to Carthage. They eaſily ſurpriſed it, becauſe Giſericus had razed the walls of it; and from thence they informed the Africans, and even the Vandals, by little notes which they diſperſed in all parts, that they were come only as friends to deliver them from Gilimer's tyranny. This being done, Beliſarius marched towards Carthage in order of battle, having on the right the ſea and his fleet, which he cauſed to advance

vance as he marched forward, on his left the Maſſagetes, or Huns, all horſe, at the diſtance of about twenty Stadia. He had choſen three hundred of the moſt reſolute of his men, under the conduct of John, a brave Armenian captain, to march before, at the ſame diſtance, and to diſcover where the enemy was; and he with the groſs of the army, followed in good order, upon occaſion to make head againſt Gilimer, whom he eaſily imagined would follow him. *A. D.* 532.

And indeed, as ſoon as that Barbarian heard at Hermione of Beliſarius's deſcent, he immediatly ſent orders to his brother Amatas, whom he had left at Carthage, to put Hildericus and Evagenes to death (Hoamer being already dead with grief) and ſuch as he took to be their friends. He farther ordered that arming all the Vandals that were at Carthage, he ſhould come and wait for the enemy at a Defile that was at Decimum near the city, to fight them in front, tho' he ſhould be there engaged, whilſt he would attack them behind with the groſs of his army, and that his nephew Gibamond whom he had ſent before upon the left, ſhould at the ſame time attack him in flank, that being thus ſurrounded on all ſides, he might not eſcape. And certainly, theſe meaſures were not ill concerted, had they not been broken by the good order of Beliſarius's army, and by the precipitation of Amatas, who ruined all this fine project. For that prince, fearing he ſhould not come up time enough, upon the advice he had that the enemy began to appear, marched out of Carthage in diſorder; with a few Vandals, having ordered the reſt to follow him in files, and as he was got to the Defile long before Beliſarius's army, or that of his brother, who followed it at a good diſtance, he fell in with John's three hundred horſe, whom he attacked ſo briskly that upon the ſpot he killed twelve of them. But he was himſelf killed ſoon after, fighting with more bravery than conduct. Moſt of them that were with him were cut in pieces; the reſt ſeeing him on the ground, took the Alarm and fled. But as in their flight they fell in with their own men that were coming from Carthage. And as theſe, believing that all the army was already paſſed, turned their backs; they entangled themſelves amongſt each other, by falling in with thoſe that were continually advancing in files. So that that handful of Romans, who followed them cloſe ſword in hand, finding them in this diſorder, made ſo great a ſlaughter of them,

A. D. 532 that, to ſee the country covered with dead bodies to the very gates of Carthage, one would have ſaid, that twenty thouſand men had been engaged.

At the ſame time the Maſſagetes lighting upon Gibamond, who was marching to the rendezvous on his ſide, defeated his two thouſand men, and Beliſarius who knew nothing of theſe two advantages, which his ſide had gained, and who was reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to the hazard of a battle, before he had fully informed himſelf of Gilimer's ſtrength, was advancing with the Cavalry, having left his infantry, and the baggage behind in a well-fortified camp. But he was much ſurpriſed, when the ſcouts of the foreign troops, whom he had ſent before as far as near Decimum, came and told him that the enemy was in ſight, and that they were already come to blows with their men, who deſired him to advance; and was much more ſo, when ſome time after he ſaw them running away full ſpeed. For Gilimer who had drawn all his forces together, and was marching to the left, had got before Beliſarius, and had taken poſſeſſion of a riſing ground that was of great advantage, from whence he had juſt repulſed the Romans, who took the alarm, and by their flight carried away with thoſe who were ordered to ſupport them. So that had he vigorouſly purſued the fugitives, who were ready to throw themſelves upon Beliſarius, he had certainly put them into diſorder, it being impoſſible with ſuch a handful of troops to have born up againſt ſo great an army already half victorious: beſides that in his march back to Carthage, he would have taken or killed all John's horſe, aud that it would have been eaſy for him, after that, to have made himſelf maſter of all the ſhips in the fleet.

But God who had determined his deſtruction, deprived him of his judgment. For as he had deſcended from the riſing ground into the plain, and had there ſeen his brother's body, inſtead of reſolving to take immediate revenge for his death, by following his good fortune, and victory who offered herſelf to him, he trifled away his time in bewailing his misfortune and his brother's death, and ſeeing the laſt honours paid to the deſeated, by his army, who thinking of nothing elſe but of performing the funeral, which beſides was a very bad omen, kept neither rank nor order, and did

did not dream that they were to fight. Then Beliſarius having had time to recover his men from the fright they had been in, to inform himſelf of the ſtate of affairs, and diſpoſition of the places, ſo luckily attacked his enemies, whom he found all in diſorder, that he eaſily put them to flight, and purſuing his victory till night, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. Gilimer made off towards Numidia with all that could eſcape from the battle, not daring to ſhut himſelf up in Carthage, a great part of the walls of which were fallen down. The next day Beliſarius's infantry having joined him, he advanced as far as the Gates of the city, which were immediately opened to him and the day following, which was the Feſtifal of St. Cyprian biſhop and Patron of Carthage, he made his ſolemn entry into it, with the acclamations of all the orders of men in the city, who bleſſed GOD for having at length delivered them from the cruel tyranny of the Arians, under which they had ſo long groaned. The Catholicks immediately recovered all the churches which the Hereticks had uſurped, and at the ſame time the Vandals crowded into them from all ſides for ſafety as into an Aſylum which they found at the foot of thoſe very altars, which they had ſo often prophaned. *A. D.* 532.

As Giſericus had diſmantled all the towns, and demoliſhed all the ſtrong places, to take away from the Africans the means of revolting, Gilimer had no other means left for repairing his loſſes, and preſerving his kingdom, than the retaking of Carthage, or the winning of a battle: both which ways he attempted. For having drawn together in Numidia all the Vandals and Moors he could, and being joined by his brother Tzazo with the army which he had by his orders brought from Sardinia, he came and preſented himſelf before Carthage, where he had been tampering to gain intelligence, which he thought would be ſtill more facilitated by ſuch Arians as were foreigners and ſerved in the Roman army. But as he ſaw there was no hopes for him, the treaſon being diſcovered by Beliſarius, who had the traitor hanged in view of the enemy, he retired to a greater diſtance, and contented himſelf with ſeiſing upon the Avenues, to cut off all communication with the city. But Beliſarius having finiſhed the fortification of Carthage, and brought over the Huns to his intereſt, who, he knew, had been ſollicited by Gilimer, at length marched out with

A.D. 532. greateſt part of his army, and having preſented himſelf before Gilimer's camp at Tricamare, which lay about one hundred ſtadia diſtant from the city, there was no avoiding a battle, which began about the fifteenth of December, three months after the reduction of Carthage.

Between the two Armies ran a ſmall brook which was eaſily paſſable. The Romans halted on this ſide it, to paſs the night and prepare themſelves againſt the next day for attacking the camp, where they imagined the enemy would keep himſelf cloſe. But they were ſaved that trouble: For Gilimer, thinking it too weak to be able to defend himſelf in it, having encouraged his ſoldiers by every argument he thought capable of animating them, eſpecially by this laſt neceſſity they found themſelves under either of fighting or dying, by the loſs of Empire and liberty, came out the firſt, and advanced to the other ſide of the brook, where he appeared in order of battle about noon, whilſt the Romans were thinking of nothing but preparing dinner. He had placed his Vandals in the two wings, on the right and left. (*x*) Tzazo with the troops from Sardinia was poſted in the center, and the Moors, who made the body of reſerve, came after; and as for him, he was every were, running thro' the ranks, crying out to his men to fall on immediately with ſword in hand, and not to amuſe themſelves with their arrows or lances. But the Romans were ſtill more nimble than he: For whilſt he halted on the ſide of the brook, which he ſhould have briskly paſſed, they fell into their ranks with incredible diligence, and ranged themſelves in order of battle of their own accord. The foreign Auxiliaries were on the right; the Roman horſe on the left; John the Armenian was poſted between them both with the houſhold troops and Beliſarius's guards, who marched next at the head of five hundred horſe. The Huns made a body by themſelves, at a little diſtance from the reſt, as they were uſed to fight; but they were reſolved on this occaſion, to be ſpectators of the battle, and fall in with that ſide which ſhould have the advantage. As for the infantry, Beliſarius commanded them to march ſlowly after, intending they ſhould not engage till he ſhould ſee what effect his cavalry had.

(*x*) l. 2. c. 3.

After

After the two Armies had for ſome time faced each other, the little brook being between them, John, as commanded by Beliſarius, paſſed over firſt with a ſmall number of horſe, and fell upon Tzazo's ſquadrons, who received him ſo warmly, as to force him back to the brook, which he was obliged to repaſs, without the Vandals daring to follow him, he returned to the charge a ſecond time with a larger body of men, and was again repulſed over the brook, on the brink of which the Vandals always halted, that they might not give the Romans the advantage of fighting them all the time they ſhould be paſſing over. At laſt, as Beliſarius ſaw they could not be drawn over by thoſe two haſty retreats of John, he commanded him to paſs over, and begin the attack with all the troops. Which he did with ſo much vigour and bravery, throwing himſelf amongſt the enemy ſword in hand, who alſo fought in the ſame manner, that he made them give back in their turn, having overthrown the braveſt of them, and Tzazo himſelf, who was killed fighting with the greateſt bravery. At the ſame time the two wings, being paſſed over, followed by Beliſarius, march to charge the Vandals, who were at the two extremities; but as they ſaw that they who were in the centre, affrighted at the death of their cheif officers, continually gave ground, and began to fly, they immediately took the alarm, and turning their backs at the firſt ſhock, carried the Moors with them, who inſtead of ſupporting them, ran away faſter than they. Then the Huns, who followed at a good diſtance, ſeeing that all was loſt as to the Vandals, began to purſue them: But as they fled to their camp which was fortified (as was imagined) the purſuit was not long. In this battle the Romans loſt but fifty troopers, and as it had been rather a flight than a battle, there was but eight hundred Vandals killed, almoſt all of them the moſt conſiderable and braveſt of the nation. The ſame day towards the evening, Beliſarius having joined his infantry, advanced in good order to attack the enemy's camp. But Gilimer being retired towards Numidia, with his relation, and a few of his domeſticks, as ſoon as he ſaw they were coming towards him, all the reſt endeavoured to eſcape as they could, and the camp was taken and pillaged by the Romans, who enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the Vandals, and with their treaſures, which they had left behind them. Gilimer, who had not one *A. D.* 532.

ſtrong

A. D. 534 ſtrong place, in which he could defend himſelf, was obliged to retire into the fartheſt part of Numidia, upon the top of Pappua, (y) an inacceſſible mountain, inhabited by a few Moors who led a very miſerable life, and there, after a three months ſiege laid to it by Pharus, captain of the Eruli, by ſtrictly guarding all the avenues to hinder his eſcape, (z) or receiving any proviſions, that happy prince, oppreſſed with miſeries and poverty, at laſt ſurrendred himſelf upon Beliſarius's parole, that he ſhould be well uſed by the Emperor. This promiſe was faithfully kept, he was always magnificently treated at Carthage, whilſt they waited for the Emperor's orders. And in the mean time Beliſarius, to compleat ſo glorious a conqueſt, by his lieutenants reduced all the reſt of Africa, Sardinia, Corſica, and the Baleric iſlands, which were under the dominion of the Vandals, and which ſurrendred without reſiſtance after the batle of Tricamare.

Hereupon, as this great man had heard that he was accuſed of a deſign to ſet up for himſelf in Africa, he himſelf carried his priſoners to Conſtantinople, where Juſtinian reſolved at the entry of ſo great a captain the pomp of the antient triumphs ſhould be revived. Gilimer cloathed in a royal habit at the head of the other priſoners followed the conqueror; and when he entred the great ſquare of the Hyppodrome, where the emperor was ſeated on a high throne, ſurrounded by the Grandees of the empire, and ſtripped of the purple was to proſtrate himſelf to the earth to adore him, he did not ſeem dejected, and only ſaid in his uſual way this celebrated ſentence of Solomon, which he often had in his mouth ſince his Change of fortune, "that every thing in this world was but vanity." He had been promiſed the dignity of Patrician, which at that time was the moſt conſiderable of the empire, but as he ever obſtinately refuſed to abjure Arianiſm, they would not ſuffer him to prophane it, by that execrable hereſy, and only aſſigned him ſubſiſtance in Galatia, whereon to live honourably with his family the reſt of his days. Thus with ſo ſmall a body of forces and in one ſingle Campaign, GOD thereby intending to ſhew that it was himſelf that fought, ſo powerfull a kingdom was deſtroyed, and Africa delivered from the dominion of the Arians; a little more than a hundred years after Giſericus entred into it.

(y) Procop. l. 2. c. 4. (z) cap. 7.

After

After this, as the bishops had recovered all the liberty, they enjoyed under Hildericus, they assembled at Carthage to the number of two hundred and seventeen, in a national council, where Reparatus, Boniface's successor presided. There were first read the Canons and Decrees of the holy council of Nice, in order to establish in all places the purity of the faith against the blasphemies of Arianism. After which, as the manner was proposed in which the bishops and the rest of the Arian Ecclesiasticks who desired to return to the church ought to be received, tho' each particular man plain enough declared his sentiments by his gestures which were on the side of severity, yet it was unanimously concluded, that no resolution ought to be taken thereon, till the Pope had been consulted. Whereupon two bishops and a dean were deputed to go to Rome, who gave the synodal letter to Pope Agapetus, who had just succeeded John the second, to whom it was addressed. He answered, that to reconcile justice with mercy, they ought to be readmitted into the church, with all the tender ness and affection required by christian charity, even so far as to allow them an honourable subsistance, (*a*) but that they ought in no wise to be suffered to continue in their order, and their dignity, nor to perform any office in the church. (*b*) The same answer he sent the emperor, for that prince had desired that such who should return to the church, by abjuring Arianism, might enjoy the same posts they had held among the Hereticks, that this indulgence shewn them might the more easily bring them back. But the Pope made him see so clearly, that such an indulgence would be of prejudice to the church, that true penitents seek not honours, and that those who should return upon a motive so little christian, would not be rightly converted, that he no longer insisted upon it, and did not take it ill that the holy Pope reprimanded Epiphanius for consecrating a converted Arian a Bishop. After this That prince, who at that time applied himself to the making several excellent ordinances for the government of the empire, set forth one directed to the Præfectus Prætorij of Africa, (*c*) wherein he commands that every thing that had been taken

A. D. 534. 535.

(*a*) Agap. Ep. 1. (*b*) Agap. Ep. 3. Vide Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.
(*c*) Novel. 36.

from

A. D. 535. from the church of Carthage, which he ordered to be called the city of Justinian, and all the rest of the churches in Africa by the Vandals should be restored to them, and that the Arians should not be allowed the exercise of their heresy, either in publick, or private, and that they should not hold any post in the government: it not peing reasonable that Hereticks should have an authority over christians, and that they ought to be content with being suffered to live. But as heresy generally inspires men with a spirit of revolting, the Arians took occasion from this edict, to raise a sedition, which in the end proved very fatal to them. For about a thousand Arian soldiers, (*d*) most of them the Eruli, who served in the emperor's army, not being able to bear by this ordinance to be debarred celebrating the festival of Easter, which was near, joined with such Romans as had married Vandal women, and who were very much exasperated, that the estates which their wives before enjoyed, were refused to be restored to them, and which belonged to the emperor by the right of war. Having joined together in this manner, for their common interests, and not being able to execute the horrid design they had formed to kill Salomon their Governor, on Easter-day, in the church, they broke out in an open revolt: and having placed Stozas the most resolute amongst them at their head, they ravaged all the country, plundering, burning, and massacring all they met with. And having augmented their troops, with some of the remains of the Vandals, they even dared to lay siege to Carthage. But Belisarius hastning thither from Sicily, where he was beginning the war against the Goths, made them raise the siege, and defeated them: and as he was gone back from thence, Germanus, the nephew of Justinian, being arrived at Constantinople, cut those revolters in pieces, and settled the emperor's authority, whose edict he thenceforth caused to be obeyed: so that, after this, Arianism was soon extinguished throughout Africa, without being obliged to have recourse to violence and punishments.

(*d*) Procop. de bel. Vand. l. 2. c. 14. 15. 16. 17.

The end of the X^th^ BOOK.



THE HISTORY OF *ARIANISM.*

BOOK XI.

AFTER that the Emperor Juſtinian had ſo happily exterminated Arianiſm out of Africa, he undertook to free Italy from it too, by the war he was forced to make upon the Oſtrogoths, for the reaſon we are going to ſee. After the death of king Theodoricus, Amalaſonte his daughter, a princeſs, who, by her merit, equalled the wiſeſt kings, governed the kingdom, and the tender age of her ſon Athalaricus, with a prudence, which was nothing inferior to that of her father, when the brutality of the Grandees of her court broke all her *A. D.* 536.

A. D. 536. meaſures. For theſe not being able to bear that ſhe ſhould educate the young prince in the Roman way to learning, and to virtue, as ſhe very carfully did; and inſiſting that they would have a king who was brought up to arms, (*a*) as his anceſtors had been, ſhe was obliged to leave him to their conduct, which was ſo fatal to the unfortunate prince, that plunging into all ſorts of debauchery, he entirely ruined his health, and fell into a mortal languor, that ſoon carried him to the grave. (*b*) As ſhe ſaw her ſon given over, and did not think her own life ſafe among the Goths after his death, who hated her, becauſe ſhe could not ſuffer their diſorders, ſhe under-hand entred into a treaty with the Emperor, who had a high eſteem for her, and reſolved to ſurrender the kingdom of Italy into his hands. But the ſuden death of her ſon did not give her time to accompliſh her deſign. For fearing leſt the Goths, who would not allow her to govern, ſhould immediately chuſe a king, ſhe artfully prevented them, by ſetting Theodatus her couſin, and ſon of Amalfrida, king Theodoricus's ſiſter, upon the throne.

He was a prince who had paſſed all his life in the country, in the ſtudy of the Platonic philoſophy, but extremely mean-ſpirited, timorous, cowardly, covetous, and treacherous, of no honour, or probity, and capable of the vileſt actions, when he was put upon them, either by his own or other men's paſſions. In ſhort, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf Maſter, forgetting all the promiſes he had juſt made to his benefactreſs, he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the relations of thoſe whom this princeſs had put to death for their crimes: And following the counſels of thoſe people, he cauſed her to be impriſoned in an Iſland in the midſt of Lacus Vulſinus: (*c*) and a few days after had her ſtrangled in a bath, at the ſame time that he was ſuing for peace to the Emperor, having ſome time before conſtrained that unfortunate princeſs to write to him, in order to obtain it. Juſtinian highly provoked at this dreadful brutality of the Oſtrogoths, reſolved to revenge Amalaſonta's death, to purſue the deſign ſhe had had in favour of him, and alſo to reſcue the capital city of the Empire, and all Italy, Sicily, and

(*a*) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 2. (*b*) Procop. c. 4. (*c*) Lagodi Bolſena. Jornand. de rebus. Get. c. 59.

Dalmatia,

Dalmatia, out of the hands of the Arians. To this end, he made preparations both by ſea and land, the ſtupid Theodatus, amuſed, and ſtill ſuing for peace, taking no notice of it. And that he might have the aſſiſtance of the French, or at leaſt, to prevent their diſturbing his conqueſts, he writ to their ſeveral kings, Childebert, Clothaire, and Theodebert, "That being obliged to "make war upon the Oſtrogoths, who beſides their uſurping Italy, "the undoubted patrimony of the Emperors, had done him an "irreparable injury, by putting to death the princeſs Amala-"ſonta, (*d*) whom he had taken under his protection; he conjured "them to join their arms to his, to be revenged of them, in "the juſteſt war that ever had been. That the Catholick religion, "which united them all, obliged them to it, that they might "deliver the church from the tyranny of thoſe Arians, enemies "of GOD and man; not to mention that the hatred, that they all "equally bore to this Gothick nation, ought to inſpire them with "the ſame deſign." To this letter he joined a great number of preſents, and a large ſum of mony, promiſing them ſtill more, as ſoon as they ſhould have begun the war. Theſe kings very readily liſtened to the Emperor's propoſal, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all their forces in this expedition, wherein they themſelves were concerned; becauſe the Oſtrogoths ſtill were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the province, which they had a mind to unite to their crown, in order to make all the Gauls, both French, and Catholick: Beſides that Amalaſonta, who was the daughter of Audafleda, the great Clovis's daughter, their father, being their couſin-german, they looked upon themſelves as bound to revenge her cruel death, who by her virtue and ſhining qualities, did honour to the blood of France, from which ſhe had the honour to be deſcended. I thought myſelf bound, in the cauſe of truth to ſpeak thus of this princeſs, tho' an Arian, in order to defend her againſt an idle ſtory highly injurious to her memory, and which deſtroys itſelf, by the very plain falſhoods, which appear in all the parts of it. Which notwithſtanding has not hindred Gregory of Tours from inſerting it in his hiſtory, againſt the teſtimony of the authors who are his contemporaries, whom doubtleſs he

A. D. 536.

(*d*) Procop. l. 1. c. 5.

A. D. 536. himself would have preferred to those unfaithful accounts, which he had provided himself with, and which he had made use of with a good intention, without demanding a voucher for the fidelity of them.

Justinian having thus taken his precautions, sent two armies against the Goths; one by land, under the command of Mendus governour of Illyrium, who took Salone in Dalmatia, and soon made himself master of all the province: The other by sea, under Belisarius, who, pretending to go to Carthage, came pouring in upon Sicily, which he conquered without difficulty, there being but a small number of Goths to defend it, and all the towns surrendring except Palermo, which bore a siege but very few days. After which, Belisarius took up his winter-quarters at Syracuse, where he concluded the year of his consulate with magnificent entertainments, and with largesses to the army, as an encouragement to them to behave well the ensuing campaign, which he was to make in Italy.

The weak Theodatus, frightned at these successes of the Emperor, and still more at the war coming upon him in Italy, the thought of which alone made him tremble, had constrained pope Anacletus to go to Constantinople to beg a peace, on such mean and shameful conditions, as to promise even to surrender the Empire for a sum of mony, provided he might be permitted to live in safety. But as after the death of Mundus and his son, who had been killed in a rencounter, the Goths with little trouble retook Dalmatia; this prince, as insolent in prosperity, as mean-spirited and dejected in danger, made a jest of the promises he had made to Justinian, and brutally caused the ambassadors to be imprisoned, who were come to grant him his request, and conclude the treaty. Wherefore the Emperour, thinking of nothing but war, sent Constantianus into Dalmatia, which the Goths abandoned at the sight alone of his army; and pressed Belisarius to march into Italy, (*e*) where Theodatus, as if struck with a lethargy, thought of nothing less than defending himself. Indeed he had at first, when he saw Sicily taken, sent to demand aid of the French kings, to whom he had offered upon that account two thousand pound weight of

(*e*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13.

gold,

gold, and to yield Provence to them, which was under the dominion of the Oſtrogoths: But this affair was carried on ſo ſlowly, that he periſhed miſerably before it could be concluded. Thus Beliſarius being ſailed out of the port with his whole fleet, landed at Rheggio, without any oppoſition. Far from that, the people flocked in crowds to receive him, and to ſurrender to him, tranſported with joy to ſee themſelves upon the point of being delivered from the tyranny of thoſe Arian Goths, whom they held in deteſtation. Even Thrimuth himſelf, ſon in law to Theodatus, foreſeeing the ruin of the Goths, opened the gates of Rheggio to him, where he was in no condition of defending himſelf: And going from thence to Conſtantinople, was honoured with the dignity of a Patrician. After this, Beliſarius marching by land to Rome, coaſted all the while by his fleet, in his march reduced all the cities, except Naples, which he was forced to lay ſiege to by ſea and land, and where the Goths, who were there in a garriſon, and who had the greateſt part of the city on their ſide, defended themſelves bravely. However he took it in twenty days, having put four hundred reſolute ſoldiers into the town by night, by the means of an aquaduct, who opened one of the gates to the army, and fell upon the Goths behind, whilſt on another ſide they offered to ſcale the town. So that it being taken by force, they ſuffered all the rigors of war, the ſoldiers provoked by ſo long a reſiſtance, ſparing nither age, ſex, nor condition, neither things ſacred nor prophane; until Beliſarius having, with much difficulty, ſtopped their fury, obliged them to content themſelves with the plunder, preſerving to the vanquiſhed, their lives, honour, and liberty. *A. D.* 536.

In the mean while the Goths who lived about Rome, openly murmured againſt Theodatus's cowardice, who took no care of providing for the defenſe of Naples, which however was the only city that could prevent the enemy's march to Rome. They even began to fear he had a ſecret correſpondence with Juſtinian, and had treated with him to deliver up to him the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths. But when they heard the city was taken, then they proceeded from complaints and murmuring to bare-faced ſedition, and all the men of war being met together in a camp, in the neighbourhood of Terracina, Theodatus was declared unworthy

of

A. D. 536. of governing the Goths, and Vitiges proclaimed king, a man of bravery, but indeed of no birth, and who had acquired great glory and reputation, from the time that Theodoricus's was in Pannonia. Theodatus hearing this news, endeavoured to escape to Ravenna, but was taken in the road by a Gothick captain, whom he had treated in a dishonourable manner, and, who having laid him upon the ground, cut his throat, as an unhappy victim whom he sacrificed to his revenge, by executing the orders of his new prince. After which, Vitiges, whose forces were not strong enough to fight Belisarius, having left four thousand Goths at Rome under the command of Leuderis, an old officer, recommended the city to the pope Silverius, and to the senate, and carried Theodegildus, and the rest of the troops to Ravenna, where he married Amalasonta's daughter, to strengthen his authority amongst the Goths by the respect they would pay to the blood royal, to which he had just allied himself.

Shortly afterwards, Belisarius, having put a garrison into Naples, and Cumæ, came and presented himself before Rome, where he was immediately received with the applauses of all the Romans who had called him in, and who earnestly wished to see the capital of the empire and of religion, at length delivered from the oppression of Barbarians and Arians. However the safety of the garrison was provided for in good earnest, and it was permitted to retire to Ravenna. *(f)* So that the same time it was marching out thro' the Porta Flaminia, Belisarius's army entred on the ninth of December thro' the Porta Asinaria, which is now that of St. John. Leuderis, who had no mind to go with the troops under his command, whose destruction he foresaw, chose rather to surrender himself to the conqueror, who sent him prisoner to Constantinople, in order to carry the keys of Rome, together with the happy news that the emperor was master of it. After which, Belisarius applied himself with incredible diligence to the rebuilding and fortifying the walls of the city, and to store it with provisions, and all sorts of ammunition to stand a siege, which he foresaw that Vitiges, who was drawing together all his forces, would lay to it. And indeed this king, who had as much conduct as courage, did not fail making immediate preparations, and raising a formidable army, as

(f) Procop. Evag. l. 1. c. 18. Niceph. l. 17. c. 13.

well

well of natural Goths, whom he got together from all parts, as of other barbarous nations, which he took into pay, and of such people as were his subjects in the Gallia Cisalpina, and Liguria. (*g*) And as he was apprehensive that the kings of France, who had declared for Justinian, might pass the Alps, whilst he was marching against Belisarius, he, with the consent of the Goths, renewed the treaty, which Theodatus had begun with those three princes who promised to assist him, not openly with French troops, nor to break with Justinian, but by foreign troops dependant on them; in consideration whereof Vitiges payed them the two thousand pound weight of gold, which Theodatus had promised, and yielded to them Provence, from whence he recalled Marcias with the troops under his command, and which strengthened his army. (*b*) And towards the end of this war, Justinian, to gain the friendship of the French, found it advisable for him to confirm that important cession, and to give them up all the rights which he or his successors might at any time pretend to in the Gauls. Thus the entire empire over the Gauls, from the ocean to the Rhine, between the Alps and the Pyranees, the German sea and the ocean, except the lower Languedoc, was brought under the French; and Arianism, which the Goths and the Burgundians had introduced, was entirely exterminated out of them.

A. D. 536. 537.

Vitiges, who had secur'd himself on the side of France, only waited for Marcias's arrival to march into the field. But as he had learnt that Belisarius, who was every day pushing on his conquests by his lieutenants, whilst he was fortifying himself at Rome, had already made himself master of a great part of Tuscany after the taking of Narni, Spoleto, and Perusia, he marched out of Ravenna; and without stopping to take in such places as had been reduced, came with one hundred and fifty thousand men in the month of march and sat down before Rome, where Marcias with the troops he had drawn out of Provence joined him. This is doubtless one of the most memorable sieges which has ever been, both from the attacks of the besiegers, and from the defence of the besieged, and especially from the address, and courage of Belisarius, who with five or six

(*g*) Piedmont, Lombardy, and the river of Genoa. (*b*) Procop. l. 3. de bell. Goth.

thousand

A. D. 537 thouſand men, which during all the time of the ſiege, (which continued above a year), were not reinforced with above ſeven thouſand men, that he received from the emperor, not only defended himſelf but had ſeveral engagements, between the walls and the camp of the Goths. As the Particular of this ſiege, and the extraordinary actions performed at it, make no part of my hiſtory, I may be excuſed entring into a deſcription of them, without injuſtice to my reader, who, when he pleaſes, may read them with much more pleaſure in the fine French tranſlation of Procopius. (*i*)

Indeed what was particular, and very ſtrange, and belongs to my ſubject is, that during the ſiege, the Goths, tho' Arians, and extremly exaſperated againſt the Romans who had deſerted them, never meddled with the churches in the ſuburbs, which they were maſters of, nor the chapels of the holy Apoſtles, which were without the city, and allowed the prieſts, whoſe character they reſpected, all the liberty they could deſire in a full peace, to perform their office, and celebrate the divine myſteries. And yet Beliſarius, who boaſted to have delivered Rome from the tyrranny of the Arians, ſhamefully ſacrificeing his honour and conſcience to a woman's paſſion, was oppreſſing the Roman church in a more unworthy and cruel manner, than ever the Goths had done. The empreſs Theodora, an Eutychian Heretick, one of the wickedeſt women that ever had been, and by whom Juſtinian, who had married her for her beauty, ſuffered himſelf to be governed, had never been able to prevail on Silverius, to reeſtabliſh the patriarch Anthimus a Heretick, who had been depoſed by pope Agapetus, whilſt he was at Conſtantinople. (*k*) Wherefore, as the deacon Vigitius had, from a moſt deteſtable ambition, promiſed to oblige her, and to give her a vaſt ſum of money, if ſhe could bring about his election to the papacy, (*l*) ſhe wrote to Beliſarius, to find a way by ſome ſuppoſed crime, to get Silverius depoſed, and ſet Vigilius in his place, who himſelf carried the letters to Beliſarius, to whom he promiſed two hundred pound weight of gold, (*m*) provided he would immediately put the empreſs's orders in execution.

(*i*) Procop. l. 2. c. 4. (*k*) Anaſtas. Biblioth. Liberat. in Brev. Procop. l. 1. c. 25. (*l*) Liberat. (*m*) 22400. crowns.

Beliſarius

Belisarius at first shuddered at so infamous an action, (*n*) But fearing lest Theodora should ruin him with the emperor, after having to no purpose protested, like Pilate, that he who had procured these orders should answer it to GOD, he was base enough to put them in execution, and to admit two false witnesses to depose, and make appear, by counterfeited letters from Silverius to Vitiges, that he intended to betray one of the city-gates to him. Whereupon, as he had sent for him to his palace, and he and his wife Antonina, had in vain endeavoured to stagger him, by representing to him the great danger he was in, and to persuade him to obey Theodora, he was stripped of his pontifical vestments, upon the spot, and dressed in a monk's habit by the chief of the clergy who had been gained over, who the next day had Vigilius elected, an intruder, a schismatick, a person guilty of simoniacal practices, a persecutor, and at last a murtherer of the true Pope. For the emperor having sent for him from Patras, the place of his former exile, in order to have his cause re-examined, (*o*) Belisarius, corrupted by Vigilius, put him into his hands: and that Antipape having sent him into the island of Palmaria, where Silverius, a prisoner as he was, acted like a real pope, and excommunicated him, he so much resented it, as to starve him to death, thereby crowning him with a glorious martyrdom. Thus, by a prodigious confounding of all things, the Arians preserved the rights of the church out of Rome, at the same time they were besieging it, and the Catholicks oppressed it within, after the basest manner that could be, whilst they were fighting in its defence. But when once passion has got the mastery of the soul, and has banished reason, there is nothing so irregular, so wicked, or so monstrous, of which it is not capable. What was still more wonderful here was, that, after the death of Silverius, the clergy, who, endeavouring to avoid a schism, had, after a six days vacancy, (*p*) again acknowledged Vigilius as their lawful sovereign Pontif, he became, by the grace of the Apostleship, quite another man, and performed so many fine things, in defence of the same faith, which he had unhappily endeavoured to betray, in order to make himself Antipape. Which plainly demonstates, that truth and constancy in the faith is not annexed to the person, but to the chair of St. Peter, and his successors. *A. D.* 537.

(*n*) Anastas. (*o*) Liberat. (*p*) Anastas. Biblioth.

A. D. 538. In the mean while the forces of Vitiges were daily dwindling away before Rome, by the wise conduct and generous resistance of Belisarius: and at length the famine, which was so prodigious That year all over Italy, that in some places it revived the examples of That at Jerusalem; the plague that seised upon his army, the sea and land armies which came from Constantinople, and the diversion which Belisarius afterwards gave him in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, forced him to raise the siege, towards the twentieth of March, a year and nine days after it had been begun. However, he did not lose courage; for having reinforced the garrisons of the most considerable places in Tuscany, he marched into Romania, where the Imperialists were making the strongest diversion; and went and sat down before Rimini, which they had made themselves masters of a day's journey from Ravenna. And having advice at the same time that Milan, in order to throw off the yoke of the Arians, had surrendred to Belisarius's troops, by the interposition of the holy archbishop Dacius, and that a great part of Insubria and Liguria were following the same example, he immediately sent his nephew Urajas, with whom ten thousand Burgundians of the troops of Theodebertus king of Austrasia joined, as if they had done it of themselves without their king's order, who had not as yet a mind to break openly with Justinian. Belisarius marching out of Rome, to succour two towns of that importance, turned towards the marches of Ancona to join with Narces, who was just come with fresh supplies of men from Constaninople. He with them forced Vitiges to raise the siege from before Rimini, and to retire with some disorder to Ravenna. He sent an handsome reinforcement of troops to relieve Milan, whilst he took in the places he could not leave behind him. But his differences with Narses, who refused to obey him, and the slowness and want of resolution of those who had the conduct of the supplies, occasioned the Roman garrison,, reduced to extremity, to surrender, their lives being granted them, notwithstanding the brave exhortations of Mundilas, who would have had them sally out sword in hand, rather than surrender themselves prisoners of war, and be witnesses of that desolation, which he foresaw would happen to that great city. In reality, the Goths exasperateed to the last degree at their calling in the Ronans, discharged all their fury upon this city, the finest

in

in all the western empire, except Rome, with so much barbarity, (q) that they entirely ruined it, having without mercy massacred all the males to the number of three thousand, without any distinction of age, and made all the wives and maidens prisoners. So that on this occasion the cruelty of the Goths gave the precedent of an inhumanity more than barbarous, which has always stood single in its kind, and which will without doubt eternally continue so. *A. D.* 538.

But they went not long unpunish'd. Theodebertus king of Austrasia had had Provence for his share, when it was yielded up by Vitiges: and seeing how miserably Italy was torn to pieces between the Romans and the Goths, who, by mutually destroying each other, were extreamly weakened, he thought he might easily become master of it, and annex it to the monarchy of France, notwithstanding his agreement with each party; for he wanted neither reason, nor pretences to break it. The vanity of Justinian, (r) who, amongst other titles, stiled himself conqueror of the French, gave him a specious pretence to make war upon him, to revenge the injury done to his people; and the enmity that was between the Goths and the French, ever since Alaricus's defeat by the great Clovis, besides their difference in religion, might have raised some new discontent or quarrel between the two nations. However that might be, Theodebert, resolving to make an advantage of this opportunity, passed the Alps, with an army of one hundred thousand effective men, (s) amongst which were some Germans, still Heathens, who did things which Procopius wrongly attributes to all the French without distinction. At first Theodobert made no attempt against the Goths, for fear they might hinder his passing over the Po: but when they themselves, who imagined he was come to their assistance, had given him passage below Pavia; he then fell upon their camp, which was not far from the Roman army, commanded by a lieutenant of Belisarius, and easily made himself master of it, cutting to pieces the greatest part of their unfortunate troops, who were far from expecting such treatment. In the mean time the Imperialists, seeing the Goths running in disorder towards Ravenna, imagined it was Belisarius's army, which, coming to their assist-

(q) Procop. l. 2. de bell. Goth. c. 21. (r) Agath. l. 1. (s) Procop. l. 2. de bell. Goth. c. 25.

A. D. ance, had routed the enemy. Wherefore, marching out of their
538. camp, they came up to him, in order to receive him with great acclamations. But they were ſtrangely ſurprized when they ſaw men coming towards them ſword in hand, and whom they were obliged to fight. The battle however was not long, for as they did not come for that purpoſe, but to receive friends, and not enemies, they were ſoon put into diſorder, and forced to fly; abandoning even their camp, which was plundered by Theodebert's army, as well as that of the Goths. But the diſtempers that ſeiſed this great army, for want of proviſions, in a country quite deſolated by war, and famine, forced Theodebert, who had already loſt the third part of it, to march back into France, (*t*) after leaving reinforcements in the ſtrong towns of Liguria under the command of Leutherus, and Bucelinus, who during theſe wars often made excurſions all over Italy.

539. Beliſarius being delivered from ſo dangerous an enemy, happily accompliſhed his enterpriſe. For having taken all the places which the Goths ſtill held in Tuſcany, in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, he at laſt came with all his forces and beſieged Vitiges in Ravenna. And as on one hand he had no more enemies in the field, as he was maſter of the Sea, and of the Po, and of all the armies, and had found means, by the intelligence he had in Ravenna, to have the magazines ſet on fire, he ſoon reduced the city to great extremities. So that the Goths, and Vitiges himſelf, who could no longer make any reſiſtance, and who were apprehenſive that Juſtinian might treat them ill, reſolved to offer to ſurrender to Beliſarius, provided he would accept the crown which they proffered him, proteſting they would obey him, as they had done Theodectus. Beliſarius, who had no great number of troops, amongſt which were ſome, whom he did not greatly confide in, and who beſides was afraid that Urajas, who was muſtering the Goths from all parts, might fall upon him, pretended to accept the
540. conditions, and was thereupon received into Ravenna, with his army, as king of the Oſtrogoths. But as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter, he ſhewed them that he preferred his duty to a crown. For Juſtinian having recalled him to command an army

(*t*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 32. Aim. l. 2. c. 21.

againſt

againſt the Perſians, he carried Vitiges, the queen his wife, and children, and the chief Oſtrogoth lords, to Conſtantinople, where Juſtinian by all ſort of kind treatment, endeavoured to render their change of fortune more ſupportable. *A. D.* 540.

In the mean time the Goths finding themſelves deſerted by Beliſarius, who had promiſed them to be their king, reſolved to chuſe themſelves one. To this end, being aſſembled together at Pavia, which was as it were their laſt retreat, at firſt elected Urajas. But he, fearing leſt the ill fortune of his uncle, always unhappy, might purſue him too, by contagion, or might make him odious, perſuaded them to fix upon Idibaldus, who ſtill held Verona, and who might expect aſſiſtance from Theudis, king of the Viſigoths, whoſe nephew he was. Idibaldus accepted the crown, upon condition nevertheleſs that they ſhould make one attempt more upon Beliſarius, to oblige him to keep his word. But as he ſaw the temptation of a crown could not ſhake his fidelity, and that he was ſet out from Ravenna for Conſtantinople, he declared himſelf king of the Goths, tho' he had not at that time above a thouſand men. (*u*) But the great care he took to reunite the Goths, and the extreme diſorder amongſt the Romans, by the diſſenſions of their leaders, ſoon put him into a condition to take the field, and to recover great part of Inſubria, and of the territory of the Venetians, where, at the battle of Tarviſa, he defeated the Roman army commanded by Vitalius, one of Juſtinian's lieutenants. This victory was beginning to make his name famous and formidable, when one of his guards, whom he had cruelly injured by giving his wife to another, cut off his head at an entertainment, at the inſtant he was holding it down to eat. Upon this a diſſenſion enſued among the Goths, in their choice of a new king. The Rugians, whom they had adopted, placed Evaricus upon the throne. But as he had not the qualities neceſſary to ſupport ſo great a dignity, in ſuch difficult times, the reſt killed him about a month afterwards as they had concerted the deſign before-hand with Totila, Idibaldus's nephew, and governor of Tarviſa, who was upon the ſpot proclamed king, with the unanimous applauſe of all the Goths, who were in hopes he would again eſtabliſh their affairs. 541.

(*u*) Procop. l. 3.

And

A. D. 541 And sure enough, he made good their expectations. For tho' he had but five thousand men, yet he had the courage to pass the Po, and attack the Roman army consisting of twelve thousand men, which he so totally defeated near Faënza, that he brought off all the colours, as the sign of an entire victory: and this was soon followed by a second, which his troops gained near Florence, over another army, which was come from Ravenna to the relief 542. of that city. After which Totila, who found himself master of the field by these two victories, having traversed all Tuscany, passed the Tybur, and left Rome on the right, entred Samnium, and Campania, (x) took and razed Beneventum, besieged Naples, and as, during the siege, his army was grown very powerful, by an infinite number of Goths, who came in crouds to him from all parts, he by his lieutenants made himself master without resistance of Apulia, Calabria, and the other provinces, from which he drew immense sums, which had been there collected and laid up for Justinian.

It was during this famous campaign of Totila, that GOD, to convince the Arian Goths, and to put a stop to their fury, (y) wrought those extraordinary miracles, which St. Gregory gives us an account of in his dialogues, and which in so miraculous a manner shewed the holiness of those eminent servants of GOD, Cassius, Fulgentius, and Sabinus, bishops of Narni, Otricoli, and Ganusa, of the young Benedictus whom the Goths threw into a burning oven, from whence he came out the next day unhurt. (z) But in particular of the Patriarch St. Bennet. For he not only discovered him whom Totila had caused to put on his cloaths, in order to find if this holy abbot was so great a prophet as was reported; but likewise when he saw that prince prostrate at his feet with the greatest respect, having gently raised him, and advised him to be for the future more human, he foretold him that he should take Rome, that he should pass forward as far as Sicily, and should die after a reign of ten years. The truth of this prophecy very soon began to appear, and the saint's exhortation contributed much towards softening Totila's mind. Whilst

(x) Abruzzo. Terra di Lavori (y) Gregor. Dialog. l. 3. c. 5, 6, 13
(z) Dial. l. 2. c. 14. and 15.

he

he laid ſiege to Naples with the greateſt part of his army, (*a*) the other took Cumæ, and the reſt of the towns along the ſea; but he would not allow ſuch as ſurrendred to be treated ill. He even ſet the priſoners at liberty, and eſpecially the Roman ladies, taken in ſome of thoſe places. He ſent them away free, with all ſorts of honours, which he cauſed to be paid them: Which gained him the reputation of a wiſe and generous prince at Rome. *A. D.* 542.

In ſhort, after the fleet, which the Emperor had ſent to relieve Naples, was unfortunately loſt by a tempeſt, in ſight of the port, the city reduced to extremities, ſurrendred to Totila, who uſed the Citizens and ſoldiers with ſo much lenity, as they could not have expected kinder offices from their relations and friends, than thoſe he cauſed to be done them, to reſtore them to a tolerable condition, after the cruel famine they had undergone. And what was ſtill more wonderful was, that at the ſame time, behaving with great ſeverity towards his own men to preſerve diſcipline, he put to death one of the braveſt ſoldiers in his army, who had raviſhed a virgin, to whom he gave all his eſtate which he had confiſcated. So much this prince, wholly Arian as he was, had learnt to make a good uſe of the advice and inſtructions of St. Bennet. But it muſt be acknowledged, that beſides his being maſter of a great ſoul and noble ſentiments, Policy had a great ſhare in this action. For he had a mind to gain the eſteem and affection of the Romans, and Italians, by ſhewing them the difference between the Goths, who behaved like the ancient Romans, and the Grecian commanders, and ſoldiers, who delt with them like ſo many Barbarians, treating them with all ſort of inhumanity. He alſo wrote an excellent letter to the Roman ſenate, to invite them early to return to their duty by owning this difference, and recalling to mind the many benefits, they had formerly received from Theodoricus, and Amalaſonta. The governour prevented their returning any anſwer to thoſe letters, but he could not hinder their fixing them up by night in all the publick places. Wherefore being apprehenſive of ſome correſpondence at Rome, he turned out all the prieſts, that were Arians, and who had 543.

(*a*) Procop. l. 3.

been

A. D. 543. been allowed to live there after the reduction of it, and whom he certainly had reason to respect.

However, this lenity of Totila was not lasting. For seeing the Romans made no return to his offers, and that Justinian had sent Belisarius back into Italy, to oppose his progress, he altered his conduct; and, to strike a terror, went over to the other extreme, and grew cruel. For turning against Belisarius, who was marched 544. towards Ravenna with a very small body of troops, after taking Tivoli, by some intelligence he had in the town, he put all the inhabitants, and the bishop himself, to the sword. From thence having with ease made himself master of the passages over the Tibur, to prevent all communication with Rome by that way, as he knew Belisarius could not long keep the field, he went back, into the marches of Ancona, where he took Ascoli and Fermo, and most of the other places, (*b*) and laid siege to Osmo, the strongest town at that time. But as succours were thrown into it, he of a sudden passed the Assensim, and having in his passage taken Assisa, Spoleto, and the rest of the towns in Umbria, he came and sat down before Rome, with so numerous an army, that he had men enough to besiege Placentia at the same time, 545. the only place the Imperialists had remaining on the Po, and which not being relieved, was at length obliged to surrender.

In short, since the siege of Jerusalem, never was any thing more deplorable than the fortune of the Romans. There was hardly any provisions in the city by the negligence and extreme avarice of the Grecians, who minded nothing but plundering and heaping up wealth; nothing could be got into it either by land or water, all the avenues being in the possession of the Goths, who were masters of the field, the Tibur, and the sea. The ships laden with corn, which pope Vigilius, who was retired into Sicily, was sending thither, taken by the enemy. Bessas and Canon, two Greek officers, who commanded in Rome, were mere cowards, who never dared once sally out, to favour the throwing in relief; and Bessas, was so unmercifully covetous as to keep up the Corn, which there still remained at Rome, to sell it at an excessive rate. Besides the Grecian succours, which were to come by land, having debarqued at

(*b*) Auximum.

Otrante

Otranto, made but very slow marches, often meeting enemies in their rout which stopped them; and Belisarius, who was coming by sea, had neither the troops, nor the fortune or good luck that attended him in the former war. In short, all relief failing the Romans, the famine grew to such a height, that every thing being consumed even to the very weeds, and even such things the very imagination of which strike the greatest horror, most of them died miserably either in their flight, or in the city, of faintness or of despair; for many were seen whom their rage armed against their own life, and among the rest a Roman citizen, who, one day hearing the mournful cries of his children asking bread, coldly bid them follow him, as if he was going to give them some; but when he was got upon the bridge of the Tibur, suddenly wrapping his cloak round him he threw himself into the river before their eyes. A.D. 545.

At last, some Isaurian soldiers of the garrison, being no longer able to bear the inhumanity of Bessas, nor the famine they themselves suffered from the small subsistance he allowed them, treated with Totila, and one night opened to him the Porta * Asinaria, thro' which he entred Rome, followed by his whole army, which he drew up in order of battle, in the square, expecting till it was day. In the mean while Bessas, with most of the Greeks, and a very few of the Senators, betook themselves to flight all in disorder and abandoned every thing; but Totila would not suffer them to be pursued, saying that nothing was more agreeable than to hear an enemy was flying. As soon it was day, Totila finding himself master of the city, went to St. Peter's church, there to return GOD thanks for his victory, and the arch-deacon Pelagius, whom this Prince, to whom he had been often deputed, much esteemed, made him so handsom a speech, as exceedingly mollified him. For after reproching the Senate with their ingratitude to the Goths, he satisfied himself with giving the city to be plundered, saving the lives, liberty, and honour of the Vanquished. So that, except twenty soldiers and about threescore of the citizens who were killed at first, before his prohibition, no blood at all was spilt. Totila took great care also of the honour of the ladies. But as all the wealth was left at the discretion of the Goths, who were far from sparing any thing, the ladies, and among the rest, the illustrious Busticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, and widow of Boëtius, 546.

* St. John's Gate.

A. D. 546. Boëtius, and the Roman Senators were seen despoiled of all they had, and turned out of their own houses, forced to beg their bread from door to door, of those very Goths, whom they saw enriched with their spoils.

Totila himself pitied them, and was desirous of re-establishing Rome, by putting an end to so fatal a war. To this end, he sent Pelagius and Theodorus, one of the chief Senators, to Justinian, to propose a peace to him, by restoring things to the same condition they were in under the reigns of Anastasius and Theodoricus. But seeing his proposals eluded, and his forces beaten in Calabria, he took the barbarous resolution of turning Rome upside down. And indeed several of those proud monuments of the magnificence of the ancient Romans were destroyed, and they began to set fire to the houses, a good part of which were consumed; but Totila's fury was stopt by Belisarius himself, who writ to him, and gave him to understand, that if he came off conqueror at the conclusion of the war, he would do himself the greatest injury in the world, to destroy Rome; and if he was conquered, he must expect no favour from the Romans. Wherefore contenting himself with demolishing a third part of the walls in different places, that he might not be obliged to leave a great part of his army in garrison, he marched away towards Apulia and Calabria, against the Greeks, carring away with him the Senators, after dispersing the rest of the Romans with their wives and children all over Campania, not leaving a soul at Rome. It was not very difficult for Belisarius upon this to get into it again, and repair all its breaches, as he actually did, causing all his army, together with the Romans, who flocked in from all parts to him, to work upon them night and day, so that Totila being not long after returned,

547. met with a vigorous repulse. This was the last of Belisarius's fortunate actions, and almost the only one he performed in this second war he came upon into Italy; for being rudely treated by Totila in Calabria, he retired, with little honour, into Sicily, and from thence to Constantinople, whither he was recalled by the Em-

548. perour, ill satisfied enough with his conduct. Thus the greatest men, after performing the most fortunate and shining actions, have always reason to guard against vanity, from the just apprehensions they ought to be under, that one unlucky event, in the conclusion,

may

may ruin them in the minds of the greateſt part of mankind, who, by a ſecret malignity, are not ſorry to forget the part good, to dwell upon the preſent evil. *A. D.* 548.

In the mean while Totila, freed from ſo dangerous an enemy, every were made a prodigious progreſs: and meeting no forces in the field able to ſtand againſt him, eaſily made himſelf maſter of every place he attacked. But that ſpirit of cruelty, which Hereſy inſpires, at the ſame time made him ſully his victories, by two or three actions that ſhewed the perſecutor and a Tyrant. For one of his lieutenants having taken Peruſa, (*c*) a little after Beliſarius's retreat, and ſent to know of the king what he would have done with St. Herculanus, who was biſhop of it, he commanded his head to be ſtruck off: (*d*) which was executed upon the walls of the city: And forty days after, his ſepulchre being opened, his body was found entire, with the head faſt on it, (*e*) GOD thereby in a ſignal manner ſhewing the holineſs of the martyr, and the truth of the faith, which he had ſigned with his blood againſt the Arians. Totila even had Cerbonius biſhop of Populonium, (*f*) thrown to bears, for ſaving the lives of ſome Romans, whom the Goths would have maſſacred, had he not charitably given them refuge, and hid them in his houſe. But the bears, leſs ſavage than this king, having ſhewn a regard to the virtue of the good biſhop, Totila was afraid to go any farther. He acted with more cruelty againſt Laurianus, a prieſt of the church of Milan, who had courage enough to exclaim with an ardent zeal againſt his exceſſes, and eſpecially againſt his Hereſy. For the holy man being retired into Spain, where his uncommon merit created him biſhop of Seville, Totila ſent to Theudis, king of the Viſigoths, for his head, who would not have failed ſending it, had not the holy man eſcaped to Rome; and ſome time after as he was returning to Spain, (*g*) he was taken by ſome of Totila's men, who were hunting every where for him, and who ſtruck off his head, which being carried to Seville, delivered them from the plague, according as he himſelf had foretold.

(*c*) Procop. l. 3. c. 11. (*d*) Greg. Dial. l. 2. c. 13. (*e*) Greg. Dial. l. 3. (*f*) A town in ruins near Piombino. Jul. Marian. l. 5. c. 8. (*g*) Martyr. Rom. 4.

A. D. 548. Theudis ſoon received the reward of his baſe complaiſance to Totila; for he was ſhortly after killed by a traitor, who pretended himſelf mad, in order to perpetrate this action. Theudiſchus his relation, and Totila's nephew, was ſet upon the throne in his room by the Viſigoths; but he grew ſo inſupportable to his ſubjects by his debaucheries, and cruelties, that even his own people killed him at dinner, in the ſecond year of his reign, this unfortunate prince having made no advantage of ſeeing the perpetual miracle of Oſſet, near Seville, the truth of which he reſolved to examin and prove.

At that time there was in this ſmall town of Andaluſia a magnificent church belonging to the Catholicks, *(b)* whom the Arians, called Romans, and thoſe baptiſmal fonts were to be ſeen, built of beautiful marble in the form of a croſs, and of wonderful fine workmanſhip. The biſhop accompanied by all the people, went thither in proceſſion every year on holy thurſday, and after the uſual prayers, all the people being gone out of it, he had all the doors ſhut up, and ſealed to prevent any body getting in. On holy ſaturday the biſhop followed by the Catechumens who were to receive the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, being returned with the ſame ceremonies, and having exactly examined the ſeals; the fonts which before had been left empty, were now found ſo full, that the water ſeemed ready to run over on all ſides, and yet without ſhedding one ſingle drop. Then, after the biſhop had ſanctified it by the holy chriſm, and exorciſms, each man to ſatisfy his devotion took ſome of it in veſſels they had brought, the ſacred fonts all the while not at all decreaſing, till as the catechumens went on baptiſing, the water fell away, and at length was loſt, ſo that after the laſt perſon had been baptiſed, no water was left in the fonts. What was ſtill more wonderful in this miracle, which laſted many years, as formerly that of the fiſh-pool at Jeruſalem did, is, that every time the French, who exactly obſerved the decree of the council of Nice, in the celebration of eaſter, did not agree with the Spaniards, as to the day of that great feſtival: This miracle never failed deciding the difference, in a manner which always confirmed the deciſion of the council,

(b) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr. c. 24. 25. Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

as

as it happened five and twenty years after, in the face of all Spain, and to the knowledge of the whole earth. (*i*) For the Spaniards, who had misreckoned, having fixed Easter on the one and twentieth day of march, and the French carried it lower to the eighteenth of April, those miraculous Fonts of Offet did not begin to fill till the fifteenth of that very month which was the thursday before the Easter as the French had fixed it. King Theudischus therefore believing there was some fraud in it, caused the whole matter to be strictly observed, and the doors guarded: and seeing the miracle still continue, had a ditch five and twenty foot long, fifteen abroad, dug quite round the church, to find out whether there were not some subterranean channels, (*k*) which might help on the trick. But having discover'd nothing, but still obstinately insisting there must be some artifice in it, because he could not bear that "GOD should manifest the truth of the Catholick faith against "the Arians, by a miracle so publick, and so known to all the "world, GOD punished his incredulity, and hardness of heart, by "that miserable death that sadly took him off in his sin. A. D. 548.

But the measure of Totila's sins was not filled up, and the divine justice was resolved to make use of him, to compleat the chastisement which it had determined to inflict on the disorders of the christians, principally in Rome and Italy. Therefore whilst Justinian, who, by a strain of wrong Politicks, was busying himself with the affairs of the church without minding those of the state, still deferred sending a powerful relief to Italy; Totila, who, except Ravenna, and a very few other places, had reduced it all, came and sat down a third time before Rome, where Belisarius had been able to leave but three thousand men, who at first defended themselves very bravely. But there were some Isaurians besides, who, murmuring for want of their pay, betrayed the city, and opened the gate of St. Paul to Totila, thro' which he entred without any opposition, whilst they made a false attack in another place. He did not now behave as he did the first time he took the city. King Childebert, whose daughter he had demanded in marriage, had reproached him with not being king of Italy, since he had not been able to keep Rome, having abandoned it to his enemies, who had retaken it. He was so stung with this reproach, and thought himself so sensibly 549.

(*i*) Sigebert. in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 11. (*k*) Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

piqued

A. D. 549. piqued in point of honour, (*l*) that he resolved to re-establish Rome. He repaired all its ruins with incredible diligence, he stored it abundantly with all manner of provisions, he recalled all that had left it, promising to reinstate them in their effects, he peopled it with Goths, whom he settled there, to make up but one people with the Romans, as it had been in Theodoricus's reign; (*m*) he allow'd a full liberty to the church of Rome, which pope Vigilius had obtained of him at the request of Childebert, king of France, he at length so fully succeeded in this glorious attempt, that in a small time the city being repaired, he exhibited shews to the people in the Circus, as the antient Emperors did. And yet, as he saw that Justinian, to whom he had sent to demand peace, would not hearken to it, thus neither making war, nor being at peace, he did hot forbear arming powerfully, in order to take all the rest from him.

He even equipped a strong fleet, consisting chiefly of the vessels he had taken from the Emperor; and having reduced Rimini and Tarrentum lying at the two extremities of Italy to his obedience, and ordered the castle of Rheggio to be besieged, which at last was forced to surrender, he passed into Sicily, which he ran over, and plundered, out of resentment for its having so easily surrendred to Belisarius. After which he returned to Italy loaded with booty of an inestimable value, there to fight the new army which the
550. emperor had at last resolved to send thither. But as that army was obliged to stop in the way, to make head against new torrents of Gepide's, Eruli, and Lombard's, who having passed the Danube, over-ran Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyrium, Totila saw himself for a whole year peaceful master of the greatest part of Italy, as if there had been no rival to dispute the Empire of it with him: for he had agreed with the French, that they should keep Liguria, and the country of the Venetians, of which Theodebert, had made himself master. So that Arianism, being received at the last gasp, to which it had seen it self reduced after the taking of Ravenna, and of Vitiges, seemed to be going again to ascend the Throne. But God, who was resolved to extinguish it, having punished Italy by so terrible a scourge, at once trampled it under foot by a

(*l*) Procop. l. 3. (*m*) Vigil. Ep. 4. f. 1, Ep. Rom. Pont.

sudden

sudden change of fortune, and buried it under the ruins of the Empire of the Goths. *A. D.* 550.

For the Emperor astonished at Totila's successes, and ashamed to see himself beaten out of Italy, which he had so gloriously won back, at last resolved not to send any more weak succours as he had till then done, but the strongest body of forces he could under the command of Narses. (*n*) As he was a great and celebrated captain, prudent and skilful, brave, munificent, beloved by the soldiery, and in high esteem among foreigners; and besides as Justinian opened his treasures to him, and furnished him with every thing he desired, without sparing any cost, he soon raised a formidable army, wherein besides the Romans, he had the best troops of the Eruli, of 551. the Gepidi, and of the Lombards. Indeed he was sometime detained in Thrace, which the Huns, after passing the Danube, had invaded; whom he was obliged to repulse, before he went any farther. But in the interim, as if fortune designed to prepare the way for him, before he advanced towards Italy, the Goths, who had besieged the castle of Ancona, were beaten at sea by one of the Emperor's lieutenants, that was in Dalmatia, and hastened to the relief of it; and almost at the same time the governor of Toranto quitting Totila's service, put the place into the hands of some imperialists, who had made a descent upon Crotona. Totila surprised at these losses, and astonished at the vast preparitions for war, which Narses was generally reported to be making against him, after having once more in vain endeavoured to obtain a peace, prepared 552. on his side, and sent Toias, the bravest of his captains, to Verona, to stop Narses in his passage. But that general foresaw his design; and leaving Verona on the right, and marching to the left along the sea, coasted by an infinite number of barks, in order to build bridges upon occasion over the rivers, he soon got to Ravenna, from whence, after defeating and killing the governor of Rimini, who disputed his passing over the river, he went and encamped in the Apennine it self, at the foot of which, near the village of Taginas, Totila was encamped, who having rejoined Toias, had traversed all Tuscany, in order to march directly up to him.

It was not long before they came to a battle. Totila, having ordered Narses to be informed, that in eight days they would end

(*n*) Procop. l. 4.

their

A. D. 552. their quarrel by a general engagement, marched the next day, early in the morning, to fight him, thinking to fall upon him unawares; but he found him upon his guard, and having made another feint, as if he was retiring, he immediately returned, and came and attacked him in the afternoon. Narses, who saw into the stratagem, had drawn up his army, without the camp, having ordered his men to dine under arms, each man in his rank, in order to receive the Goths, who came on with great bravery. Totila, who was a General of great experience, and accustomed to victory, omitted no motive that might animate his soldiers, representing to them, "that having always conquered with him, they ought not to fear "fortune's leaving them on this occasion, which was the most important, and the last, since this battle would be a final decision "of all quarrels. That they should remember, they were the same, "who for ten years had been continually beating those cowardly "Greeks, who had nothing of the Roman in them but the name, which "of right belonged to the Goths, ever since the time of the great "Theodoricus, who had made them citizens of Rome, when he "made himself master of it. That this great number which they "saw, ought not to affright them, consisting only of Huns, Gepides, "Eruli, and Lombards, whose designs were upon Narses's money, "and not at all against the Goths; and finally, that neither they, "nor the Greeks themselves, were either the braver, or more "formidable, for being commanded by a half-man, by Narses, "that Persian Eunuch, who was the last hope of those pretended "Romans.

Narses's speech to his soldiers was very short. He contented himself with encouraging them, by the assurance of victory which he shewed that he was possessed with, and by his generous contempt of his enemies, by making them observe, more by his motions than his voice, "their small number, their disorder, their astonishment "at seeing an army drawn up ready for engagement, which they "thought to surprise, having no hopes but of surprising them, "which had twice failed them, and that it was nothing but des-"pair, and the difficulties they found themseves engaged in, that "forced them upon fighting. But above all, pointing to heaven, "he put the Roman soldiers in mind, that it was from thence "they were to look for victory, and that GOD had chosen them

" them at laſt to deliver Italy, and the Roman church from the " cruel dominion of the Arians. That they ought not to fail to " call on the name of the holy virgin, who would inviſibly fight " for them, againſt thoſe impious men, who intended to deprive " her of the glorious title of the mother of GOD, (o) by endeavour- " ing to rob her ſon of his divinity by their blaſphemies." And indeed Narſes was very devout, eſpecially to the virgin, whom he honoured by a very particular worſhip: and whether by a ſtrong application to GOD in devout prayer, he imagined he ſaw an apparition, or that he really did ſee ſuch an apparition, there went a report all over the army, that the holy virgin had promiſed him the victory, informing him particularly of the time when he ſhould begin the engagement: a circumſtance which doubtleſs ſerved to inſpire the Romans with bravery, who no longer doubted but GOD fought for them. *A. D.* 552.

But what extremely contributed towards the victory, was the different diſpoſition of the two armies: For Narſes had placed eight thouſand foot in the two wings, all archers, who could eaſily join in the form of a Creſcent, in order to ſurround the enemy, when they ſhould have charged in the middle. On the contrary, Totila, all whoſe hopes lay in his cavalry, had ranged them in order of battle, upon a line at the head of his army, and had poſted all the infantry in the rear, to ſupport the horſe when they ſhould be preſſed, and to renew the battle with them. But it happened quite otherwiſe than he had imagined: and that very thing was one of the chief reaſons of his loſing the battle: for as the cavalry, leaving the foot behind them, began to ride on full ſpeed, in order to fall upon the middle of the main battle, which came againſt them, they did not obſerve that the eight thouſand archers in the two wings, approaching each other inſenſibly in order to join, were going to ſurround them, as in fact they did. So that raining upon them a terrible ſhower of arrows, a great number of horſe were killed, wounded, or diſmounted, and put out of a condition of fighting even before they could come up to the battalions they were going to attack. However they fought like men of reſolution, and bore up againſt

(o) Procop. l. 1. Paul. Diac. de Geſt. Long. l. 1. c. 3. Evag. l. 4. c. 23. Niceph c. 13.

A. D the force of the Roman army, who attacked them on every ſide
552. with all manner of advantage. But at laſt they were forced to give way to the number, and to retire towards their infantry, who had not been able to come up to them. And as they were vigorouſly puſhed by the army, which ſtill advanced, keeping their ranks, againſt men already in diſorder, without giving them time to come to themſelves, or to rally, they at laſt turned their backs, and fell in among their own infantry with ſo great confuſion, that far enough from ſupporting them, they made off with the utmoſt precipitation without ſtriking one ſtroke.

Upon that, the Roman cavalry purſuing them, and mixing with the Gothick cavalry, who in their flight rode over their own men, great ſlaughter was made of thoſe unfortunate men. For there was above ſix thouſand Goths killed upon the ſpot, beſides what were made priſoners, and to whom, in order to exterminate ſo dangerous a race of people, they afterwards gave no quarter, no more than to the Roman deſerters, who had gone over to Totila, at the beginning of his conqueſts. As for that unhappy prince, it is certain he was killed, either in the engagement, fighting under other arms than his own, that he might not be diſcovered by the enemy; or in the purſuit, accompanied by no more than five cavalries, according to the moſt general opinion; and with him ſunk all the fortune of the Goths. For Narſes, who knew very well how to make the beſt uſe of his victory, having ſoon reduced all Tuſcany, march'd directly to Rome, which he ſcaled and took, there not being Goths enough to defend ſo great a compaſs of walls. However they had time enough to retire into the country about Italy, where they had ſtrong places, and they who had eſcaped out of the battle along with Toias, being retired to Pavia, unanimouſly choſe him king of the Goths, hoping that ſo brave a man might ſtill reſtore their affairs.

And certainly, he was poſſeſſed of all the great and ſhining qualities, that could be deſired, to ſucceed in ſuch an enterpriſe, had he
553. found as much fidelity in all his people, as he had valour and conduct in himſelf. For having raiſed a pretty conſiderable body of Goths, out of ſuch as he had rallied from the laſt fight, and of new recruits he had raiſed in the neighbourhood of Pavia, as he heard that Narſes's forces were beſieging the caſtle of Cumæ, where Totila kept the greateſt part of his treaſure, he had the courage and addreſs

dreſs to croſs all Italy, even to about Naples, thro' by-roads, tho' there were two armies, one upon the Po, and the other in Tuſcany, to diſpute the paſſage with him. But Narſes, immediately joining them with the troops he had in Rome, marched to meet him at the foot of mount Veſuvius, where the two armies being parted by nothing but the river Sarno, continued skirmiſhing for two months: Narſes not daring to attempt the paſſage, before an army that was maſter of the bridge, nor fetch a compaſs about, for fear the Goths ſhould endeavour to throw relief ihto Cumæ. But when he that commanded the naval army, from whence Toias drew his ſubſiſtance, had betrayed it into the hands of Narſes, then that prince who no longer could ſubſiſt that way, being forced to retire, went and immediately encamped on a mountain of very difficult acceſs, where he could not be attacked. But as he ſaw that Narſes had inveſted him with his vaſt army, in order to ſtarve him there, he and his Goths generouſly determined to attack him firſt, and to paſs thro' them, or to die glorioufly ſword in hand. To this end, having made all his cavalry diſmount, he of a ſudden charged the Roman army, which was at firſt ſurpriſed at ſo brisk an attack, which they did not expect, but however bore up againſt, tho' in diſorder and tumult, till Narſes having drawn them up in order of battle, he was obliged to come to a more regular engagement. *A. D.* 553.

It was then that Toias performed an action, which is certainly to be compared with any of thoſe of the greateſt Heroes of antiquity. For advancing with ſome of his braveſt men, at the head of his ſmall army, which was advantageouſly poſted at the foot of the mountain, he reſolved to ſet them an example, both of fighting, and dying bravely, if they were not to conquer. Having then covered himſelf with a ſhield, he marched ſword in hand againſt the Romans, who having found out who he was, lanced at him their darts and javelins, which he received on his ſhield, at the ſame time throwing himſelf upon the forwardeſt, whom he proſtrated at his feet, and fought thus for three or four hours, changing his ſhield as ſoon as he found it quite covered with darts: till at the very inſtant he was quitting one to take another, he received a blow from a javelin in that part of the ſide he had left bare, of which he fell down dead on the ſpot. At the ſame time the Romans having ſtruck off his head, fixed it upon the top of a lance, in order to ſtrike a terror into

A. D. 553. the Goths But they, animated by the ſight of ſo glorious an example, and reſolved to die like him, obſtinately fought like ſo many lions till night came on, the Romans not being able to break, or ſurround them, upon account of the mountain, by which they were covered; and having done the ſame thing the next day, they ſent ſome of the beſt quality to Narſes, who in the name of them all told him, "That they clearly ſaw that GOD had declared "againſt them, and that he had reſolved the deſtruction of their "empire; that they were therefore entirely ready to yield it "up, no more to make war upon the Romans, and to ſurrender all "the places they held in Italy, provided they were allowed to "retire, each with what money they had in the garriſons they "ſtill held, and to live according to their own laws, where they "ſhould think fit, out of the territories of the empire."

The matter being brought under deliberation, ſome would have had them obliged to ſurrender, upon diſcretion, or conquered by main force, and cut to pieces: But Narſes following the counſels of the moſt prudent, was of opinion, "That it was always dange-"rous to puſh the matter to extremities with men that were deſ-"perate, and to have to do with people reſolved to die in their "own defence. That vertue and valour ought to be honoured even "in an enemy. That he ſhould loſe more by the death even of "one of his own men, who might fall in ſuch an unneceſſary "attack, than he ſhould gain by taking or putting to death thoſe "who of themſelves yielded all that he could deſire or conquer by "the gaining of battles. That the general of an army ſhould be ſatiſ-"fied with conquering, without making any attempt on the lives "of the conquered, unleſs when they ſtill diſpute the victory with "him. And that the moſt uſeful, and even the moſt glorious vic-"tory is ever that, which coſts the conqueror the leaſt blood, who "ought to ſpare that of his own men, though at the ſame time he "laviſh his own to ſet them an example of behaving well." Thus the conditions were accepted, and the treaty, which the Goths on the other ſide the Po ratified, was at length honourably executed on both ſides, after eighteen years war. So that all the places being put into the hands of Narſes's commiſſioners, and the Goths departed out of Italy, it was at length freed from the dominion of the Arians, ſeventy ſeven years after they had invaded it under Odoacer king of the Eruli.

Spain

Spain only remained, which was still under the dominion of the Arians, when GOD began her deliverance by the conversion of one of her kings. After the death of Theudischus, the Visigoths elected Agila; who having reigned five years in perpetual commotions, always unsuccessful, and always beaten, was at last killed by his own officers, at Merida, after losing a battle near Seville, against Athanagildus, who had revolted, and who was afterwards set on the throne, by the common consent of the Visigoth lords of both parties. (*p*) This prince was no sooner in possession of the crown, than he turned his arms against the troops of Justinian, which he had called in to his assistance, and which turning their own pay-masters, had seized upon some of his provinces. And that he might have the assistance of the French troops on occasion, he made an alliance with them, marrying his two daughters Galsuinta and Brunehaud, the former to Chilperic king of Soissons, and the other to Sigebert king of Austrasia. (*q*) These two princesses had always been brought up in the Arian heresy. But as soon as they came into France, they made profession of the Cathoilck Faith, and were again baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so much the more easily abjuring Arianism, as they knew that their father Athanagildus was not at all attached to it. And indeed, that prince not only always favoured the Catholicks, in his kingdom, but they say he too was one in his heart, tho' he always pretended to be an Arian, purely out of human policy, to avoid the hatred of the Visigoths, for whom he had occasion in the wars he made during his whole fifteen years reign, upon the auxiliary Greeks, whom he endeavoured to rid Spain of, which however was not brought about but by his successors. (*r*)

A. D. 553. 554.

But if Athanagildus, meanly betraying his conscience, had not the courage to profess that truth publickly, which in his soul he believed, GOD seemed resolved to make up that loss to himself, by the generous confession of faith which Theodemir king of the Suevi, made about that time which was followed by the conversion of his whole people. Above an hundred years had now passed since king Remismond, the same that established the Empire of the

(*p*) Marian. l. 5. c. 7. (*q*) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 28. Aimo. l. 5. c. 4 & 5. Venant. Fort. Car. l. 6. Lucus. Tud. Marian. ibid. (*r*) Isidor. Marian.

Suevi

A. D. 554. Suevi in Galicia, had turned Arian, in consequence of the fatal alliance he made with Theodoricus king of the Visigoths. And altho, since that time, there were several kings who reigned over that people, (*s*) yet history has made no mention of them till this king Theodemir, who brought back all his nation to the Catholick faith, upon the following occasion. His son Ariamire, afflicted with 560. an incurable disease, (*t*) having to no purpose tried all remedies, and hearing of the miracles that St. Martin of Tours wrought at his so celebrated tomb, particularly at this time, he sent messengers to obtain of him his son's cure, presenting him with an offering of as much gold and silver as the sick prince weighed. However his devotion had not the wished-for success. At the return of these messengers, his son still found himself worse, and as he heard that the others who had begged the same favour of GOD, by the intercession of that great Saint had notwithstanding obtained it, he immediately imagined that the Arianism he professed, so contrary to the faith of St. Martin, had been the true occasion of his failing. He therefore sends back the messengers to Tours, promising to GOD to embrace that faith with his whole heart, if he received the favour, he so ardently wished for: And the messengers being returned with the cloth that they had spread over the Saint's tomb, Ariamire on a sudden found himself so perfectly cured, that he went himself, with extreme respect, to receive those who brought him as a relick that cloth sanctified by touching the the body of his benefactor.

It happened, by a wonderful turn of the divine providence, that another Martin of the same country with the Saint, and who was a man of a very extraordinary virtue, and uncommon learning, as his works demostrate, came at the same time to Galicia, and arrived on the very day that the king's messengers landed from on board their vessel with the precious depositi they brought with them. He did not omit immediately to lay hold on so fair an opportunity of making the acquisitions of a whole kingdom to JESUS CHRIST. He went and presented himself before the king who being resolved to perform his vow, was very glad to meet

(*s*) Isidor. in Chron. l. 5. c. 9.

(*t*) Greg. Tur. mirac. St. Mart, l. 1. c. 11. Marian.

with

with a man capable not only of inſtructing him, but likewiſe of perſuading his people to follow his example, and to renounce Arianiſm. And GOD giving a bleſſing to the diſcourſes of ſo excellent a man, by the ſigns, and miracles which confirmed the truth of what he preached to them, he ſucceeded ſo happily, (*u*) that as ſoon as the king (after having confeſſed in a publick manner, the unity of eſſence in the three perſons of the adorable trinity) had received baptiſm, in the name of the Father, Son and holy Ghoſt, together with prince Ariamire, and the whole court; all the nation of the Suevi begged the ſame favour: (*x*) And it is ſaid they received it with ſo much zeal and benefit, that they were all diſpoſed to ſuffer martrydom to mantain the faith they embraced, ſhould the occaſion offer it ſelf. Afterwards this great man, (*y*) now become the apoſtle of the Suevi, founded the monaſtry of Dumes, which was changed into a biſhoprick, of which he was the firſt biſhop, and ſome time afterwards this church being united to that of Brague, then a part of the kingdom of Galicia, he was made metropolitan of it. It was by his advice that Theodemir, cauſed the ſecond council of Brague, to be held, in the third year of his reign, and the ſecond of Lugo, a year before his death; and that three years after Ariamire, his ſon and ſucceſſor, commonly called Miron, had another aſſembled at Brague, in the ſecond year of his reign. In thoſe councils the Catholick faith was confirmed againſt all the hereſies, and very exellent canons were made, to ſettle the diſcipline of the church. St. Martin, who as Metropolitan of Brague, preſided at this laſt council, inſerted them in the collection he made of the canons of the Eaſtern councils, which he tranſlated into Latin for the uſe of the Spaniſh churches, and the ſame year ſent them to the biſhops aſſembled in the ſecond ſynod of Lugo. (*z*) In ſhort, he laboured to ſo good an effect by the ſermons he made, by the books he compoſed, by the holy inſtructions he gave for all ſorts of perſons, by the monaſteries and churches he founded, and by the ſhining example of his own life, that this church began again to flouriſh in all manner of ſhining virtues. But this happineſs was not laſting, and hereſy, which ſeemed ſinking in

A.D. 552. 563. 569. 572.

(*u*) Iſid. in Chron. Suev. (*x*) Greg. Tur. ibid. (*y*) Marian. l. 5. c. 9.
(*z*) Iſidor. de Script. Eccleſ. c. 22.

Spain,

A. D. 572. Spain, soon recovered new strength, by the change that happened upon Athanagildus's death, who expired at Toledo, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

The Visigoths, whose kingdom was in great confusion, occasioned by the faction of such as favoured the Imperial troops whom Athanagildus could never free his country from, had some trouble in the choice of his successor. (*a*) And after an interregnum of six months, they at last elected Liuba, the noblest, and most powerful amongst them, and who being settled at Narbonne for seven years, pretty absolutely governed that part of the Narbonese province, (*b*) which as yet belonged to the kingdom of the Visigoths. But as this prince loved a life of repose, and the present state of their affairs required a warlike king, he thought proper, in the second year of his reign, to make his brother Leuvigildus his partner in
569. the government, to whom he resigned all Spain, reserving to himself that small canton on this side the Pyranées, which he was very
572. fond of, and which he notwithstanding kept not long, for he died soon after, and by his death left the whole kingdom to Leuvigildus. This prince, who may be said to have been the greatest king the Visigoths ever had, since the first Alaricus, had all those shining qualities, that go to the making of a conqueror, and these supported besides by the bravery and extraordinary merit of his two sons, Ermenegildus and Recaredus, whom he had had by his first wife Theodosia, daughter of the famous Severianus, duke, or governor of the province of Carthagena, and of royal blood, whose marriage was favoured by a particular blessing from heaven, and which had never its like in the world. For all his children, tho' born in the very bosom of Arianism, amongst Goths of the highest quality, were not only Catholicks, but eminent for their piety, as Leander and Isidorus bishops of Seville, Fulgentius bishop of Astigi, Florentina an Abbess, and this Theodosia, who was mother of another Saint, as she was also of Ermenegildus. After her death, Leuvigildus, who already was the brother of a king, engaged in a second marriage very different from his first, taking Gosiunda, daughter to the deceased king Athanagildus; and had he not taken this Fury into his family, who was the cause of innumerable disorders,

(*a*) Luc. Tuders. Marian. (*b*) Lower Languedoc,

which

which disturbed the happiness of it, as well as that of the state, he had beyond contradiction been the most glorious prince that had till then reigned in Spain: For nothing can be added to the high reputation he had gained both in peace and war. *A. D.* 572.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he did not fail attacking the Greeks, whom he defeated in an engagement, and drove out of all the places they possessed along the coast, and upon the mountains, at present those of Grenada, and Murcia, carrying on his conquests without interruption as far as the Streights. He took Cordova, which had always refused to submit to his predecessor. He reduced to his obedience all the nations, who following the example of that city, had revolted; and having recovered all that his predecessors had enjoyed in Spain, he carried his conquests much farther, even to the other sea, and brought under his obedience the Cantabri, who are the present Biscayans, the Gascons, *(c)* and the Narvarrese, whom the Romans themselves could never make an entire conquest of; and by means of the civil wars between the kings of France, regained all that the Visigoths had lost in Septimania after the defeat of Amalaricus. After which, before he turned his victorious arms against the Imperialists, and Suevi, *(d)* whose destruction he had sworn, in hatred to them for their being become Catholicks, he was resolved to secure the kingdom to his posterity, by taking the two brothers Ermenegildus and Recaredus into a share of the government and kingdom. The first reigned at Seville in Andalusia; the second in the country of the Celtiberians, he himself chose Toledo, which from that time became the capital of the Empire of the Visigoths. Thus Leuvigildus might pass for one of the greatest princes in the world, had he not been not only an Arian, but likewise a persecutor of the Catholicks, with all the rage of the cruellest tyrants that ever conspired against JESUS CHRIST. For, like them, *(e)* he on one side made use of terror, threats, banishment, confiscation of goods, prisons, stripes, torments, fire, and sword, and all the severest punishments: And on the other, flattery, prayers, money, posts and honours, and every thing in the world the most seducing, to

(c) Joan. Bicar. in Chron. *(d)* Lower Languedoc. *(e)* Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. Isidor. in Chron. Goth. Greg. Mag. de glor. Martyr. c. 82.

A. D. 572. oblige his ſubjects to profeſs Arianiſm, cauſing himſelf to be re-baptized according to the form of the Arians. And he made ſuch a progreſs by both methods, as to pervert many, not only of the people, but of the Eccleſiaſticks, and even of the biſhops, (*f*) and (which was a great ſcandal to all Spain) amongſt the reſt, Vincent archbiſhop of Saragoſſa, (*g*) againſt whom Severus, the learned biſhop of Malaca, compoſed an excellent treatiſe, becauſe that infamous Apoſtate, to gain favour with the king, fought for Araniſm like a deſperate man. (*h*) A pious abbot named Vincent, not being able to bear that his name ſhould be prophaned by the apoſtaſy of this archbiſhop, quitted his ſolitude to oppoſe the impiety of the Arians, who not enduring the freedom that pious man took, loaded him with blows, yet not ſo as to kill him, for fear of his having the benefit of dying a martyr. But being eſcaped out of their hands as he began to preach againſt them with more warmth and force than ever, they grew ſo tranſported with rage, that, forgetting their former deſign, they maſſacred him at Leon before the gate of his monaſtry. (*i*) In ſhort, the fury of Leuvigildus's perſecution went ſo far, in order to ſpread his hereſy by force, that he did not ſpare even his own blood, making a martyr of his ſon Ermenegildus, in the manner I am going to relate it, according to the ſincerity of hiſtory, without ſuffering myſelf to be carried away by the hatred that has been conceived againſt the memory of Leuvigildus, or by the love and veneration we ought to have for that of a king crowned with martyrdom.

Leuvigildus being determined to ſhare the government with his two ſons, in order to ſettle them firmly, reſolved to ſtrengthen them with the alliance of the kings of France. He obtained Ingonda the daughter of Sigebert king of Auſtraſia, and of queen Brunehaut for Ermenegildus, and a conſiderable time after, Ringonda, the daughter of Chilperic for Recaredus. The death of that prince, (*k*) who was miſerably aſſaſſinated whilſt the princeſs was on her way, hindred this marriage from taking effect, but the former was happily accompliſhed; and the princeſs Ingonda conducted into Spain, with a ſuperb equipage, was received with all

(*f*) Iſidor. in Chron. (*g*) Malguc. (*h*) Iſidor. in Script. c. 31. (*i*) Martyr. Rom. 11. Sept. (*k*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. 38. Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

poſſible

poſſible magnificence by Leuvigildus, who was tranſported to think he had united the blood of King Athanagildus with his own, and to leave the rights of both the royal families to his ſon Ermenegildus, by that alliance. Queen Goſuinda who was grandmother to Indegonda, ought to have had a mother's tenderneſs for her, but as ſhe was an Arian, and mortally hated the Catholicks, the unmerciful temper inherent in that hereſy, ſtifled in her all the ſentiments of nature, and made her the cruelleſt of ſtep-mothers. For after having in vain tried all ſorts of flatteries and careſſes to win her over to be rebabtiſed after the Arian form, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw that her conſtant anſwer was, that having been once already babtiſed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, ſhe was reſolv'd not to receive any other babtiſm, and that ſhe would eternally confeſs the trinity of perſons in the unity of eſſence; that furious woman fell into a rage, like a fury let looſe, againſt the innocent princeſs. She loaded her with all ſorts of opprobrious language, and injurious treatment: and even proceeded to ſuch dreadful extremities as to fall on her, like a wild beaſt, to lay hold of, and with the greateſt rage to drag her away by the hair, and daſh her againſt the ground, to load her with innumerable blows, to trample upon her, and having put her into a gore blood, have her thrown into a canal, where with much ado ſhe eſcaped drowning. *A. D.* 578.

Prince Ermenegildus could not but think himſelf extremely injured and affronted by ſuch barbarous treatment to a perſon ſo dear to him: However he was forced to diſſemble upon account of Goſuinda's power. But as at the ſame time his father had declar'd him king, and aſſigned him Andaluſia, (*l*) he ſoon took that opportunity of retiring to Seville, with the princeſs his wife, in order to ſecure her from the cruelty of that Megæra. It was here that Indegonda's blood, ſo gloriouſly ſhed for the confeſſion of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, (*m*) at laſt had that fruitfulneſs which ſhe ardently begged of GOD, and which ſhe happily obtained, by the converſion of Ermenegildus. For ſhe ſo far prevailed by her tears, her prayers, her fervent exhortations, and the eminent inſtances of her virtues, that after a long reſiſtance, he at laſt yielded to the wiſdom and ſpirit which ſpoke to him by the mouth of St. Leander

(*l*) Greg. Tur. Ibid. (*m*) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

A D. 578. archbiſhop of Seville, (*n*) his uncle by the mother's ſide, who having perfectly inſtructed him, made him publickly abjure Arianiſm, giving him the holy Chriſm in the name of the moſt holy Trinity. Leuvigildus hearing of this change, was terribly exaſperated: not only from the concern he had in the religion of the Viſigoths, but alſo from ſtate-jealouſy, and the ſuſpicions Goſuinda infuſed into him, which put him upon the greateſt extremities. He was afraid leſt his ſon, ſupported by the Spaniſh Catholicks, and the emperor's troops, who ſtill were remaining in Spain, might make a powerful party to dethrone him, and reign alone. Wherefore his religion, his politicks, and his wife whom he ſuffered too much to govern, conſpiring to put him upon the moſt melancholy reſolutions, he concluded, he muſt either bring back his ſon to Arianiſm, or employ all the force of his kingdom to ruin him.

To this end, he ordered ſome of the principal members of his council, who waited on him from him, to tell him, "That when he "raiſed him to the throne, before the time he could expect it, it "was to have a companion that might aſſiſt him in preſerving the "empire of the Goths, in the flouriſhing condition he had then juſt "placed it in by his victories, and not to find in his ſon, a more "dangerous enemy than any of thoſe whom he had conquered. "That the Greeks ſo often beaten, and who held but a ſmall corner "of Spain, ſeeing their inevitable ruin in this union of the royal "family, had ſought the means of dividing it, and of drawing the "ſon over to their party, by a moſt horrid impiety, arming him "againſt his own father; and had to that end poiſoned his mind. "That they had ſeduced him from the religion of his anceſtors, "into that of the Romans, in order thereby to unite him to them, "by the ſtrongeſt of all ties, and that it engaged him in their "intereſts by making him, under a ſhew of piety, the moſt impious "of all men, towards GOD and his father. That ſuch a thought "alone, which doubtleſs would make him ſhudder, if he had the "leaſt ſentiment of humanity remaining, ought to open his eyes, "to ſee the falſity of a religion, which would precipitate him into "ſuch dreadful extremities, by putting him upon the violation of "all the moſt ſacred laws of nature. That, to conclude, he ought

(*n*) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

"to

"to know, that tho' he was on the throne, he however held but *A. D.*
"the second place there. That his father possessed the first, as 578.
"Sovereign over his son himself, who was only so in regard to
"those subjects, whom he held from him. That therefore, as his
"father, and his king, he commanded him to renounce the impiety
"he had just embraced under the name of religion, (*o*) and to
"present himself immediately at Toledo, before him, to confer toge-
"ther upon the present state of affairs, and for their common
"interests, promising him a pardon for what was passed, provided
"he would obey; on the other hand also protesting, that if he
"forced him to take up arms, there should be no mercy left
"for him."

Ermenegildus, who had already taken his last resolutions, answer'd his father's deputies in these words: "That he very well knew,
"what he owed to his father, and his king; but that neither was he
"ignorant of what he owed to GOD. That he hoped from him the
"grace so perfectly to reconcile these two duties, that without
"failing either in the respect or obedience that nature obliged him
"to pay to his father, in what was not against GOD, he should
"even to death persevere in the true religion, which the alone
"consideration of GOD had made him embrace, without the Romans
"having had any share in it. (*p*) As to his journey to Toledo,
"that he most humbly besought the king, that he would excuse
"him. That the unjust command imposed upon him, with dread-
"ful menaces, to renounce his religion, which he was fully deter-
"mined never to desert, and Gosuinda's cruel treatment of Ingonda
"upon that account, were sufficient excuses befort GOD and man,
"for his not undertaking it, since neither he nor the queen his wife
"could be there in safety.

After this answer, Ermenegildus, who plainly foresaw the consequences of it, thought of nothing but preparing for war. Indeed 580.
this Prince's intentions were perfectly upright, and the end he proposed was the preservation of the Catholick religion, at the hazard of his life; and GOD gave him the most glorious recompence he could expect in this world, by bestowing upon him the favour of Martyrdom. However, it must be owned in reality that the means he took to arrive at that end, was not according to the spirit

(*o*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. (*p*) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

of

A. D. 580. of the goſpel, which ordains, that we ſhould renounce father, and mother, and life itſelf, to perſevere in the true religion; but which does not therefore order a ſon, and a ſubject, to take up arms againſt his father, and his king. Nor indeed did GOD bleſs the undertaking, nor is it in that view that he is a Saint, but by the conſtancy he ſhewed in laying down his life in defence of the Divinity of the Son of GOD. (*q*) And certainly, Gregory of Tours, famous at that time for his learning and piety, in very ſtrong terms blames that action; and St. Gregory the great, who has extolled his conſtancy, in the deſcription of his martyrdom, ſays nothing of the war he made upon his father, becauſe it can have no ſhare in his commendations. But, in ſhort, the hopes given him of conquering, and then delivering Spain from the tyranny of Arianiſm, and Goſuinda, made him reſolve upon the war, and take all methods to forward its ſucceſs.

And it was for this reaſon, (*r*) as his father had foreſeen, that he did not omit calling in the Greeks to his aſſiſtance, and making an alliance
285 with the emperor's lieutenant, who commanded them in Spain. He went ſo far as to ſend St. Leander to Conſtantinople to the emperor Tiberius to deſire freſh recruits, which that prince, perplex'd enough with the war againſt the Perſians, was in no conditon to do. And it was there that St. Leander became acquainted with St. Gregory, who reſided at the emperor's court (*s*) on the part of pope Pelagius II. and made that noble and ſtrict friendſhip with him, of which we have ſtill ſuch excellent fruits, in thoſe fine treatiſes of morality upon Job, which that holy Pontif afterwards dedicated to him, he having compoſed them at his requeſt. Beſides, Ermenegildus conjured Ariamire, king of the Suevi, by the concern he had for the Catholick religion, which that prince profeſſed, to aſſiſt him with his forces. Leuvigildus too ſollicited him to come over to his ſide; and as it is ſure he was a party in the war, it is not preciſely known whether he came over to Ermenegildus's ſide, as Gregory of Tours writes, (*t*) or whether he fell into Leuvigildus's party, whom he was extremely afraid of, and in whoſe camp it is ſaid he fell ſick and died. In ſhort, all Spain was divided. The Arians, who made the ſtrongeſt party, declared for Leuvigildus, and the Catholicks for Erminegildus, who having

(*q*) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 43. (*r*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. (*s*) Greg. in prefat. Moral. & lib. 1. Epiſt. 41. (*t*) L. 6. c. 43. Marian l. 5. c. 10.

well

well stored and fortified Seville and Cordoua, and sent his wife and son into a place held by the Greeks, thought himself in a condition to oppose his father's forces, tho' much superior to his own. *A. D.* 582.

But on the other side, Leuvigildus more adroit and skilful as of much greater experience than his son, took much surer measures, which broke all his. For in the first place, as he was well acquainted with the avarice and perfidiousness of the Greeks, (*u*) he treated privately with the chief officers, who for thirty thousand crowns sold the unhappy Ermenegildus to him, promising to abandon him, when they should come to an engagement. And farther, to deprive him of all pretence in regard to religion, which rendred his cause favourable, and engaged all the Catholicks on his side, he thought some expedient was necessary to be found by him, by which, removing or softning what most shocked the Catholicks, in Arianism, some way of accommodating matters might be proposed, to satisfy them, at least in appearance. To that end, he held an assembly of the Arian bishops at Toledo, (*x*) wherein, in pursuance of his orders, they abolished the custom, introduced by their predecessors, of rebaptising those who came over to their communion; and made a decree, whereby he declared that the Son of GOD was equal to his father, without distinguishing whether it was by an equality of nature, or of dependance, by the sole will of the father, as they understood it; thus concealing the venom of their heresy, under the fair appearance of a specious name, which might deceive the Catholicks. In effect, this was one of the things most prejudicial to Ermenegildus; for many thinking the cause of division being removed, there was no good reason, nor even pretence for war, left Ermenegildus's party, and others who suspected the Equivication, were however well pleased with the opportunity of retracting with honour, and of getting out of a war, the event of which they already began to fear. In short, Leuvigildus fearing that the French, hearty enemies to Arianism, and already very much exasperated at the barbarous usage Indegonda had received, should come to his son's assistance, sent an ambassador to Chilperic, to renew the alliance, and ask his daughter Ringonda for a wife for his son Recaredus.

(*u*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. (*x*) Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

Gregory

A.D. 582. Gregory of Tours, (*y*) who received this ambaſſador named Agilanes in his journey, ſays that he was a man of no parts nor ſtudy, and yet would be always diſputing againſt the truth of the Catholick Faith, in maintenance of Arianiſm, being no better furniſhed than with a few paſſages, which he propoſed, without being able to reply to the true explications which were given to them, and which he underſtood not. He adds, that as he had, amongſt other things, ſaid to him, that he might judge of the falſity of Arianiſm, by that dreadful kind of death, wherewith GOD had puniſhed the author of it; this ambaſſador deſired him not to ſpeak ill of the Arians, no more than the Viſigoths did of the Catholicks, for, ſaid he, "we hold this maxim among us, that "one may, without any crime, chuſe that religion one likes beſt, "and we have a proverb which is to this effect, that in paſſing "between a Pagan temple and a Chriſtian church, it is no harm "to bow before each of them." So common a thing is it for hereſy by little and little to inſpire an indifference in matter of religion in the end, and ſo fully ought we to be perſwaded, that from the moment we quit the true, we are in great danger of having none at all. As the holy archbiſhop had reproached the Arian ambaſſador with the impiety of his ſect, he brutally left Tours in a paſſion, proteſting he would loſe a thouſand lives, rather than hold communication with any Catholick prieſt. The reprimand, however, was of great ſervice to him, for falling dangerouſly ill at his return to Spain, what he heard from Gregory in that conference, had ſo powerful an effect upon him, as to make him a convert.

In the mean time king Leuvigildus, having put his affairs into ſo good a poſture, and raiſed a powerful army, compoſed of the beſt troops which he had drawn together, wholly at his leiſure, from all the Spaniſh provinces, began his march, in order to attack Ermenegildus, either in the open field, if he dared appear there, or even in Seville it ſelf, ſhould he ſhut himſelf up in it. They ſay two things happen'd to him in this march, which certainly were capable both to have moved him, and thereupon oblige him to be reconciled to his Son, by becoming a Catholick, after the example he had ſet him, had not hereſy dreadfully

(*y*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 43.

hardened

hardened his heart. (z) For as his army was on its march along the coaſt of Valentia and Mercia, towards Andaluſia, the Goths that were Arians, who, according to their cuſtom, plundered and ſacked all the monaſtries in their way, fell upon that of St. Martin, where was no body but the Abbot, bending quite double with age, all the monks being eſcaped by ſea to a neighbonring Iſland, to ſave themſelves from the fury of thoſe Barbarians. And as, after having plundered every thing and loaded the good man with a thouſand injuries and affronts, a Goth, the moſt inſolent, and cruel of them all, had lifted up his ſword, in order to ſtrike off his head, he fell backwards and died upon the ſpot, and all the reſt of them ran away terribly frighted; which Leuvigildus coming to the knowledge of, ordered every thing that thoſe vilains had taken out of the monaſtry to be immediately carried back again. So extraordinary a puniſhment, (a) together with ſo many other wonders wrought every day by the Catholicks, gave him ſome uneaſineſs. He remembered that Count Gomacarius, governor of Agde, died a miſerable death, for refuſing to reſtore to St. Leon a pledge he had uſurped from his church; he remembered likewiſe that the Catholicks had twice proved the truth of their belief, by taking two rings, the one out of the midſt of a great fire, and the other out of a boiling caldron, without being burnt: Which an Arian attempting to do, loſt his arm in the inſtant, it being burnt to the bone. Withdrawing therefore into his cloſet alone, he ordered one of the Arian biſhops that was in his train to be called to him, and opening his heart to him, he told him he thought it very ſtrange that they, who pretended to profeſs the true Faith, performed not one Miracle, in confirmation of it, as they were perpetually and daily doing, whom they accuſed of hereſy and impoſture. (b) This cunning deceiver, finding himſelf pinched, anſwered with the greateſt impudence, that he often reſtored the deaf to their hearing, and the blind to their ſight, and that he was ready ſtill to do the ſame thing in his preſence. But he was confounded in the ſame manner as the Vandal Cyrola, whoſe impoſture he revived. For having hired a poor man for forty crowns *A. D.* 582.

(z) Greg. Tur. de glor. confeſs. cap. 12. (a) Greg. Tur. de glor. Mart. l. 1. c. 79. ibid. c. 81. & de glor. conf. c. 14. (b) Greg. Tur. de glor. conf. c. 13.

A. D. 582. to pretend himſelf blind, the wretch really became ſo, at the very inſtant the Arian biſhop commanded him to open his eyes, and yet the king, who ought to have been convinced by ſo plain and notorious a miracle, ſtill ſhut the eyes of his ſoul, that he might not ſee, or rather to feign not to ſee, the truth which ſo often offered itſelf to him, and which, notwithſtanding he rejected with the ſtrongeſt obſtinacy: For this did not prevent his going forward, and entering Andaluſia, determined either to deſtroy Ermenegildus, or to force him to a renunciation of the Catholick Faith.

Upon which, having found none that dared keep the field, in order to oppoſe his army, he went and ſet down before Seville, where Ermenegildus had ſhut himſelf up, confiding in the ſtrength of the place, and the ſuccours he could receive by ſea, and in the number and reſolution of the inhahitants; almoſt all Catholicks. But Leuvigildus, who had foreſeen all this, (*c*) and who was willing to take the city without running any riſque, attempted to ſtarve it, by turning the courſe of the vaſt river Bætis by a prodigious canal, (*d*) which he effected. So that nothing being able to enter into the city, neither by ſea, nor land, it was forced to ſurrender, after a years ſiege. Ermenegildus, who, ſeeing matters reduced to the greateſt extremities, had found means to eſcape, ſome time after appeared in the field with an army chiefly conſiſting of Greeks, with whom he had made alliance, and who betrayed him. (*e*) For as they were obliged to come to an engagement, theſe traitors, who had ſold him, retreated juſt upon the point of charging: So that the unfortunate prince, ſeeing himſelf on a ſudden deſerted, both by thoſe perfidious men, and his own troops, who, finding he was betrayed, betook themſelves to flight; had no other choice left than to eſcape to a church near at hand, as he did, where he thought to find an aſylum. It was there that his brother Recaredus, by the king's leave, went to him; and after giving him marks of the tenderneſs of his friendſhip, and of his extreme ſorrow, by the tears he ſhed whilſt he embraced him, told him very frankly, "That as he commended his conſtancy in the "faith he had embraced, ſo neither could he help blaming the

(*c*) Marian. l. 5. c. 12. (*d*) Guadelquivir. (*e*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

"pernicious

" pernicious councils that had been given him, and the unjusti- *A. D.*
" fiable ways he had taken to preserve it, by making war upon 583.
" his father; that such as endeavoured to make advantage of a
" division in his family had abused his zeal, by engaging him in
" this unfortunate enterprize, under a pretence to piety, wherein
" victory, being as fatal to the conqueror as to the conquered, could
" be of no use but to their common enemies. That since the evil
" was done, it was in vain to pity him; but that it was absolute-
" ly necessary to repair it by an early repentance, followed by a
" sincere submission. That his religion was not the question here,
" for which he was to account to GOD only, but his honour, and
" his life, which he could never preserve, but by an immediate
" return to his duty, and by imploring the king's mercy, who,
" however victorious, and exasperated, was still ready to remem-
" ber that he was his father. That, to conclude, in the present
" posture of things, he could possibly come to no other resolution,
" than that which the necessity and desperate condition of his
" affairs prompted him to. That by remaining obstinate in his
" rebellion, (*f*) and misfortune, he was undone: But that he
" could venture to assure him, and even by oath, that if he would
" have recourse to the king's mercy, he might obtain it, without
" its costing him his Royalty, which it was not intended he should
" lose. "

Ermenegildus, who saw plainly he had carried his zeal too far, and that it was rather by suffering than resisting that religion was to be defended, resolved upon what his brother, who acted with upright intentions, advised him to, whatever might be the issue. He only desired that it might be in the same church, (*g*) where he was, that he might be permitted to pay his duty to his father before the altars, which he thought ought to be guarantees of that promise he had just had made to him. Whereupon Leuvigildus, who easily granted it, being entered, the young prince, throwing himself at his feet, most humbly begged his pardon, which the crafty old dissembler, raising him, and kissing him with many testimonies of tenderness, made as if he granted him. (*h*) But he was no sooner arrived in his camp, whither he conducted him,

(*f*) Greg. l. 5. c. 38. (*g*) Greg. Tur. (*h*) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

A. D 583. than having been able to perſwade him, neither by prayers nor threats, to return to the communion of the Arians, (*i*) he ordered him to be ſtripped of all the marks of royalty, and condemned him to paſs the reſt of his days with one ſingle man to ſerve him in the place of exile which he aſſigned him. He however altered his mind, and, to make the ſurer of him, had him thrown into priſon loaded with chains in a very dark tower, where this young prince, beſides adding the hair cloth, watchings, prayer, and the auſterity of a ſevere faſting to the inconveniencies of his dungeon, prepared himſelf during ſome months for martyrdom, which he longed for. And indeed, he was not long deprived of what he wiſhed for, nor of the crown, which he preferred to that his father intended to reſtore to him, in caſe he would become an Arian. For Leuvigildus, provoked at his long reſiſtance, ſent an Arian biſhop to him the very night that the ſolemnities of Eaſter began, to perſwade him to receive the communion from his hands, as a ſign of his returning to the religion of his anceſtors. And as Ermenegildus not only refuſed, but reſumed on this occaſion the majeſty of a king, and that generous pride he had quitted under aſhes, (*k*) and the hair cloth, to make way for the humiliations of repentance; as Ermenegildus, I ſay, had rejected that falſe paſtor with contumely, reproaching him with his impiety; Leuvigildus,
584. impatient at his thus triumphing over him, captive as he was, fell into ſuch a paſſion, as to diſpatch the executioner Sisbert away to the priſon upon the ſpot, who ſplit his skull with a hatchet, thus crowning him with martyrdom. It could never be known what afterwards became of his ſacred body, which care was taken to hide, for fear it ſhould receive of the Catholicks the honours due to martyrdom. (*l*) But GOD reſolved that at the ſame time heaven ſhould pay them to him, by a celeſtial harmony, which was heard in the night round the body, ſtretched in its own blood, in the midſt of the dungeon, and by blazing flambeauxs, which for a long time appeared over the priſon during the night; and the church, following the example and inſpiration of heaven, (*m*) orders

(*i*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. (*k*) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 28. Greg. Mag. Marian.
(*l*) Greg. Mag. (*m*) Sixt. Quint, 23. apr.

a ſolemn office to be performed in honour of him, having canonically declared him a martyr. *A. D.* 584.

Ermenegildus's death was the beginning of a greater perſecution. Leuvigildus, more than ever irritated againſt the Catholicks, moſt of whom had declared for his ſon, fell upon the biſhops, many of which he diſpoſſeſſed of their ſees He forbore no ſort of injury againſt one of the greateſt men that Spain ever produced, (*n*) the holy, and famous Mauſona, arch-biſhop of Merida, becauſe he would never deliver up to him St. Eulalia's robe, for fear the Arians ſhould prophane it. Having treated him in the moſt unworthy manner in the world, he commanded him to be carried to the place of his exile, mounted upon an untamed horſe, who he did not doubt would ſoon tear the holy prelate to pieces. But the fierce animal, paying to his vertue that honour which the impious Arians deſired him, all on a ſudden grown tractable to him alone, ſuffered him to get upon him, with a ſoftneſs that confounded the cruelty of thoſe Barbarians. (*o*) That Abbot named John, who writ a chronicle of this time, and was made biſhop of Girone, in the reign of king Recaredus, was baniſhed the court, and ſent to Catalonia, where, at the foot of the Pyranees, he built the monaſtry of Biclair, whoſe name it bears in his hiſtory.. Novellus biſhop of Alcala, Licinianus of Carthagena, and many others were baniſhed, and abuſed by Leuvigildus's orders, who ſpared not even his brothers-in-law, Fulgentius, and St. Leander, the latter of whom, during his exile, writ three excellent treatiſes againſt the Arians. Iſidore their brother was left behind, by reaſon of his youth, and the beauty of his parts, whom the king thought might inſenſibly be gained over by degrees, tho' he never ceaſed generouſly combating againſt Arianiſm, from his deſire of Martyrdom, which he longed for, and from his greatneſs of ſoul, and love to GOD, (*p*) and from the excellent diſcourſes his brother Leander writ to him on that ſubject. In ſhort, Leuvigildus did every thing in his power to weaken the Catholicks, by coſiſcating their effects, ruining their churches, ſeiſing upon their revenues, aboliſhing the privileges of the clergy, and, under ſome falſe colours, cauſing thoſe to periſh, who, having the greateſt authority, could beſt defend the good cauſe.

(*n*) Marian. l. 5. c. 13. (*o*) Iſid. de Script. Eccl. c. 31 (*p*) Id. c. 28.

What

A.D. 584. What was still more deplorable was, he went into the kingdom of the Suevi there to revive Arianism, (*q*) which king Theodemir had banished from thence. For as after the death of Ariamire, who died of sickness at the siege of Seville, his son Eburicus had succeeded him, by Leuvigildus's consent, to whom he in a manner made himself tributary, for the sake of peace; Andeca, who had married the widow of Ariamire, mother-in-law to this prince, deprived him of his kingdom, and confined him in a Monastry. (*r*) Leuvigildus did not fail laying hold of so fair an opportunity, to possess himself of Galicia, under pretence of revenging the injury done to his Ally. He therefore marched into it with his victorious army, which he still kept on foot, and as the usurper had no forces to oppose so great a power, he took him; and, using him in the same manner as Eburicus had been used had him shaved in a Monastry at Badajos, and made himself absolute master of the kingdom of the Suevi, which he united to that of the Visigoths, obliging his new subjects to return to Arianism.

But though many were found disposed to obey him, either thro' fear or complaisance, yet the course of so great an evil was soon stopped, and by a wonderful turn of the goodness and power of GOD, Arianism was upon the decline in Spain, when every thing seemed to be given over for lost. For as soon as Leuvigildus had made 585. himself king of it, by this last conquest, as he was returned to Toledo, victorious, and covered with glory, he died there, leaving the empire at his death to a successor, whom GOD had destined to make it Catholick. There are even some historians, (*s*) who say that this prince, being on his death-bed, detested his own wicked Politicks, which had made him oppose the truth, proved by so many miracles wrought in his time, and of which he had himself been witness. They add, that he conjured his son Recaredus to prefer that example, which he left him at his death, to all those he had set him in his life-time, and that he assured him, that Spain would never be in a more flourishing condition, than when it should be wholly Catholick. However it be, it is sure that he recalled the banished bishops, and particularly St. Leander, to whom he expressed the extreme

(*q*) Isid. de Script. Eccles. c. 28. (*r*) Isid. in Chron. Suevor. (*s*) Petav. Rat. Temp. cap. 11. Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

regret

regret he was ſenſible of, (*t*) for embruing his hands in the blood of his ſon Ermenegildus; that he much commended the holy prelate for making him a Catholick, and begged him to continue his holy Inſtructions, till he had procured the ſame bleſſing for his ſon Recaredus, whom he left the only heir to his empire. (*u*) For ſoon after the death of Ermenegildus, Indgonda being carried into Africa by the Greeks, died there before ſhe could ſet out for Conſtantinople; and it is very probable that the young prince ſhe had by him, died with her, ſince no more mention is made of him. I own I can ſcarce believe that ſo clear ſighted and penetrating a prince as Leuvigildus, ſhould not be apprehenſive, leſt his ſucceſſor, whom he was deſirous ſhould become Catholick, ſhould be moleſted by the Viſigoths, and that at his death he himſelf ſhould, out of policy, be afraid of declaring his renuntiation of Arianiſm. (*x*) Certainly, Gregory of Tours, who lived at that time, ſays that ſome aſſerted, that having declared himſelf a Catholick, he paſſed the laſt ſeven days of his life in ſighs and tears, deteſting his hereſy, and all the crimes it had put him upon committing, and conjuring his ſubjects to leave Arianiſm: (*y*) Tho' the other Gregory pope, who alſo was living at the ſame time, ſays, that being convinced of the truth, he dared not venture to follow it, for fear of his ſubjects. But it is for GOD alone, whoſe judgments are ſecret and unfathomable, to judge how it was: it is enough for me to give an account of things, as thoſe who have written of them, relate them. *A. D.* 585.

After Leuvigildus's death, Recaredus, who was already a Catholick in his heart, was without oppoſition acknowledged Monarch of all Spain, except a few places, which the Greeks ſtill held. (*z*) As this young prince was admirably well made, very diſcreet, of a ſoft and modeſt temper, obliging, civil, courteous, and very adroit, beſides being brave and generous; He ſoon gained the minds and hearts of the chief Viſigoth lords, of the ſoldiers, and the people, and acted with ſo much addreſs, and ſucceſs, that, in the firſt year of his reign, he diſpoſed them, without violence or conſtraint, to receive the Catholick religion, after his example, at the time he

(*t*) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31. (*u*) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 28. (*x*) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 45. (*y*) Greg. Mag. l. 3. Dial. c. 31. (*z*) Marian. l. 5. c. 13. Jo. Biclar.

ſhould

A. D. 585. ſhould think proper to declare himſelf. (*a*) Being ſecure from that quarter, he called together all the Arian biſhops that were at his court, and told them, that at length to put an end to that dreadful ſcandal, which a difference in religion had ſo long propagated amongſt his ſubjects, they ought of neceſſity to have a conference with the Catholick biſhops, and that which ever of the two parties ſhould be found weakeſt in proofs, it would unite with the other. And as in the conference all manner of advantage appeared evidently on the Catholick ſide, the king, who was pleaſed to be preſent, added, that beſide the convincing which it received from reaſon, it had likewiſe that of the miracles, which he himſelf had ſeen, and of which the Arians had never wrought one, witneſs that unhappy perſon, whom in the time of the late king they had blinded, by an attempt to work a miracle, and could not afterwards reſtore to his ſight To which not one daring to reply, becauſe the truth of this fact known to all the world was too plain, the king boldly declared himſelf a Catholick, and reſolved publickly to receive the unction of the Holy Chriſm in the name of the adorable Trinity. The Viſigoths, and the Suevi, moved by ſo ſhining an example, afterwards very joyfully did the ſame, (*b*) thro' all Spain, and the Gothick Gaul, who ſent advice of his converſion, inviting the Goths his ſubjects to renounce Arianiſm, as he had done.

But it was impoſſible for ſo great a change to be made, without great obſtacles, over which GOD, by a powerful protection, made this prince triumph with all manner of ſucceſs and Glory. Bildigernus and Granifta, two Counts, or governors of the ſtrong places in the Narboneſe Gaul, (*c*) being ſet on by Athalocus, an Arian Biſhop, ſo furiouſly wedded to his hereſy, that he was generally called Arius, took up arms in defence of the Gothick religion. But GOD ſoon calmed that inſurrection by a blow of his juſtice, and by the ſucceſs wherewith he bleſſed the king's arms. Athalocus, ſeeing that the more he preached for Arianiſm, the more he grew deteſted by the people, who deſerted him, loading him with curſes, and that every one was for the king, and ready to follow his

(*a*) Greg. Tur. l. 9. (*b*) Lower Languedoc, and a ſmall part of the upper.
(*c*) Greg. Tur. Marian.

example

example, conceived so much grief and indignation at it, that, retiring into his chamber, and going to throw himself upon the bed, he fell down dead: And the two Counts, being routed, and taken by the king's lieutenants, by an ignominious punishment, suffered the pains justly due for their rebellion, and the cruelties they had inhumanly exercised upon the Catholicks. (*d*) Thus Septimania, that was still partly under the dominion of the Visigoths, being brought over to the Catholick faith, each of the Gauls was at last entirely freed from Arianism. *A. D.* 585.

There were some insurrections in Spain too, (*e*) excited by the rage of some Arians, who could not bear this alteration. Mausona, being restored to his Archbishoprick of Merida, of which he had been dispossessed by Leuvigildus; Sunna, an Arian Bishop, whom that Prince had put into it, conspired with some other Male-contents to kill him, and with him Duke Claudius, Governour of Lusitania, a strenuous defender of the Catholick faith. But the conspiracy being discovered by him who was to have been chief in the execution of so infamous a treason, the principal authors and the accomplices of this conspiracy were severley punished; and Sunna, who had his choice either of turning or suffering banishment, chose rather to be sent into Africa, than to renounce Arianism.

The conspiracy formed by Queen Gosuinda, was much more dreadful and dangerous. This detestable Arian, to keep her footing at Court, at first had pretended to embrace the Catholick faith (*f*) at the same time the King had declared himself, and prophaning the holy mysteries by a horrible sacrilege privately spit out the Holy Water, which she pretended to receive with respect at the communion. Uldila, an Arian bishop, her confidant, did the same thing too: and as they found it impossible long to carry on the feint without a discovery at last, and that there was no way of restoring Arianism, but by some desperate attempt, they came to the execrable resolution of taking the king off, either by the sword, or poison. But GOD, who took a particular care of the preservation of this prince, whose only thoughts were employed on making him to reign in his kingdom, laid open the conspiracy, which was too mildly punished in that false bishop, by banishment, and which 588.

(*d*) Languedoc. (*e*) Joan. Biclar. Marian. (*f*) Joan. Biclar. in Chron.

A. D. 588. GOD himſelf reſolved to puniſh with greater ſeverity in the miſerable Goſuinda, whom he took out of the world at the ſame time, by a dreadful death, which put an end to the many horrid crimes, ſhe had been guilty of in the advancement of Arianiſm.

In the mean while Recaredus, (*g*) who ſtood in need of peace, for the happy accompliſhment of his work, preſſingly asked it of the kings of France, who had great reaſon to be exaſperated at Indegonda's ill treatment, and Ermenegildus's death. He ſent Ambaſſadors to aſſure them, that far from having any ſhare in ſo unjuſt and barbarous an action, he was even at that time ſenſibly mortify'd at it; aud to inform them that the authors of the crime having died miſerably, they could not with any colour of juſtice revenge it on him, who condemned, and abhorred it more than all the world. Childebert, who was the moſt nearly concerned in revenging it, as brother to Indegonda, was eaſy with his ſatisfaction, and ſome years after, even entred into an alliance with Recaredus, who after the death of Bada his firſt wife, married Clodoſinda, that king's ſiſter. But Gontran, whoſe temper was more ſowered by the loſs of two powerful armies which he had ſent into Septimania, (*h*) a little before Leuvigildus's death, (*i*) ſent a third under the command of Boſon, which was not more ſucceſsful than the others, having been defeated before Carcaſſone by Claudius, king Recaredus's lieutenant. Thus this prince being perfectly ſettled, and in a profound peace, without having occaſion to fear any thing either from abroad or at home, reſolved to put the laſt hand to the grand affair, the converſion of the Viſigoths and Suevi, in the famous third council of Toledo, which he had held in his preſence, the fourth year of his reign.

There came to it about ſeventy biſhops from the ſeveral parts of Spain, and the Narboneſe Gaul, (*k*) under five archbiſhops; Mauſona of Merida, Metropolitan of the province of Luſitania, with four Suffragans; Euphemius of Toledo, Metropolitan of the province of Carthage, with fifteen biſhops his Suffragans; Leander of Seville, Metropolitan of the province of Betica, or Andaluſia,

(*g*) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 1. (*h*) Languedoc. (*i*) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 77. Jo. Biclar. Iſidor. Chron. Marian. (*k*) Iſid. in Chron. Luc. Tud. Marian. Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

with

with nine bishops; Pautardus of Brague, Metropolitan of the province of Galicia, with twelve bishops; and Migotius of Narbonne, Metropolitan of the Gothick Gaul, or Septimania, whose Suffragans, who were present at this council, were Sedatus of Beziers, Sergius of Carcassonne, John bishop of Elne, Agridius of Adge, Agripinus of Lodove, Stephen of Colioure, Genedius Archdeacon for Beotius bishop of Maguelone, and Valerianus vicar-general for Beladius bishop of Nismes. The Metropolitan of the province of Taracona did not appear, either in person, or by proxy, because possibly the see was vacant, but sixteen Suffragans of that province were present. Eight bishops newly converted from Arianism to the Catholick faith, the first of which were those of Barcelona and Valencia, took their places there. The king (accompanied by the queen, and all the greatest Visigoth and Suevian lords) was present at it, robed in purple, with the scepter in his hand, and diadem on his head, (*l*) all which Leuvigildus's father had worn, the first of the Visigoth kings, and their predecessors, not having as yet distinguished themselves by those marks of royalty; and every place was full of an infinite number, of the clergy and laity, who were to have a share in so august a ceremony, by their solemn abjuration. *A. D.* 589.

The first session was held in the beginning of May, in this year five hundred eighty nine, which falls in with the Æra six hundred twenty seven marked in the council, (*m*) conformable to all the other held under king Recaredus, which exactly observe the same Chronology, which I think ought not to be laid aside, as some would, for testimonies less valid. (*n*) This session St. Leander opened with a fine discourse which we have in the same council, and wherein he shews the extraordinary pleasure we should feel at the conversion of so illustrious and powerful a nation, which brought as much ornament and glory to the church, by throwing themselves into her arms, as it had given her sorrow and affliction by persecuting her. After the discourse, the king, who acted in conjunction with St. Leander, said in a composed manner these

(*l*) Marian. (*m*) Isidor. in Chron. Sirmond. t. 1. ad concil. Narbon. (*n*) Potav. de Doct. temp. concil. t. 5. Ed. Paris. Baron. ad an. 391. n. 37. Spond. ibid. n. 12.

A. D. 589. few words to the fathers in the council, "That since GOD had "favoured him so far as to restore liberty to the church, which "the Arian heresy had deprived her of, and to meet together to "settle things necessary for the preservation of the faith and dis- "cipline, he had called them together, that they might, in his "presence, take proper measures against the abuses which had crept "into both of them thro' the unhappiness of the times. But as "the perfecting that work depended upon the divine grace and "favour, that he desired, that, before they engaged therein, they "would implore its assistance by fasting, watching, and prayer, "to the end that it might please GOD to discover unto them, what "they were to re-establish, to repair the losses of the church."

Hereupon the fathers, after great acclamations in thanks to GOD for having inspired their king with so much piety and wisdom, ordered a fast for three days. After which, as soon as they were entered the council on the eighth of May, the king, having begged GOD's assistance by a fervent prayer he offered up with all his bishops, told them, at the same time giving into their hands a writing, "That as Spain had been so long infected with the "Arian heresy, care ought to be taken, above all things, that no- "thing that was not very pure and orthodox should make a part "of the faith, which she embraced as well as himself. That he "had therefore given them his belief in that memorial, which he "would have read publickly, to the end that if the council ap- "proved it, there might be no other faith over all his dominions "than that, which would signalize the glory of his reign through- "out the world." Upon which the bishops having ordered that paper to be read, the secretary of the council read it with an unparallel'd attention of every body present. This confession of faith, still to be seen to this day in the acts of the council, contains a sincere protestation which this prince made of his acknowledging the obligation he was under, as king, to procure the eternal welfare of his subjects, by the knowledge of the true faith, which he lays down, with admirable exactness, on the mystery of the most holy Trinity. He says, "That the illustrious nation of the Goths, "so celebrated all over the world, and that of the Suevi, who now "make but one people, under the same king, after remaining so "long in the darkness of error, and separated from the Catholick "church,

" church, now hold the same faith with him, to which GOD had " been so gracious as to recall them. That he offers them as a sacri- " fice to GOD with a sincere heart and affection, by the hands of " the council to whom it belongs to instruct them in the truths " they ought to believe, not doubting in the least but JESUS " CHRIST, according to his promise, would be present in the " midst of this holy assembly, to conduct it by his holy spirit, " and that it is for this reason that he gives them this publick ac- " count of his belief." After this he anathematizes Arius, together with all his doctrines and partizans, and all the conventicles set up against the holy council of Nice, which he embraces, as those of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; he afterwards adds the Creeds of the two former, and the abridgment of the Tenets of the two latter, and at the bottom his name, and that of queen Bada, protesting that That was the faith they really hold in their hearts, confess with their mouths, and which they have signed with their own hands. A. D 589.

The reading that paper was no sooner over, than all the council, as by a sudden impulse of the Holy Ghost, cried out with one voice, " Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only " GOD, who procures peace and unity to his church; Glory be to " JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who by his precious blood has form- " ed the Catholick church out of all nations, and brought back so " illustrious a people to the unity of the faith, to make but one " fold under one shepherd. To whom will GOD give an immortal " crown if not to king Recaredus truly Catholick? " After these exclamations, one of the Catholick bishops, by authority of the council and the king's desire, asked the bishops and all the rest of the new converts, what they condemned, and what they confessed, telling them it was proper for them to make a confession of it, that their conversion might appear sincere. Whereupon they presented a paper wherein in twenty three articles they condemned by as many curses all those who should maintain any of the doctrines of Arianism, and the book made to instruct those who were perverted to it in them, and likewise the pretended council of Rimini: They to this subjoined a confession of faith exactly conformable to that of the king. And that writing was signed by the bishops, priests, and deacons, and principal officers and magistrates

A. D. 589. ſtrates of the Goths and Suevi, who had been converted from Arianiſm, to the Catholick faith.

This being performed to the wonderful ſatisfaction of Recaredus, it was his pleaſure that the fathers ſhould apply themſelves to the regulation of diſcipline and manners, which they did in three and twenty canons, of which the ſecond which the king himſelf had propoſed to the council, orders that in all the Spaniſh churches, and in thoſe of Galicia, during the ſacrifice of the maſs, before the Lord's Prayer be ſaid, and the communion given, the people, according to the uſage of the Eaſtern churches, ſhould with a loud voice ſing the ſymbol of Conſtantinople, that they might publickly declare the faith they held, and that having purified their heart by faith, they ſhould receive the precious body and blood of JESUS CHRIST. And by the fifth, it is decreed, that the deacons, prieſts, and biſhops, who, ſince their converſion from Arianiſm to the Catholick faith, ſtill kept their wives, ſhould be ſeparated from them, and no more cohabit together: Which ſhews that the Arian biſhops and prieſts were for marriage, as the Lutherans ſtill are, and that hereſy ſeldom can put up with continence.

Things being brought to ſo happy a concluſion, the king ſubſcribed to the council firſt, ſetting, before his own name, That of *Flavius*, which he took the firſt of any of the Gothick kings, and which thoſe of Lombardy alſo aſſumed almoſt at the ſame time, in order to acquire more reſpect, by the majeſty of a name, which the Roman Emperors, and eſpecially the family of the great Conſtantine, had formerly made ſo famous. The Metropolitans ſubſcribed after the king, and then all the biſhops, according to the order of time; and as there were churches, as thoſe of Tudes and Lugo, in which king Leuvigildus, having turned out the Catholick biſhops, had placed Arians, they thought fit to preſerve to them, who had been converted, the title and dignity of biſhops, (*o*) and the right of being preſent at the council, notwithſtanding that the Catholick biſhops were reſtored to their ſees, which is the reaſon, that in the names ſubſcribed to the council, there are found two biſhops to the ſame church. Recaredus then publiſhed an edict, whereby he orders all his ſubjects of the Clergy and Laity, under

(*o*) Garſias. Louiſa.

great

great pains, inviolably to observe the decrees of the holy council, and to conclude the solemnity of so glorious a festival, having made strict search for all Arian books, he had a great fire made of them, (*p*) in the great square of Toledo, to the glory of the Son of GOD, triumphing over Arianism. *A. D.* 589.

As St. Gregory the Great was shortly after elected pope, St. Leander his intimate friend did not fail writing to him, to give him an account of the glorious actions of Recaredus, and of the hearty conversion of the Visigoths. (*q*) The holy Pontif in his answer expresses the extreme joy he felt, and conjures him to apply himself with extraordinary care, to induce the king to bring to perfection a work so conducive to the glory of GOD, by a piety of life agreeable to his faith. And being consulted upon the manner of conferring baptism, some being for dipping him that was baptized three times in the Font; others but once; he answers, that tho' either way might be used, to shew either the unity of Essence, or the Trinity of the persons, according to the difference of customs, which do not hinder the unity of faith; however, because the Arians dipped three times, thereby to express that they acknowledged three natures in the Trinity, that it was better for the future to be satisfied with one single immersion, in order to stand at the greatest distance possible from those hereticks, who might draw an advantage from following their custom. 590. 591.

Soon after king Recaredus sent ambassadors to Rome with magnificent presents, to acknowledge St. Gregory in quality of sovereign Pontif and vicar of JESUS CHRIST upon earth. This embassy was unsuccessful at first; the ambassadors were very near being lost at sea, and having run thro' great dangers, were at last thrown by a tempest upon the coasts of Spain, from whence they did not depart till long after. However at last they arrived, and presented the king's presents to the apostle St. Peter, and to the pope, amongst which were golden vases for the use of the Basilica of the holy apostle, three hundred suits of cloths for the poor who were maintained out of the revenues of the church. (*r*) St. Gregory answered this liberality, by very instructive and af-

(*p*) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 77. (*q*) Greg. l. 1. Epist. 41. (*r*) Greg. l. 7. Epist. 126. Isid. 2.

fectionate

A. D. 599. fectionate letters, and little preſents to excite devotion, worthy of ſuch a Pope, and ſuch a king, to whom he ſent a croſs of gold, with part of that of the Saviour of the world, and ſome hairs of St. John Baptiſt, to the end (as he writes) that he might at all times from thence draw the aſſiſtance and comfort he ought to hope from JESUS CHRIST, by the interceſſion of his Bleſſed Forerunner. He added, according to his cuſtom, two golden keys, ſanctified by touching the tomb and body of St. Peter, one of which had enclos'd in it a ſmall piece of the iron of his chains. Thus the renunciation of hereſy in the ſixth century, ſoon introduced thoſe holy cuſtoms which we now-a-days follow in the Catholick church, as adoring the croſs, reverencing the relicks of Saints, imploring their interceſſion, and paying obedience to the Pope, as head of the univerſal church. It is what Recaredus, the firſt Catholick king of Spain, practiſed, who after his converſion perpetually applied himſelf to make JESUS CHRIT reign throughout all Spain, (*s*) with more glory and ſucceſs than any of his predeceſſors had done, which at laſt made him conclude a moſt glorious life by a moſt pious death, at Toledo, in the ſixteenth year of his reign.

He was a Prince, who had nothing in an ordinary degree, but all the ſhining qualities to be deſired in a king, whether for peace or war. He was well made, graceful, of a ſtrong complexion, ready, active, vigilant, wiſe, brave, always ſucceſsful, always victorious in battle, both within and without his kingdom, againſt the Greeks, and Biſcayans his rebels, whom he ſubdued, making peace to flouriſh throughout his whole dominions. And by a wonderful alliance, which he had the art of making between the civil and military virtues, he was the man in the world who had the greateſt goodneſs, and ſweetneſs of temper, in his eyes, in his ſpeech, in his manner of treating even the meaneſt of his ſubjects, by whom he was incredibly beloved; to conclude, always liberal, always magnificent, without making any advantage of the immenſe treaſures his father had heap'd up, and which, ſoon after his death, he caus'd to be diſtributed amongſt the churches, and private perſons, who he thought had ſuffered any way in their eſtates, during the perſecution; tender to his people, whom he eaſed of a great part of the taxes they owed

(*s*) Iſidor.

him

him; compaſſionate towards the poor, on whom he laviſhed what remained to him over and above his expences which were very regular, being uſed to ſay, that he was a king only to do good to his ſubjects. In ſhort, his uncle St. Leander gave ſo fine a character of him in a letter to pope Gregory, (*t*) that That great man anſwered him, that he was charmed with the picture, and that he muſt needs heartily love ſo amiable a prince, without having known him any otherwiſe, than by this idea, which Leander, who muſt have been a judge of mankind, had given him of him. But after all, amidſt ſo many perfections, there is none that comes up to the extraordinary zeal he had for the Catholick faith, and the converſion of his people; (*u*) and it may be ſaid, that if St. Ermenegildus was the ſeed, which, falling upon the earth, and dying by his Martyrdom, bore fruit much beyond an hundred fold; his brother Recaredus was the labourer, who carefully cultivated the ground, to make it ſhoot forth and ripen, to gather the harveſt, and bring it into the church, as into the repoſitory of GOD the father of the Goſpel family; ſo that after the third council of Toledo he may be called by a more glorious name than that of king, the apoſtle of the Suevi and the Goths, whom he ſo throughly converted, that Arianiſm after that time never had any footing in Spain. But it was not ſo in Italy, which having been freed from the dominion of the Arians, fell into a more cruel captivity than the former, as I ſhall now ſhew, deducing the matter from its original. *A. D.* 599.

(*t*) Greg. mag. l. 1. c. 41. (*u*) Greg. mag. 3. Dial. c. 31.

The End of the XI^th BOOK

THE HISTORY OF ARIANISM.

BOOK XII.

THE people of Italy not having as yet received the full punishment of their sins under the tyranny of the Ostrogoths and Eruli, were fifteen years after subdued to the power of other Arians, who proved more inhuman to them than the first, through the revenge and fury of the very man who had just delivered them out of their bonds. Narses after having expelled the Goths, and reduced all Italy to the obedience of the Emperor, was made governor of that country, which he justly deserved as a reward for so many victories: But having an insatiable thirst after riches, he drained the Romans of their money, which induced them to make grievous complaints to the Emperor *A. D.* 567.

A. D. 567. who had succeeded Justinian, (*a*) and by the means of the Empress Sophia, who was an enemy to Narses, prevailed on the Emperor to take the government from him, and send Longinus in his place. It is even reported that the Empress, as a designed affront, sent him word that it was time for him to come back to Constantinople, in order to pass the remainder of his days in the palace, where he should be employed in spinning amongst the women in their apartment, as it well became his condition; and that Narses, who was highly provoked at this insulting message, sent her back this answer, that he would soon spin a cloth for her, which neither her husband nor she should ever be able to rend. Hereupon he retired to Naples, and sent to Alboinus king of the Lombards, then in Pannonia, pressing him instantly to undertake the conquest of Italy, which, he represented to him, might be easily compleated, in the condition it was then in, without any army to oppose his forces.

These people about forty years before had passed the Danube with other nations, (*b*) and entred Pannonia, where the Romans assigned them lands, and even gave them troops to defend them against the Gepidi, whom they defeated in several engagements. The Lombards likewise assisted the Romans against the Goths, and Narses brought with him about seven or eight thousand of them into Italy, who fought for him against Totila. But as they made dreadful devastations, and committed most horrible Sacrileges where-ever they passed, he found means, under the pretence of the war's being at an end, to send them back well satisfied, after having generously distributed large sums of money to them, over and above their pay. Of all the people that were come out of the North, the Lombards were the most fierce, after the Huns, with whom they had contracted an intimate friendship: and as to their religion, tho' there were a great number of Pagans amongst them, who worshipped the head of a goat, they nevertheless were for the most part Arians, and had their churches, and bishops, and were baptised after the Arian manner. (*c*) They were governed at

(*a*) Paul. Var. l. 2. de Gest. Longob. c. 5. Anast. Bibl. in Joan. 3. (*b*) Paul. Var nef. de Gest. Longob. l. 2. c. 7. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 3. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 4. (*c*) Greg. Dial. l. 3. c. 28.

this

this time by Alboinus, the moſt powerful king amongſt them, who had rendered himſelf famous for his eminent qualifications, and the victories which he had gained, chiefly over the Gepidi, whoſe whole nation he almoſt deſtroyed, (*d*) after having killed their king Cunimondus in battle, and taken his daughter Roſimond priſoner, whom he married after the death of Clodoſuinda, his firſt wife, who was daughter to Clotaire, king of France, *A. D.* 567.

This French princeſs was a lady of great virtue; and we have to this day the fine Elogium which Nicetus, biſhop of Treves, made of her in the excellent letter that he wrote to her, wherein he exhorts her, (*e*) in a moſt zealous manner, to uſe her utmoſt endeavours towards the converſion of her husband, who was at that time in Pannonia. It plainly appears by that Epiſtle that this Prince was then an Arian: For this biſhop, ſpeaking to the queen, ſaith, "That he cannot conceive how it is poſſible that a "King ſo renowned in the world and ſo highly reſpected by all "the other Princes, and even by the Emperour, for his extraordi- "nary virtues, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus wretchedly ſeduced "by thoſe who part the ſon of GOD from his Father, and would "have us to worſhip two GODS, the one ſupreme, and the other "ſubordinate. And therefore he conjured her in the moſt preſſing terms, to give all imaginable attention to his letter, and to read it often to the King, in order that he might find therein the conviction of his error by thoſe expreſs paſſages of ſcripture which plainly prove the unity of eſſence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. To this he added the undeniable teſtimony of ſo many miracles that were daily wrought in the preſence even of thoſe very Lombards, who were ſent by Alboinus to the ſepulchres of St. Martin, St. Germain, St. Hilary and St. Remigius, thoſe glorious defenders of the Trinity of the three perſons in the unity of their eſſence, againſt the impiety of the Arians; then he concludes his letter, with the example of the great Clovis, who embraced the Catholick faith, by the perſuaſion of Clotilda, great grandmother to the queen. And as this prince was a perſon of ſublime wit and learning he did not recant till he was firſt perfectly convinced of the truth, which he had no ſooner confeſſed

(*d*) Paul. Varn. de Geſt. Longob. l. 1. c. 27. (*e*) Serm. t. 1. Conc. Gall. tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

but

A. D. 567. but he gained several glorious victories over Alaricus, and Gondeband, who were both Arian kings. This letter having made a deep impression on Clodosuinda, who by inheritance from Clotilda professed an extraordinary zeal for her religion, used her utmost endeavours to convert the king to the Catholick religion; but as she happened soon after to die, and that the Princess Rosimond, who assumed her place, was an Arian, and far inferior both in merit and virtue to the deceased queen, Alboinus continued in his error, without being bigotted to his opinion; because his thoughts being chiefly employed in gratifying his ambition, he was not at all sollicitous about enquiring into the true religion.

This was the king to whom Narses in his anger applyed, in order to be revenged of the Emperor Justinus, and the Empress Sophia, by reducing Italy to the wretched condition, from which he had just delivered it. (*f*) I am sensible that some persons, to clear this great man of so culpable an action, have endeavoured to make this history pass for a fiction upon what is written by Corippus, an African poet of those days, in a poem which he made in praise of Justinus, wherein he says, that in the first year of his empire, Narses was at Constantinople; and that he held one of the highest ranks in the Emperor's court when he gave audience to the Ambassadors of the Avari, who were a particular people amongst the Huns, so called after their king whose name was Avarus. (*g*) But these authors have not observed that there were two or three of the Narses very different from each other, as it is mentioned by Procop; and that this Narses, whom Corrippus speaks of, being a young Querry, as he describes him, (*b*) of a noble shape and mien, richly clothed, and having a fine head of hair, could not be that same Narses, who was so great a general: for this was an old Eunuch, whose face was at this time full of wrincles.

Therefore, as I have no room to confute, as to this particular, the author of the history of the Lombardi, tho' he only wrote since the time of Charlemagne, I shall refer to what he says, it being very common to see the greatest men give themselves up to the most abominable extravagancies, out of revenge, which is cer-

(*f*) Baron. ad ann. 567. n. 11. (*g*) Vid. Petav. Ration. p. 1. l. 7. c. 10.
(*b*) Comptus Cæsarie, formaque insignis & ore Aureus omnis erat,

tainly

tainly a passion they are very subject to, and which they ought to be the more aware of. It is true that they sometimes do reclaim: But that often happens after the evil is over, and when it is too late to be retrieved. This was the case with the unfortunate Narses; for John the third, bishop of Rome, (*i*) fearing the fatal consequences of his resentment, went himself to him at Naples, and urged such powerful arguments with him, that he prevailed on him to return to Rome. But the fatal blow was already given in Italy, and Narses died soon after, perhaps with grief to see himself no longer able to remedy those evils which he had promoted. For Alboinus, who was a prince of great valour, but yet of greater ambition, readily received Narses's proposals, and, far from giving him time to repent of his conduct, he immediately departed out of those lands which he possessed in Pannonia, leaving them in the hands of his good friends the Huns; and marched through the Julian Alps, into Italy with a most formidable army, composed not only of the Lombards, but also of an infinite number of other Barbarians whom he adopted, (*k*) and chiefly twenty thousand Saxons, who joined him with their wives and children, in order to become inhabitants of Italy with the Lombards, after the conquest of that country which was to be divided amongst them. *A. D.* 567.

As the Roman garrisons were at that time very weak, (*l*) and there was no army in the field to oppose this furious inundation of Barbarians, Alboinus first invaded the Triouli, and Istria, with the whole country of the Venetians, as far as Mantua, where the Lombards began to commit those dreadful desolations which, like those of Jerusalem, were foretold, (as we are informed) (*m*) by flying armies which were seen fighting in the air; and which St. Gregory the great does so often bewail in his epistles. Nevertheless Alboinus, who was not so inhuman as his people, endeavoured in some manner to moderate their cruel inclinations, in order to acquire the reputation of a merciful and generous prince, and by that means insinuate himself into the minds of the Italians. For Felix, bishop of Trevisa, being come to meet him on the borders of the river Plavis, (*n*) humbly to beseech him that he would not

(*i*) Anast. Biblioth. in Joan. 3. (*k*) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 6. (*l*) Id. lib. 6. cap. 9. (*m*) Greg. Homil. 1. in Evang. l. 4. Epist. 34. lib. 11. Epist. 43. (*n*) Piavo.

destroy

A. D. 568. deſtroy the lands belonging to his church, he readily granted him his requeſt, *(o)* and immediately ordered his ſecretary to draw up ſuch a writing as might ſerve him for a protection. After this Alboinus took Vicenza and Verona; then marching along the borders of the Po, *(p)* into the plains of the Inſubrians, and Ligurians, he entered into Milan, and made himſelf maſter of all the other towns, excepting thoſe which lay on the ſea ſide [illegible]r which he laid ſiege before Pavia, which was the ſtrongeſt of [illegible]em all, and the only place that ventured to oppoſe his conqueſt. But leaſt it ſhould prevent his forces from being ſucceſsful in other parts, he only left part of his army there, which kept it blocked up during the ſpace of three years; and in the mean while with the reſt, he conquered the greateſt part of Italy, which, being exhauſted by the former wars, and deſtroyed by the Plague and Famine that had almoſt unpeopled it, was not able to make any reſiſtance. *(q)* So that, excepting Rome, Ravenna, and a few forts ſituated on the ſea ſhore, which remained as yet in the hands of the Grecians, all were forced to yield and ſubmit themſelves to the power of the Lombards. After which Alboinus returned victorious to the ſiege of Pavia, which was at laſt delivered up to him.

569.

It is reported that, as he was entring that city, after having made a cruel vow that he would put all the inhabitants to the ſword for having reſiſted ſo long, his horſe fell under him, and that all his endeavours could not make him riſe again, till a nobleman, who was a Lombard and a Catholick, having repreſented to him in moſt humble terms, how unjuſt it would be to deſtroy a brave nation, who profeſſed the true Chriſtian religion, he immediately revoked his vow, and afterwards, being entered the town, and come to the noble Palace of Theodoricus, he there, with all the humanity imaginable, received the people who came to acknowledge him for their maſter. Thus the Grecian Emperours were for ever deprived of their Italian dominions, which were all ſubdued by the Lombards, excepting only a few towns that were governed by Prefects, who were ſent thither from Conſtantinople, and who from that time were called *Exarqui*, or lieutenants of Ravenna;

(o) Paul. ibid. c. 9. (p) The Milaneze and Piemont. (q) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 26.

venna; who, not being powerful enough to drive out their enemies, were so covetous and inhuman, that their own people suffered more hardships under them, than from the government of the Lombards. But Alboinus did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories, for being one day overcome by wine in an entertainment, he barbarously ordered some to be given to queen Rosimonda in a cup which was made out of the skull of king Cunimondus, Father to that Princess; who conceived so great an indignation and hatred to him, that she caused him to be murdered by one of her Querry's, whom she afterwards married, and retired with him to Ravenna, where she was received by the Exarch Longinus. And this lieutenant having sollicited her to make away with her new husband, she one day attempted to poison him, which the latter perceiving, after he had swallowed part of the liquor, he forced her, with a dagger pointed at her breast, to drink what was left in the cup, and thus they punished each other for their most execrable crime. *A. D.* 571. 572.

After the death of Alboinus, the Lombards chose Clephis for their king, as the most qualified person amongst them for that dignity. He was proclaimed at Pavia; but this Prince being murdered about eighteen months after, by one of his attendants, there was an interregnum that lasted ten years, during which time, thirty five of the chief noblemen, having divided the Provinces amongst them, and the towns which Alboinus had conquered, they by degrees subdued all Italy. But as they neither had the merit nor good nature of Alboinus, and were no longer kept in awe by his presence and authority, it proved that, instead of one Tyrant, who was in some manner tolerable, there were thirty five Tyrants, who exercised all kind of cruelties and sacrileges throughout Italy, plundering and burning the churches, murdering the priests, and destroying whole cities. They put all to fire and sword, and persecuted the Catholicks with so much fury, that St. Gregory, who was eye-witness to part of this inhuman persecution, compares it to that of the Nero's and the Diocletian's. It is true indeed that Rome, (*r*) (by the special protection of GOD, who was satisfied with the punishment it had undergone in the time of the

(*r*) Greg. l. 7. Ep. 23.

A. D. 574. Goths) did not fall into the power of the Lombards; (*s*) and the biſhops, by means of conſiderable ſums of money, which from time to time they diſtributed amongſt theſe Barbarians, purchaſed their freedom with that of the church and city. Yet this did not prevent them from carrying their fury to the very gates of Rome, where they committed moſt horrible devaſtations on the churches, and other burying-places that were conſecrated to the memory of holy martyrs.

It was alſo at this very time that GOD, in order to ſoften the hearts of the Barbarians, and teſtify the truth of that religion which they ſo cruelly perſecuted in thoſe who profeſſed it, wrought thoſe mighty miracles which St. Gregory gives us an account of in his diologues, as having been related to him by thoſe who were eye-witneſs of them. He ſays, that at Spoleto an Arian biſhop, (*t*) having attempted to ſeize by main force the church of St. Paul, whoſe doors had been ſhut againſt him; they ſuddenly opened of themſelves, juſt as he was giving orders to his people to break them open; and that at the ſame time there appeared an extraordinary light as a flaſh of lightning from heaven, which lighted the lamps, and ſtruck that impious man blind, whoſe puniſhment was ſo great a ſurprize to the Lombards, (tho' it neither opened their hearts, nor converted them) that they did not dare afterwards to moleſt the Catholicks in that city. It is alſo reported that, in the town of Nurſia, a ſoldier having lifted up his arm in the preſence of the Lombards, (*u*) in order to behead the holy prieſt Servulus, it became motionleſs, and he could not recover the uſe of it, till he had firſt taken an oath to this pious man that he never would kill any Catholick; which wonderful incident obliged the Lombards to deliver up to him all the captives they had made according to his requeſt. (*x*) St. Gregory likewiſe ſays, that in the Abruzzo, a man who cut off the head of a Deacon, had no ſooner done the act, but he fell at his feet, before all the people, and was more cruelly tormented by the evil ſpirits, to whom divine juſtice delivered him up, than he could have been by all the executioners in the univerſe: (*y*) Beſides, there were two holy monks whom

(*s*) Greg. l. 3. Ep. 34. (*t*) Greg. l. 3. Dial. c. 29. (*u*) Id. l. 3. c. 37.
(*x*) Id. l. 4. c. 23. (*y*) Ibid. l. 4. c. 12.

theſe

these impious men, after having plundered their monastery, had hanged up to a tree, that were heard, by the Lombards, as also by all the prisoners who were then present, to sing psalms that very night in a plain and distinct voice, as they used to do in the Choir. *A. D.* 574.

But tho' all these miracles caused an admiration in the Barbarians, and suspended for a time the fury of the Arians, who would not attempt any more to pervert the Catholicks, (z) nevertheless they did not inspire them with better sentiments. For during this cruel interregnum, as the dissolution of the Barbarians could not be suppressed by the supreme authority of a king, they continued more than ever their devastations throughout Italy, and spared neither churches nor monasteries, but often marched up to the very gates of Rome, and most perfidiously destroyed all the neighbouring country, contrary to the promise and oath which they had given to Pelagius the second, bishop of Rome, of whom they had received considerable sums of money, and who at that time was using fruitless endeavours, by the means of St. Gregory his legate, to obtain the assistance of the Emperor Tiberius. After having thus laid all Italy waste, they were even so bold as to pass the Alps, and march into Provence where they defeated the army of Amatus, (a) governor of the province for king Gontranus, and caused great desolations throughout the country, with no other design but that of returning into Italy loaded with plunder, which they accordingly did. But having afterwards attempted to do the same in Dauphine, they were defeated in three different battles, where a most horrible slaughter was made of them near Ambrun and Valence, by the famous general Mummolus, lieutenant to Gontranus; (b) And Amon, one of the dukes of the Lombards, who had marched along the sea-side up to the Rhone, being informed of this disaster, and finding himself overtaken by the snow, with great difficulty made his escape, with a small body of horse, leaving the remainder of his army, with their baggage and plunder to the discretion of the conqueror. 582.

But at last the disorders, which were occasioned amongst the Lombards by this Anarchy, the losses which they had suffered in

(z) Greg. lib. 3. cap. 28. (a) Pelag. l. 1. Ep. 5. Paul. Diac. lib. 3. c. 1, 3, 4, 5. (b) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 29.

A. D. 582. France, and the fear they were in of being invaded by the French, (*c*) compelled them to put an end to this interregnum, which would have proved fatal to their empire. For the emperor Mauricius, who had succeeded Tiberius in the year five hundred and eighty two, being dissatisfied that the Lombards should keep Italy in their possession, and not having power enough to drive them out, prevailed on Childebert king of Austrasia to be concerned with him in this war, in consideration whereof he advanced him the 584. sum of fifty thousand crowns in gold. The Lombards, who were afraid of being oppressed by so potent an enemy, if their forces should continue divided, as they were at that time, amongst so many little principalities, (*d*) assembled at Pavia, in order to re-establish a monarchy; and there, with the general consent of their nation, they placed Autharis on the throne, who was the son of Clephis their last king. This young Prince, who was then in the prime of his age, was very beautiful, and had a majestick air, which easily distinguished him from the rest of the Lombard Noblemen. He was by nature brave, enterprizing, and active, yet withal wise, and artful; and a man of sobriety and moderation, who, in short, had nothing of a Barbarian in him but the bare name, which he resolved to soften by adding to it that of Flavius, which his successors, likewise assumed after him, as the kings of the Visigoths had also done before in Spain. He soon made it appear, by his merit, that he was deserving of the choice they had made, and that his virtues would be the support of his dignity. For whereas all things, before his accession to the crown, were in a most dreadful confusion, under the dominion of those thirty five little arbitrary Tyrants, who practised a continued Series of injustice and extortion, he in a very short time restored all things to so good an order throughout all the whole dominions of the Lombards, (*e*) that his laws being punctually observed, and his authority respected, the people enjoyed a perfect tranquility, which they had been strangers to till then.

In the beginning of his reign he performed an act of piety more suitable to the character of a Catholick, than an Arian. A sol-

(*c*) Vide. Pot. Rat. Temp. l. 7. c. 9. contra Chron. l. Baron. Paul. Diac. l. 17.
(*d*) Id. c. 16. (*e*) Paul. Varn. l. 3. c. 8. Aimoin. l. 3. c. 38.

dier

dier of the Lombards, who was an Arian, having found one of thoſe little golden keys, (*f*) which the biſhops of Rome were uſed in thoſe days to diſtribute to ſome people who kept it, in honour of St. Peter, whoſe tomb they had touched, was going to cut it into pieces for ſome particular uſe, tho' he very well knew the veneration that was paid to it. But as he had taken out his knife in order to execute his ſacrilegious deſign, he was ſuddenly poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit, who ſtuck him into the throat with it. So that he fell dead on the ſpot with the key lying by him. There immediately came a vaſt number of ſpectators to ſee this ſtrange accident, and the king himſelf being informed of it, was reſolved to enquire into the cauſe; but finding the little key which was known to be of the kind, I mentioned, this unaccountable puniſhment ſtruck ſo much terror into the minds of the Arians, that were preſent, that nobody dared to take it off the ground, leſt the like judgment ſhould befall them from the hand off GOD. But a Lombard, who was a good Catholick and a pious man, and whoſe name was Minulphus, being ſent for, he took up this key with great reſpect, and preſented it to the king, who cauſed another key to be made upon the ſame model, and ſent them both in a ſolemn manner to Pelagius, biſhop of Rome, with an account of this wonderful accident which occaſioned theſe ſort of keys to be held in great veneration afterwards. *A. D.* 584.

This was the ſame miraculous key which St. Gregory the Great ſent ſome time after to Theotiſtus, (*g*) and Andrew, two noblemen at Conſtantinople, who were men of eminent virtues, and governors to the young princes, the ſons of the Emperor Mauricius, and had ſent him (*b*) thirty pounds weight in gold for the redemption of captives. He thought he could not acknowledge their charity in a more meritorious manner, than by ſending to them, as a preſent, this key, which having touched St. Peter's Tomb, and ſome of the filings of his Irons, that were contained in it, was become ſo precious. He likewiſe gives them a full account in his epiſtle, of the ſurpriſing puniſhment that befell the Arian ſoldier who was going to deſtroy it.

In the mean while, Childebert, having raiſed a powerful army ſufficient to invade all Italy, paſſed the Alps without oppoſition, and

(*f*) Greg. magn. l. 6. Ep. 23. Id. l. 1. Ep. 25. 29 (*g*) Greg. Ibid. Ep. ad Theotiſ.
(*b*) about three thouſand four hundred Crowns.

marched

A. D. 585. marched directly into the provinces of the Ligurians, and Insubrians, (*i*) situated on the borders of the Po, then inhabited by the Lombards. But Autharis, who had not been able to muster up forces enough to resist so potent an enemy, found means by a political scheme to avoid the storm. For having sent all his troops into the fortified towns, with the provisions that were in the country, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to Childebert with magnificent presents, and a considerable sum of money, offering at the same time to pay tribute to him, and to serve him faithfully on all occasions. Childebert, who perceived that if he were obliged to attack every place, the one after the other, it would cause a tedious war, and he might run the hazard of losing the best part of his troops, by reason of the intemperance of the Climate and want of provisions, was satisfied with conditions that were advantagious to him; so marched away with the money which he had received of Autharis, who only wanted to divert the present danger. Some authors (*k*) have reported that Childebert left Italy only with a design to go into Spain, in order to revenge the death of Ermenegildus, which he did by the total defeat of the army of Leuvigildus. But Gregory of Tours, (*l*) who was the Historian of those days, and related those things which he was eyewitness to, positively affirms, that he indeed had a design to march with his army into Spain, but that he altered his mind, and and did not go thither. Sometime after, Childebert, finding that 587. Autharis had only trifled with him, and being again urgently sol- 588. licited by the Emperor to perform his promise, (*m*) he renewed the 589. war against the Lombards, and entred Italy three times with but little success. For what with the divisions which arose between the French, and the Germans his subjects, and the sickness and famine that infected that country, he lost the greatest part of his men. Besides, he fought a famous battle against Autharis, wherein his whole army was almost cut to pieces; the time appointed for the destruction of the empire of the Lombards not being as yet at hand, according to the designs of GOD who reserved that conquest for the emperor Charlemain.

(*i*) Piemont and Lombardy. (*k*) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 28. Dupleix. (*l*) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 24. (*m*) Paul. Var. nef. lib. 3. c. 22. Greg. Turon. lib. 10. c. 3. Paul. c. 32. Greg. Tur. lib. 9. c. 25. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 30.

In

In the mean time Autharis, who was proud of this extraordinary *A. D.*
succeſs, run over all Italy, and having taken Benevento, which 589.
was then in the poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts, (*n*) he appointed a lieutenant for the government of that place, then marched into the extremities of Calabria, where the whole country ſubmitted to his government without the leaſt reſiſtance. He had propoſed a peace with Childebert, upon condition that he ſhould have his ſiſter Clodoſinda for a wife, which accordingly was promiſed him; (*o*) But Childebert receded from his word, in order to marry her to king Recaredus, (*p*) whoſe alliance was more honourable and advantageous, and after this refuſal Autharis having gained the great victory already mentioned, which gave him ſo great reputation in the world, he himſelf went diſguiſed into Bavaria, to make his addreſſes to the Princeſs Theodelinda, daughter to king Garibandus, whom he married. This proved an admirable inſtance of divine providence, who deſigned by the means of this Princeſs to extirpate Arianiſm from the kingdom of the Lombards, at the very time that Autharis, who was abſolute maſter of his dominions, was endeavouring to eſtabliſh it. For this prince, finding that many of the Lombards were daily converted to the Catholick Faith, through the care and diligence of the biſhops of Italy, who made it their buſineſs to inſtruct them, and lay open the errors and 590.
blaſphemies of Arianiſm, he publiſhed an edict, (*q*) ſometime before Eaſter, whereby it was forbidden to all Lombards to baptiſe their children according to the form of the Catholick church, with ſtrict orders that the form of the Arians ſhould only be obſerved in baptiſm, by which means he propoſed to maintain the whole nation of the Lombards in the hereſy of their Anceſtors. But GOD, who had reſolved on the converſion of theſe people; ſoon ſet aſide this obſtacle which only proceeded from the impiety of Autharis, for he died in this ſame year at Pavia on the fifth of September, after having reigned ſix years. (*r*) Queen Theodelinda, who was a Princeſs of eminent virtues, and very religious in the Catholick faith, had rendered herſelf ſo agreeable to all the Lombard noble-

(*n*) Paul. Varn. l. 9. c. 33. (*o*) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 25. (*p*) Paul. Varn. lib 3. c. 29. & 31. Marian. l. 5. c. 13. (*q*) Greg. lib. 1. Epiſt. 17. (*r*) Paul. Diac. l. 3. cap. 35.

men,

A. D. 590. men, by her wiſe conduct, that as the deceaſed king had left no children, they acknowledged her for their ſovereign, and would admit of no other king, unleſs it were one of her chuſing, who, by an alliance with her, might be intitled to the throne.

Whilſt the queen was taking time to reſolve on a choice of that importance, (*s*) ſhe ſent ambaſſadors to Childebert, to whom the late king her husband had likewiſe ſent before his death propoſals of a peace, (*t*) which ſhe obtained more readily than he could have done, provided ſhe would pay him a ſmall yearly tribute, which was ſoon after redeemed. And in the mean while, having fixed her reſolution, amongſt all the Noblemen of the Lombards, ſhe choſe Agilulph, duke of Turine for her husband. He was a Prince of great valour and virtue, his perſon was beautiful and majeſtick, and the glorious actions which he had performed in the wars, as well as his extraction from royal blood, all theſe, I ſay, ſufficiently intitled him to her choice. She married him at Pavia, in the month of November, and cauſed him to be crowned at Milan, where the whole nation was aſſembled, who received him with a general applauſe. This alliance gave a great deal of ſatisfaction to St. Gregory, who was promoted to the Pontificate in the ſame year. As he knew the merit and virtue of queen Theodelinda, he was convinced that ſhe would approve of the endeavours he was then going to uſe, in order to retrieve the evil which had been occaſioned by the edict of Autharis; he therefore wrote an excellent epiſtle to all the biſhops of Italy, (*u*) wherein he exhorts them to uſe their utmoſt power, in order to convert the Lombards, who were in their dioceſes, to the Catholick faith, and to endeavour diligently to reconcile thoſe to the church, who at the laſt ſolemnity of Eaſter, had been baptized after the Arian manner, according to the edict of the late king. This holy biſhop was of opinion, that ſo religious a queen, to whom the king her husband was indebted for the crown, would take proper meaſures to prevent him from following the ſentiments of his predeceſſor, and maintaining his ordinances againſt the Catholicks. And indeed he was not miſtaken in his notion, for Theodelinda on her

(*s*) Ibid. (*t*) Aimoin. l. 4. cap. 7. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 33. (*u*) Greg. Magn. l. 1. Ep. 17.

part

part performed much more than St. Gregory could have expected, *A. D.* She knew ſo well how to make uſe of the power ſhe had over the 590. king her husband, that, after having inſtructed him in the myſteries of the Catholick faith, ſhe perſwaded him to make a publick confeſſion of it, in ſpite of that weak and fatal policy which often hinders princes, (*x*) out of an abject fear of their ſubjects, from adhering openly to that truth, which they had ſecretly acknowledged. So that we may ſay that if the devil introduced the Arian hereſy into the Eaſt by the means of three women, (*y*) GOD, in order to overthrow his works and fight him with his own arms, was reſolved to employ the talents of three illuſtrious princeſſes, Clotilda, Indegonda, and Theodelinda, in order to ſanctify the Weſt, by the converſion of the French, and root out Arianiſm from Spain and Italy, by the converſion of the Viſigoths and Lombards. For indeed the example of Agilulph, who followed the counſels of Theodelinda proved effectual; the greateſt part of the nobility amongſt the Lombards, both Pagans, and Arians, embraced the Catholick faith as he had done, and were ſoon followed by the people who generally imitate their ſuperiors. This produced a great change in the kingdom, (*z*) the biſhops, who had been reduced to a moſt ignominious poverty, were reſtored to their former dignities, and to their eſtates which had been taken from them. The churches alſo, which had been profaned, were now re-eſtabliſhed; the queen built new ones, and the king beſtowed large ſums of money to every city for the repairs of thoſe churches which had ſuffered great damages. And in order to render the joy of the Catholicks more compleat for this triumph of JESUS CHRIST, as St. Gregory about the ſame time propoſed to reconſecrate the church of St. Agatha at Rome, which had been profaned by the Arians in the time of the Goths, GOD was pleaſed to concur with him in this ſolemnity by ſome extraordinary works, which this holy biſhop gives us an account of, as being eye-witneſs to them. (*a*) For having reconciled this church in the preſence of a multitude of people who were come from all parts to this feaſt, as he was celebrating the divine myſteries, one of thoſe unclean animals, into

(*x*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 6. (*y*) Conſtantia. Euſebia. Dominica. (*z*) Paul. Varn. ibid. (*a*) Gregor. Mag. Dial. l. 3. cap. 30.

A. D. 591. whose bodies the devils besought CHRIST that he would suffer them to enter, was known to be in the church, being heard by the assembly, and felt running between their legs, tho' they could not see it. On the two following nights there was a strange noise heard over the roof of the church, which ended as it were with a mighty clap of thunder, which, for the time it lasted, caused a great consternation; after that there never was any thing of this kind heard. Another time at mid-day, it being fine and serene weather, a cloud came and surrounded the altar, and the whole church was filled with a most agreeable perfume, which was smelt by the people who repaired thither from all parts, tho' no body dared to enter the church. Some time after, the lamps of the church being put out, they were lighted again suddenly by a celestial light; and in order to verify this miracle, the same thing was repeated three times, tho' all the care imaginable was observed in the putting out of the lamps. GOD undoubtedly was resolved, by these wonderful signs, to shew that the devil, who had for a long time been in possession of that church, was compelled to depart from it, and that the light of the true faith had taken place of the errors and darkness of Arianism. After all, when I consider this history with deliberation, I must sincerely confess, that I have not strength, or, as I may say, boldness enough in my mind to deny, or even to suppress those things which a person of St. Gregory's merit and dignity says that he has seen, and has transmitted to us in writing in his book of dialogues, which he published two years after at Rome, where he undoubtedly would have passed for an impudent impostor, had he wrote a thing, and affirmed that the whole city was eye-witness to it, when at the same time no body had seen it.

But this extraordinary joy for the reduction of the Arians was 592. soon interrupted by a war, *(b)* which, notwithstanding the conversion of Agilulph, the Lombards carried on some time after, against the Romans, with more fury than ever. For the patrician Romanus, who was exarch of Ravenna, having surprised several of the towns belonging to the Lombards, by the treachery of some of their noblemen, and amongst others the city of Perusa, Agilulph marched out of Pavia with a potent army; and, having

(b) Greg. l. 2. Epist. 32. Ind. 10. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 8.

laid

laid ſiege to Peruſa, he took it, and cauſed the duke Moriſion, who had delivered it up to the Romans, to be beheaded. (*c*) This being done, he found it no difficult task to retake all the places which the exarch had made himſelf maſter of; then marched with his victorious army up to the gates of Rome, and in his way put all to fire and ſword. He, on this occaſion, reduced the wreched Romans to the utmoſt extremity, and brought thoſe deſolations on them, which St. Gregory ſo often bewails, (*d*) who, during theſe diſorders, was forced to ſuſpend the Homilies upon Ezechiel which he uſed daily to rehearſe to the people, being otherwiſe taken up in making preparations for the defence of that city. And nevertheleſs he continued his conſtant ſollicitations to the Exarch and the Emperour Mauricius, urging them to enter into a treaty of peace with Agilulph, which he repreſented to them as a thing abſolutely neceſſary in the deplorable condition Italy was then reduced to. (*e*) So at laſt it was agreed upon by the interceſſions of queen Theodelinda, to whom St. Gregory had made earneſt application. And indeed this biſhop expreſſed his gratitude for ſo great a ſervice in his letters to her, as alſo to the king, who ſhewed a ready diſpoſition toward a peace, notwithſtanding the conſiderable advantages which he had over the Romans. This peace undoubtedly would have been concluded much ſooner, had not the Emperour, who accuſed St. Gregory of ſuffering himſelf to be deceived by the fair words of Agilulph, deferred it by his imprudence, (*f*) which coſt him the loſs of moſt of the towns, that he had then in his poſſeſſion in Italy, and chiefly the city of Cortona, which was of great uſe to him for the landing of the forces that came from Conſtantinople.

A. D. 595. 598. 599.

At laſt this peace was broken again, by reaſon of freſh differences which aroſe between Gallinicius, the new Exarch, and Agilulph, who ſtill continued to carry on the war with ſucceſs. But about four years after, (*g*) the affairs were again reconciled, a little while before the death of St. Gregory, who returned thanks to

[600.

(*c*) Greg. l. 4. Epiſt. 31. Hom. 18. in Ezech. & alib. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 8. (*d*) Greg. l. 4. Epiſt. 29. & 31. (*e*) Greg. l. 7. Ep. 41, 42. Paul. l. 4. cap. 8. lib. 4. Epiſt. 29. (*f*) Greg. l. 4. Epiſt. 31. lib. 4. Fpiſt. 23. (*g*) Greg. Mag. l. 12. Epiſt. 7. Ind. 7. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 26. & 31.

A. D. 605. the king, by a letter which he writ to queen Theodelinda. This bishop was then extremely ill, and, upon the queen's giving him notice of the birth of prince Adaloaldus, whom Agilulph caused immediately to be declared king, he wrote his last letter to her. The holy Prelate who was mindful of all things, and who on all occasions fulfilled the duties of a great bishop and a righteous man, took care notwithstanding the very weak condition he then was in, (being at the point of death) to send presents to Theodelinda for the young prince, and amongst other things, a golden cross; wherein there was some of the wood of the holy cross upon which CHRIST was crucified; this he was to wear on his neck as a sign that he professed the Catholick faith, which he had just received with the holy baptism according to the form of the church.

613. But, what contributed very much to the entire conversion of the Lombards, was the arrival of the holy abbot Colombanus, who, flying the persecution of queen Brunehaud, and her grandson king Thierry, whose disorderly life and behaviour that holy man had reproved with a great deal of freedom, had passed the mountains, and was come to beg the protection of Agilulph, (*b*) who received him with all imaginable marks of honour, and offered him any part of his dominions, where, if he pleased, he might build a monastery, and by that means sanctify his country, as he had sanctified France, by the examples of his virtue, and the solidity of his wholesom and holy Instructions. He accepted of the king's offer: But before he departed from Milan, where the court resided at that time, finding that a great many of the noblemen were not as yet perfectly undeceived, with respect to the errors of Arianism, he began to confute that heresy in a most zealous manner, both by his sermons, and by a book which he wrote in order to prove the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, from the testimonies of scripture, against all the false interpretations of the Arians. (*i*) This added so much to his fame that the Princes and noblemen amongst the Lombards, being desirous that this apostolical man should remain in their country, presented him generously with large sums of money for the foundation of that famous and stately monastery of

(*b*) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb. cap. 29. (*i*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 43.

Bobium,

Bobium, situated at the feet of the Alps, within twenty leagues of Pavia. Here he settled himself in such a manner that he resolved never to depart thence, notwithstanding all the sollicitations of king Clotaire, *(k)* after his accession to the monarchy of France, who used all the arguments imaginable to persuade him to come over. So that after having lived a holy life in this Place, he died not long before Agilulph, who had reigned happily during the space of twenty five years, and was ever victorious both over the rebels and strangers. He died in the year six hundred and sixteen, leaving behind him his son Adaloaldus, who was twelve years of age, under the regency of Queen Theodelinda. *A. D.* 615. 616.

Nothing could happen so fortunately for the religion as the regency of this princess, to whom the noble Lombards paid a great veneration; and in order to confirm them still more in the Catholick faith, she obliged them, at the beginning of her regency, to make a publick and solemn declaration of their belief. She had caused a magnificent temple to be built at Modoeca, *(l)* within twelve miles of Milan, which she dedicated to St. John the baptist, to whose protection she recommended herself, with the late king her husband, her children and the whole nation of the Lombards. About this time she repaired thither in order to make her offerings with a gift of the large revenues which she had appointed for that church; *(m)* and this was performed in the presence of all the noblemen of the kingdom, who were so ready to follow her great example, that they also chose that Saint for their Protector, and made a vow to send a yearly offering to him on the day of his Festival, as an acknowledgment of their being under his protection; and in order to beg his assistance and intercession for them with JESUS CHRIST, whom they confessed to be their Lord and GOD. And from that time the Lombards in all their actions and undertakings were used to invoke St. John the baptist, beseeching him to grant them his aid, by the virtue of JESUS CHRIST, the true GOD. After this the King and Queen, enjoying a perfect peace, gave proper orders for the repairs of those churches, which

(k) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb. (l) Monza. (m) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 22. veter. Edit Ascensiana.

were

A. D. were ruined throughout the Empire of the Lombards; and,
616. having richly endowed them, they continued daily to promote the increaſe of religion and Chriſtian piety. (*n*)

This laſted about ten years, till the death of Theodelinda; when a fatal accident happened which was followed by a diſorder that proved more prejudicial than any preceding one, both to the ſtate and religion. For Adaloaldus, (*o*) either by ſickneſs or poiſon, being fallen into a kind of frenzy, which ſometimes deprived him of the uſe of his reaſon, and cauſed him by intervals to act extravagantly, Ariovaldus, duke of Turin, and brother in law to the king, but as yet an Arian, made ſo ſtrong an intereſt with the noble Lombards, that by their connivance he took poſ-
626. ſeſſion of the Throne and expelled the poor unhappy Adoloaldus. This wretched Prince, who in his indiſpoſition had ſo much ſenſe as not to abandon himſelf, flew for protection to the Exarch of Ravenna, who being reſolved to improve this opportunity to foment a civil war amongſt the Lombards, undertook immediately to reſtore him to his throne, and drive out the uſurper. (*p*) Honorious, then biſhop of Rome, wrote concerning this affair to the Exarch, complaining very much of the biſhops of Lombardy, that, contrary to the oath which they had taken to the late king Agilulph, they had ſo ſhamefully foreſaken the king his ſon, in order to adhere to a tyrant; and endeavoured even to corrupt thoſe who continued ſtedfaſt in their duty, and abhorred ſo ſtrange a piece of treachery. This prelate intreated the Exarch in his letter, that, after he had reſtored the young king, as it was expected, he he would ſend thoſe rebellious biſhops to Rome, in order that ſo infamous a crime might not remain unpuniſhed. But as the Exarch could not obtain any relief from the Emperour Heraclius, who at that juncture was at war with the Perſians, he was forced to ſet aſide his deſign, and in order accommodate his affairs according to the circumſtances of the times, he made peace with Ariovaldus, and there was no farther notice taken of the unhappy Adaloaldus, who in all probability died at Ravenna amongſt the Grecians.

(*n*) Paul. l. 4. c. 43. (*o*) Ibid Aimoin. l. 4. c. 10. (*p*) Honor. Pap. Ep. ad. Iſac. Exar. ap. Ivon.

Thus

Thus Ariovaldus remained peaceable poſſeſſor of the kingdom, *A. D.* without offering any moleſtation to the Catholicks; tho' never- 626. theleſs he did a wicked action in his paſſion, which he ſoon after repented. Blidulphus, a prieſt and monk of the monaſtery of St. Colombanus, (*q*) being come to Pavia about ſome particular affairs, the king one day meeting him, ſaluted him firſt, and began to rally him and his brother-monks, upon their refuſing to pay him the honour that was due to him, becauſe he was not of their belief. Hereupon Blidulphus, without ſhewing the leaſt marks of reſpect to him, replyed with an admirable courage: "I ſhould "readily ſalute you, my Lord, with hearty wiſhes of all manner "of bleſſings, were you not ſo unhappy as to adhere to thoſe de- "teſtable impoſtors who ſeduce you, and to that curſed hereſy "which they teach you. If you propoſe that we ſhould pay you "that honour which is due to kings, firſt give that unto GOD "which you owe him, by confeſſing the three adorable perſons in "the bleſſed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, in unity "of Eſſence, without dividing them as you do into three different "powers." The king, being exaſperated at this anſwer, ſaid, as he was walking along, that it was ſtrange no man would revenge him on that impudent monk, who deſerved to have his bones broken; yet this was not ſaid aloud, fearing leaſt the people ſhould riſe againſt the king; but one of his attendants having heard him, he immediately offered his ſervices, and accordingly that very evening the thing was put in execution, for this courtier having watched the time when Blidulphus was returning home to his lodgings, juſt as he was paſſing through a loneſome ſtreet, he fell upon him, and beat him with a cudgel after ſo barbarous a manner, that, having broken his head in ſeveral places, and knocked him down to the ground, he there left him for dead. But the people finding him in this condition, were going to raiſe him up in order to carry him away, when of a ſudden he roſe up of himſelf, as if he had been juſt awaked out of a ſound ſleep, and found himſelf ſo perfectly recovered, that he returned alone without the leaſt aſſiſtance to his monaſtery. The murderer, inſtead of receiving the reward which he expected of the king, was ſeized with an evil

(*q*) Ionas. in reb. geſt. St. Bertolfi.

ſpirit,

A. D. 626. ſpirit, who tormented him moſt cruelly, and forced him with hideous cries to confeſs his crime before all the people who were praiſing GOD, and ſaying that the Arians ought not to expect any other treatment from their maſter. Ariovaldus, who was the author of this wicked fact, dreading the like puniſhment, ſent immediately this wretched fellow to the Abbot Attalas, ſucceſſor to St. Colombanus, with magnificent preſents, beſeeching him that he would appeaſe GOD's anger, and take pity of that miſerable man. The holy Abbot generouſly replyed, that he never would accept of any preſents from an Arian: but nevertheleſs, he prayed to GOD for the poſſeſſed criminal, who, being delivered of his executioner, by the virtue of the Abbot's prayers, died ſoon after by a juſt judgment, which was a manifeſtation of GOD's glory. And, indeed, this made ſo great an impreſſion on the king, that, from this time, he behaved with a great deal of humanity towards the Catholicks, who were ſuffered to live in an intire freedom.

Some years after, Ariovaldus even did an action, which plainly ſhewed the reſpect and veneration he paid to the church. Proclus, biſhop of Clerona, (*r*) pretended that the monaſtery of St. Colombanus, which was ſituated in his dioceſe, ought to be ſubject to his juriſdiction, and, in order to make his claim good, and bring over the other biſhops into his intereſt, he ſent them preſents, and uſed all other means for that purpoſe. After this he thought it was proper to apply to the king, that, by his royal authority, he might be put in poſſeſſion of that right, which he inſiſted on as an indiſputable prerogative. But the king's anſwer was, that he and thoſe of his party ſhould produce proofs from the holy decrees, and canons of the church, to make out the juſtice of his pretenſions. The Abbot Bertolfus who ſucceeded Attalus, being informed of the biſhop's negotiations at court, and of the intereſt he was endeavouring to make in order to gain his cauſe, ſent alſo ſome of his diſciples thither to find out how the king was diſpoſed in his favour, and whether he might rely on him for the preſervation of his privileges and exemption, which on his part he likewiſe inſiſted on as indiſputable. But the king, who ſtill continued ſtedfaſt in his firſt reſolution, told them, " That it did not belong to him

(*r*) Ionas de reb. geſt. St. Bertolfi apud Baron. ad ann. 626. n. 35. & ſeq.

" to

" to decide affairs of that nature, which the church only had right " to determine by a canonical decree; That, nevertheleſs, he would " not ſuffer that any injury ſhould be offered to the Abbot whom " he looked upon to be a faithful ſervant of GOD." Bertolfus, perceiving that the king behaved with ſo much wiſdom and goodneſs, took the liberty to apply again to him to deſire that he would give him leave to go to Rome, in order to maintain his right before the holy See: which Ariovaldus readily agreed to, tho' he had ſome cauſe to be diſſatisfied with Honorius biſhop of Rome, who had openly declared himſelf againſt this Prince. *A. D.* 626.

The hiſtorian, from whom we have this account, and whoſe works Paul Diacre never ſaw, ſince he owns that he knows nothing of that king, aſſures us, that he himſelf went on this journey with the holy Abbot, and that the biſhop of Rome, after having inquired into the affair, and exhorted the holy man ſtill to oppoſe Arianiſm, he ſent him home with an ample privilege, whereby he declared that no biſhop could pretend any juriſdiction or right of government over his monaſtery. This decree Honorius confirmed by the canons of three councils, who had already determined this affair in a very clear manner. (*s*) The firſt was the third council of Arles, which was held in or or about the year four hundred fifty five, purpoſely to decide the great conteſt that was between the biſhop Theodoſius and Fauſtus Abbot of the monaſtery of Levins. The ſecond was the council of Carthage in the year five hundred twenty five, under the Pontificate of Boniface, held at the requeſt of the Abbot Peter, againſt Liberatus, metropolitan of the Province of Biſacena. And tho' this council was lately taken from the library of the Vatican, and publiſhed in the new large collection of councils compoſed by the learned Fathers Labbé and Coſſart, Jeſuits, it is nevertheleſs quoted in ſome very authentical acts of above a thouſand years ſtanding, paſſed in the ſeventh century, which is now the ſubject of my hiſtory, viz. in the privilege granted by Bertefridus biſhop of Amiens, to the Abby of Corbie in the year ſix hundred ſixty four, and ſubſcribed to by ſixteen biſhops; (*t*) in that which Landri biſhop of Paris

(*s*) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Pariſ. St. Honorat. in Provence.
(*t*) Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Pariſ. p. 527.

A. D. 626. granted to the Abby of St. Dennis, (*u*) in the year ſix hundred fifty eight, ſigned by twenty five biſhops, and maintained as authentical by a ſet of learned men, in oppoſition to ſome people who would not allow it; as alſo in the life of St. Babolenus the Abbot which Mr. Du Chêne delivered to us in his firſt volume of the writers of our hiſtory, in the year ſix hundred fifty four. And laſtly, the third of theſe councils which have allowed the exemption and liberty of monaſteries before the time of Honorius biſhop of Rome, (*x*) was that of Carthage, under Reparatus in the year five hundred thirty four, which councils (as it it may be ſeen in the places I have quoted) declare themſelves in favour of theſe exemptions, in terms far more expreſſive than any that have been uſed by the biſhops of Rome, in the bulls which they publiſhed in behalf of the regular prieſts. As my ſubject happened to lead me ſo naturally into this ſhort digreſſion, I thought I might continue it without offence; ſince my deſign here is only to undeceive thoſe who have conceived ſo falſe a notion as to believe that the bulls of the biſhops of Rome were contrary to the ancient canons. For it is now evidently plain by this hiſtory, that, far from its being ſo, the very biſhops of Rome themſelves never made theſe bulls, but in order to comply with the ancient canons, which declare, that the monaſteries ſhall enjoy thoſe exemptions that were granted to them by the biſhops aſſembled in council, on purpoſe to maintain a regular diſcipline under the command of their ſuperiors.

Yet indeed it was a thing very extraordinary, and worthy of being placed in the hiſtory of Arianiſm, to ſee an Arian Prince pay ſo great a veneration to the church, nay even to a biſhop of Rome, whom he had no cauſe to be pleaſed with. But I am very much induced to believe, that what he did, was by the perſwaſion of Gondiberga his queen, who was a moſt Catholick Princeſs, and daughter to the late king Agilulph and Theodelinda, and to whom at that time he ſhewed a great deal of compliance, in order to repair the injuries he had done her through the calumnious inſtigation of a wicked courtier. (*y*) This was a noble Lombard, whoſe

(*u*) Sirmond. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Pariſ. p. 487. (*x*) Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Pariſ. p. 1785. (*y*) Aimond. l. 4. c. 10. Append. ad Greg. Tur. c. 50, 51.

name

name was Adalulph, and who had the insolence to make amorous addresses to the queen. This Princess being highly provoked at his impudence, spit in his face; whereupon he withdrew, and as this traitor dreaded a far greater punishment on the part of the king, should he not prevent him; he immediately went to him, and begged a private audience of him, upon an affair which would not admit of any delay, for that both his life and kingdom were concerned. Then he told him, "That for the space of "three days, the queen had been privately treating with Tasonus, "governour of Tuscany, for whom she had an affection; and "that it was agreed between them that she would marry him "as soon as she had poisoned the king." This wicked man coloured his accusations so well, by artfully imtermixing some truths with a thousand falsities, that the king, who was naturally passionate, being overcome by a violent fit of jealousy, which blinded him, he immediately caused the two accused persons to be taken into custody. As for the innocent queen, she was confined to a castle, where she remained for the space of three years without being admitted to justify her self, till Clotaire the second, king of France, sent ambassadors to Ariovaldus, complaining of the ill treatment, which he shewed to a Princess, who was descended from the royal blood of France, by his great grandfather. And as the king insisted on the justice of his proceeding, Ansoaldus, one of the ambassadors, proposed that, according to the custom, or, more properly, the abuses of those days, a Champion might have leave to assert the queen's innocency, in a single Battle, with the informer; which Ariovaldus having agreed to, one of the queens faithful servants offered to fight Adalulphus, who, not daring to refuse the challenge, was defeated, and his vile cheat discovered in the presence of all the spectators, who were greatly rejoiced at the queen's innocency, after which the king caused the traitor to be beheaded: Hereupon Gondiberga, being restored to her honour and dignity, had a greater respect shewed to her than ever; and undoubtedly it was in regard to her, that the king her husband (tho ever so much an Arian) treated the Catholicks so favourably. He even permitted her to build a magnificent church near Pavia, which, (z) after the ex-

A. D. 626.

(z) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 49.

A. D. 638. ample of her mother Theodelinda, she dedicated to St. John the baptist, and adorned it with rich vases, and other precious ornaments. Nevertheless she was not so fortunate as Theodelinda had been, in the conversion of her husband; for Ariovaldus, after a reign of twelve years, died a professed Arian.

As this prince had left no children behind him, and the Arians were then very powerful at court, they chose Rotharis for his successor, who was also an Arian, but was so well inclined to follow the steps of his predecessor, that he would not suffer the Catholicks to be molested, nor that they should any wise be deprived of the liberty which they had enjoyed in the exercise of their religion: (*a*) But on the other hand, he resolved that the Arians should enjoy the same liberty without the least opposition. So that in most of the towns that were in his dominions there was during his reign two bishops, the one a Catholick, and the other an Arian. And it even happened in Pavia by an event, which proved somewhat extraordinary, that Anastasius, (bishop of the Arians) having embraced the Catholick faith, became afterwards himself the true Pastor of the Catholicks. (*b*) At the same time Rotharis was a prince of great valour: he had defeated the imperial Forces and taken all their Sea-port towns in Liguria from port Lune to Provence; and after having reigned successfully above sixteen years, he died, and left his kingdom to his son Rodoaldus. (*c*) As the kings of the Lombards had recommended themselves to the protection of St. John the Baptist, and that Rotharis was an Arian, his body was not interred in the magnificent temple which queen Theodelinda had built, and dedicated to the holy protector: But he was buried in a place very near the church; and it is reported that, some time after, an impious rogue having broke open his tomb, and stole away all the jewels that adorned the king's body, St John appeared to him, and upbraided him with his impiety, saying, "that altho' "the king did not profess the true Religion, nevertheless a "respect ought to be paid to his body, because he had implored "his protection in his life-time; and that, as a punishment for "the crime which he had committed, he should never enter his "church, which he had profaned by so wicked an attempt."

(*a*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 44. (*b*) Id. c. 47. (*c*) Id. c. 48.

These

Theſe words were accordingly fullfilled, for whenever this impious fellow endeavoured to enter St. John's church, he immediately was repulſed with an irreſiſtible Force, as if ſome ſtrong and powerful man had ſeized him by the Throat, in order to oppoſe his entering in; as the Hiſtorian, who gives us this account, (*d*) declares before GOD that it was delivered to him by a man who was eye-witneſs to it. I think that Hiſtory, according to its principles, which are grounded on human faith, ought not to reject this particular as one of thoſe invented fables, which are forged only to impoſe upon the credulity of mankind. *A. D.* 638.

Rodoaldus was indeed heir to his father's crown, but he was far from poſſeſſing either his virtues or his good fortune; for having given himſelf up intirely to the paſſions of his youth, and having no other thought but that of gratifying his voluptuouſneſs, he was wretchedly murdered by a Lombard gentleman, againſt whoſe honour he had cruelly offended. After his death the noblemen amongſt the Lombards choſe for their king Aribertus the ſon of Gondeband, (*e*) who was brother to queen Theodelinda; and it is very probable that he was a Catholick, in as much as he not only was related to this good queen, who was ſo zealous for the true Religion, but becauſe he built a ſtately church near Pavia, which he conſecrated to JESUS CHIST the redeemer of the world, and endowed it with a handſome revenue, as alſo adorned it with rich and coſtly preſents; which was no wiſe the cuſtom of the Arians, who did not pay ſo great a devotion to JESUS CHRIST. (*f*) But be that how it will, nothing is more certain than that his two ſons Bertaridus, and Godebertus, between whom he had divided the kingdom, were both Catholicks; and that Grimoaldus, duke of Benevento, taking advantage of their diviſion, took alſo poſſeſſion of the kingdom. This prince was likewiſe a Catholick, but whether he was ſo from the beginning, or that St. John biſhop of Bergama had converted him, I know not. (*g*) It is even reported that he was under the ſpecial protection of St. John the baptiſt, and that the Emperour Conſtantius, who was come with a powerful army to attack him, having conſulted a ſolitary who at that 662.

(*d*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 4. (*e*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 50. (*f*) Id. c. 53. (*g*) Acta. Joan. Bergam. Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 6.

time

A. D. 662. time had the reputation of a holy man, to know of him what would be the success of that war; the solitary, after having passed the whole night in prayer, told him that his enterprise would not prove fortunate, because that St. John the baptist, to whom a foreign Princess (which was Theodelinda) had dedicated a magnificent church, was continually interceeding for the nation of the Lombards: But that the time would come when that church should be neglected, as likewise the worship which was then paid to the divine forerunner of JESUS CHRIST; that when this came to pass, the Empire of the Lombards should be destroyed. And indeed the event verified the prophecy of that holy man; for Constantius, who was a heretick of the sect of the Monothelites, was constantly beaten, and did nothing in Italy but plunder Rome, where he had been acknowledged as Emperour. And when Charlemagne destroyed the Empire of the Lombards, the church of St. John the baptist at Modoeca was unworthily profaned by the crimes and debauches of the clergy, who had purchased the livings and revenues of it for mony. And indeed Grimoaldus, who was a great General, possessed with many Princely qualities, was also inclined to virtue and piety, whereof he has given us some instances; which plainly shews that he was a Catholick, and an enemy to the Arians. (*h*) For he not only defended and religiously preserved the famous church of St. Michael on mount Gagan, which the Grecians had resolved to plunder, (*i*) but he also built one at Pavia to the honour of St. Ambrose who was the great scourge and subduer of Arianism at Milan, where the Lombards since that time established the principal see of their empire; and in order to convince the world that he was resolved to live and die in the faith of that holy doctor whom he had chosen for his protector, before he died he marked out his burial place in that church where he was interred.

But what contributed very much to establish the Catholick faith in the kingdom of the Lombards, and root out Arianism, was the return of Bertaridus, whom GOD, by his particular providence, restored again to his kingdom, in order to put religion into a flourishing condition. (*k*) This prince, who had retired into

(*h*) Paul. Var. l. 4. c. 47. (*i*) Id. l. 5. c. 53. (*k*) Paul. Var. l. 5. c. 33.

France

France for refuge, after having made his escape out of the hands of Grimoaldus, was imbarked on board of a ship in order to sail for England, because Grimoaldus had just made an alliance with the French; when of a sudden, as he was not as yet very distant from the shoar, there was the voice of some person heard who enquired whether king Bertaridus was on board, answer being made that he was there: *Give him notice*, replyed the voice, *that king Grimoaldus has been dead three days.* Hereupon Bertaridus put immediately back into the port, and made a diligent enquiry after the person who had given this information; but as no such person could be heard of on shoar; Bertaridus did not in the least doubt but this notice was come from Heaven, and so resolved to obey the command of GOD who undoubtedly called him back into Italy. And indeed it plainly appeared that he was not deceived in his notion: For as soon as he had reached the passage of the Alps, he met a body of noble Lombards, who, hearing that he was on the road, were come to attend him with a royal equipage; and thus he was conducted into Pavia where he was again proclaimed king, and restored to the throne of his father Aribertus, after having deposed Garibasdus, a young child, who was the son of Grimoaldus by the sister of Bertaridus, whom the deceased king had married. *A. D.* 662.

Bertaridus being in this manner restored to his kingdom, soon became master of the affection of all the Lombards; (*l*) for indeed he was a most accomplished prince, and consequently intitled to the love of his people. He was finely shaped, and had a beautiful complexion, with a stately mien; his proportions were regular; but above all things, he was good-natured, affable, polite and obliging, and made it his chief study to be beneficent to all in general; tho' indeed what gave still a greater lustre to his accomplishments was, the extraordinary zeal which he bore to the Catholick faith, (*m*) and his incomparable piety, besides his charity and liberality which were so great, that he exhausted the best part of his treasures for the maintenance of the poor, What compleated his happiness was, that he had a wife who resembled him in all his perfections; this was queen Rodelinda, whom Grimoaldus

(*l*) Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 36. (*m*) Id. c. 33.

had

A. D. 673. had banished to Benevento with the young prince Cunibertus, his son: *(n)* So that being returned to court she seriously apply'd her self to restore the faith to that great and glorious state it was in during the reign of queen Theodelinda. She caused a magnificent church to be built in the burial-ground of the Lombards, which lay without the walls of Pavia; and had it consecated to the blessed virgin Mary, in order to inspire the people with devotion towards that virgin, whose attribute it is to bruise the head of the serpent, and destroy all heresies. The king also caused another church to be built near the walls of the town in the very place whence he had made his escape when he was persecuted by Grimoaldus, with a noble monastery of virgins consecrated to St. Agatha, and situated near the river Tesinus. In short, they both united their utmost endeavours to destroy Arianism, and restore the true faith throughout their whole dominions; and GOD giving a blessing to their labour, he so ordered it that they enjoyed a long and happy peace, during which they made so great a progress in their noble design, that from this time the Arians not only lost all their power in that kingdom, but we do not even hear that there were any of them left to practise the exercise of their heresy. *(o)* For their son king Cunibertus inherited their virtues, and after having maintained the religion during his life-time, he desired to be buried near his Father, in the church which his great grandfather Aribertus had consecrated to JESUS CHRIST, the Redeemer of the world. He left behind him one only son, who was then but a child, and had committed him to the guardianship of his faithful friend Ansbrandus who was a nobleman of great wisdom and a good Catholick: But this young prince about eight months after was deposed by Ragombertus duke of Turin, and cousin-german to the late king
703. Cunibertus. This prince was also a Catholick, tho' usurper. *(p)* He reigned only one year: And his son Aribertus, who succeeded him, paid so great a devotion to the holy see, *(q)* that he made over the Cottian Alps to the bishop of Rome, as a free and

(n) Id. c. 34. *(o)* Paul. Varn. l. 6. c. 17. *(p)* Id. c. 18. *(q)* Id. l. 6. c. 28. Taranteſa Suza. with Genoa and the River Ponante.

absolute

abſolute gift for ever, and ſent the deeds thereof written in golden letters to John the Sixth, then biſhop. *A. D.* 703.

Luitprandus, the ſon of the loyal Ansbrandus, who died three months after, having expelled Aribertus, was proclaimed king of the Lombards, the latter being drown'd in the Teſinus as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. (*r*) We cannot in the leaſt doubt, but that this Prince, who was extreamly pious and charitable towards the poor, was alſo a real Catholick; for it was he that redeemed the body of St. Auguſtin from the Saracens, who had invaded Sardinia, where it had been tranſported by the biſhops who were baniſhed thither during the perſecution of the Vandals. He received it at Pavia in a moſt magnificent manner, and paid all the honours to it that were due to that great doctor, who, whilſt he was living, confuted the Arians as well as the other Hereticks, which, in his time, cauſed ſuch great diſorders in the church. Beſides, this prince confirmed the donation of the Cottian Alps which his predeceſſor had made to the holy ſee; and was ſo influenced by the prayers of Gregory the ſecond, biſhop of Rome, that, notwithſtanding the army that he had brought with him to the very gates of that city, (*s*) which was ready to be delivered up to him, he nevertheleſs flung himſelf at the biſhop's feet, and offered up his arms, with a ſilver croſs and a crown of gold, to the ſhrine of St. Peter. His nephew Hildebrandus, who ſucceeded him, was only reproachable in one thing, which was, that he obliged the Lombards, by his too great ſeverity, to diſpoſſeſs him in about ſeven months after his acceſſion to the throne; and Rachis, duke of Triuli, whom they proclaimed in his room, was ſo piouſly diſpoſed, that, being overcome by the exhortations of Zachariah biſhop of Rome, he abdicated his kingdom, (*t*) and became a monk in the monaſtery of mount-Caſſinus: And tho' his brother Aſtolphus, who reigned in his place, and Didierus ſucceſſor to the latter, who was the laſt king of the Lombards, had often made war againſt the biſhops of Rome on account of temporal intereſts, nevertheleſs theſe Princes were all profeſſors of the Catholick faith, as well as Luitprandus, who beſieged Rome,

712.

729.

744.

(*r*) Paul. Varn. l. 6. c. 35. (*s*) Anaſt in Greg. II. (*t*) Anaſt. in Zach. Leo-Oſt Chr. Coſs.

A. D. and whose soldiers plundered the Basilica of St. Peter, which in
756. those days was situated on the out-side of the walls, and had been spared by the Arian Goths, and it may probably be, that GOD punished them for these wrongful invasions on the territories of the church, by transferring the Empire of the Lombards to Charlemagne, to whom the holy See was indebted for the best part of the
774. dominions that belong to it to this day. For he confirmed the donation of the Exarcatus of Ravenna, which his father king Pepin had granted to the Roman church (after having defeated Astolphus, and which the Lombards had lately taken by conquest from the Greeks) as also the Province of Pantapola, which comprehended Ancona, with four other cities of la Marca: to which he added the Province of Sabina, and the dutchies of Spoleto and Benevento. I thought fit to give my reader this small abridgment of the remaining part of the history of the Lombards, in order to convince the world, that there happened no relapse of Arianism during the reign of their twelve last kings, which continued for the space of about one hundred and fourteen years, and that afterwards this abominable heresy was utterly rooted out of Italy.

Thus Arianism, which arose in Egypt about the year three hundred and twenty, after having spread it self throughout the East, and the greatest part of the West amongst the Visigoths, Vandals, Suevi, Ostrogoths, Bourgignons, and Lombards, whilst these nations were possessed of the major part of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Italy, the Islands, and Pannonia; this heresy, I say, was totally extinct towards the year six hundred and sixty, having reigned chiefly by the influence of these Barbarian nations for about the space of three hundred and forty years. For since that time we do not find that any people or society have professed Arianism, till after an interval of near nine hundred years; it was again revived in the
1530. last century, but by one of the new Arians, or those who are known by the names of Antitrinitarians, who at last were confounded amongst the Deists and Socinians of our times. And this is what I propose now to make appear, in order to render my history compleat.

When Luther at the beginning of the last century had drawn up the scheme of his heresy from the interpretation of the scriptures according to his own sense, despising the authority of the Fathers and

and councils, as alſo the authority of the church from which he departed, ſeveral of his diſciples, believing that they might aſſume the ſame liberty which their maſter had done before them, formed that vaſt number of ſects which were all different from his, and were the cauſe in his time of a general diviſion throughout Germany concerning the articles of faith which he had ſtruck at. And as people may attempt any thing, according to this principle, which allows every one the liberty of interpreting the ſcriptures juſt as he ſhall think fit, and of rejecting, as Apochryphal, whatever does not ſeem agreeable to him, ſo there ſtarted up one man amongſt the reſt, who, being more bold and undertaking than all the others, and following the ſteps that were ſet before him, attempted even to undermine the very foundations of the Chriſtian religion, by reviving the blaſphemies of Arius, againſt the adorable myſtery of the Trinity. (*u*) This new inventor of hereſies was one Michael Servetus, a Spaniard of Taragona in Catalonia, a man who wanted neither wit nor ability, but was ſo extravagantly preſumptuous, that tho' he had not as yet attained the years of twenty five, he thought himſelf the oracle of the world, and the only prophet that merited the peoples attention. Being arrived at Paris, in order to ſtudy Phyſick, he ſoon gave ear to the poiſonous notions of the Lutheran hereſy, which ſome German doctors who had found means to creep into the univerſity amongſt thoſe learned men that were invited thither by Francis the firſt, were beginning to ſpread abroad. He nevertheleſs did not ſtrenuouſly adhere to this ſect, for as he thought himſelf a man of too great a capacity to be the follower of another perſon's opinion, and that he was abſolutely reſolved to be himſelf the head of a party, he ſet out in order to make a progreſs in the world. He travelled thus through France and Germany, and even paſſed over into Africa, on purpoſe to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Alcoran. After which he forced a ſcheme of religion which was compoſed out of the errors of all the ſects which at that time made the greateſt noiſe in the world. For he rejected, as Luther had done, whatever that Heretick had condemned in the church. He would not allow the baptiſm of infants, no more than the Anabaptiſts. He main- A. D. 1530.

(*u*) Hoſ. l. 1. de Hæreſ. Lindan. Dubitant. Dial. 2. Prateol. Elench. hæreſ.

A. D. 1530. tained with the Sacramentarians, that the Eucharist was but a meer figure, and carrying his impiety still farther than any one had done before him, he was so daring as to say, with the Mahometans, that the Godhead was vested in one only person, and that JESUS CHRIST consequently was not GOD. Nay, he even outdid Arius in blasphemy; for he said, that GOD the Father ought alone to be worshipped; that the Son of GOD was not a person, no more than the Holy Ghost, who was only an emanation of the Essence of GOD which began to take its being at the creation of the world; and that the Trinity, whom the Catholicks worshipped, was a three-headed Cerberus, composed of three imaginary deities. These were the horrible blasphemies, which this impious man was so bold as to publish throughout Germany in his abominable books, which bore the title of the errors of the Trinity, and which he caused to be printed at the same time that the confession of Augsbourg was drawing up in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, that is to say, eight hundred and seventy years after Arianism was so utterly rooted out, that it did not make the least appearance in any part of the world.

This wicked man spent above twenty years in running over the Provinces of Europe, (x) especially those of Germany and Poland, propagating, in all places where he passed, his detestable doctrine, which he always pretended to maintain by the passages of the scripture only. And as there were great disorders occasioned at that time on account of religion, and that all those, who had separated themselves from the church, would admit of no other judge but the scripture, which every one interpreted according to his own meaning, he readily found people that followed his opinion, and exclaimed, as he did, openly against the mystery of the blessed Trinity, acknowledging the Father only to be GOD. For about this time Campanus, a disciple of Luther's, maintained publickly the very same blasphemies at Wittemberg. He would have preached up the like doctrine in the dutchy of Cleves, which was his native country, but he was taken up and confined to a prison, from whence he never was released, because he still continued obstinate in his errors, (y) tho' at the same time pretending to be a

(x) Hos. l. 1. de hæres Mansfel. Prateol. ibid. Io. Vigand. (y) Linda. Dial. 2. Prateol. V. Camp. Confes. lib. de Deo contra novo Arian.

Prophet,

Prophet, he often uſed to affirm, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty at a particular time which he had ſet for that purpoſe, but he always was deceived. Suenfeldius, a Lutheran, and Matthias Illyricus, who was condemned as an Arian, by the univerſity of Wittemberg, declared themſelves for the ſame opinion; and ſome time after, Gregory of Paul, miniſter of Cracovia, and head of the Deiſts, aſſerted publickly, that the perſon of the Father only was GOD, and that tho' the Son and Holy Ghoſt were of GOD, yet nevertheleſs they were not GOD. He even aſſumed ſo much impudence, as to expoſe to publick view large pieces of paintings, wherein was ſeen a Temple repreſenting the church of Rome, whereof Luther was demoliſhing the roof; Calvin was pulling down the walls, and he himſelf was undermining the foundation, by ſtriking, as he did, at the myſtery of the Trinity, which he was endeavouring to deſtroy. Theſe were the firſt fruits of the impieties of Servetus in Germany and Poland, and as he was very deſirous to ſpread his infection in France, he had the aſſurance to go to Geneva, tho' Calvin, (*z*) who was then accuſed of favouring the Arianiſm, had wrote againſt him. But he was no ſooner arrived there, but Calvin, who was reſolved to juſtify himſelf at the expenſe of Servetus, cauſed him to be taken up by the magiſtrates. He had even a long conference with him, wherein, as Servetus would allow no other judge but the ſcripture, rejecting the authority of the Fathers and councils for the interpretation thereof, Calvin himſelf was in ſome manner puzzelled, for theſe are his very arguments againſt us: and moreover, when he wrote upon the tenth chapter of St. John, he ſaith, that the Fathers were miſtaken in their explanation of this paſſage, *I and my Father are one*, which only ſignifies, according to his ſenſe, the perfect conſent of the Will, and not the unity of Eſſence. (*a*) But at laſt, as they found that this Arian (whatever he ſaid in his defence againſt Calvin) ſtill continued obſtinate in his impious propoſitions, which were reduced to the number of thirty eight, (*b*) after having communicated them to the ſtates of Bern, Zurich, Baſle, and Schaffouſen, and taken their advice in the matter, he was condemn-

A. D. 1530.

1553.

(*z*) Calv. Epiſt. 52. & ſeq. Hoſ. l. 1. de hæreſ.
(*a*) Lindan. dubit. Dial. 2
(*b*) Spond. ad an. 1553.

ed

A. D. 1553. ed to be burned alive: Which was accordingly executed on the twenty seventh of october in the year one thousand five hundred fifty three. Tho' at the same he most earnestly prayed that they would shew him mercy, *(c)* or at least that they would be contented to cut off his head. The protestants found this proceeding of Calvin's somewhat too severe, because it seemed to authorise that cruelty which they themselves complained of, and which was exercised against them in France and in England, where at the same time those who preached up for their opinions, or mantained them obstinately, were equally burned alive. But he cleared himself openly by a writing which he published upon this subject; and wherein, after having given a particular account to the publick of all that passed in that affair, with relation to Servetus, he shews that it is in the power of magistrates to punish Hereticks with death: Which Philip Melanchton found to be so plainly proved, *(d)* that he wrote a letter to him in order to acquaint him, that he was not of the number of those who blamed him; that, on the contrary, he intirely approved so reasonable an opinion.

But the mischiefs which Servetus occasioned by his detestable books, were too great to be retrieved by his punishment. For he had made a great number of disciples and followers of his doctrine, who, before and after his death, promoted horrible confusions throughout many kingdoms, but particularly in Hungary, Poland, and Transilvania, as I shall presently inform you. Georgius Blandrata, a native of Piemont, and doctor of physick, as had been Servetus, having escaped from the Inquisitions at Pavia, he retired to Geneva, where, after he had throughly enquired into the doctrine of Calvin, he thought that, according to the same principle (of the scriptures being interpreted without the authority of the church) he might proceed forwards, and adhere to the opinion of Servetus, whose books he had studied with application. He therefore travelled through Suisserland, Germany and Poland, where he conferred with Gregory of Paul, and from thence passed into Transilvania, with Paul Alciatus, a Milaneze, and also an Arian, who afterwards turned Mahometan. He thought he might perform great matters in a country, where the young king John Sigismond,

(c) Lind. ibid. Prateol. (d) Apud. Calv. in Epist.

who

who had been juſt reſtored by the grand ſeignior Soliman, ſuffered both Lutherans and Calviniſts, whom the monk George, during his adminiſtration, never would tolerate. And accordingly he found means to be introduced at court by favour of his profeſſion, and at laſt became phyſician to the king, and to Petrovitz, his prime miniſter, or, as I may more properly ſay, his governour, who was already a Lutheran in his heart. This nobleman was he that firſt ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by the deluding arguments of Blandrata, who infuſed into him the poiſonous principles of Arianiſm. It was not very difficult for him after this to ſpread his opinion amongſt the courtiers; and even to influence the mind of the young Prince, who took delight in hearing his phyſician, when he aſſumed the character of a Divine, and talked philoſophically of the Trinity, which he treated as a chimera. King Sigiſmond nevertheleſs did not dare to declare himſelf openly, becauſe his mother, queen Iſabell, who was a pious and Catholick Princeſs, was yet living; as alſo becauſe Soliman his protector had wrote a letter to the queen, whereby he deſired that ſhe would not ſuffer any new ſects to come into the kingdom, fearing they ſhould diſturb the peace of it, by cauſing a diviſion in the minds of the people, upon ſo nice a point of religion.

A. D. 1553. 1555.

And indeed, as the will of Soliman alone was a law, againſt which the Princes his vaſſals or tributaries, would not venture to tranſgreſs, the Lutheran and Calviniſt preachers, as well as the new Arians or Antitrinitarians, who were beginning to form a conſiderable party in Tranſilvania, were all baniſhed out of the country. But the queen dying ſoon after, and Selim, (who was no wiſe ſollicitous concerning the affairs of religion) having ſucceeded his father Soliman, who died of a fit of the Apoplexy at the ſiege of Zigeta, the Lutherans and Calivinists, with the Arians, returned back into Tranſilvania, and being protected by Petrovitz, they aſſumed greater liberties than ever. About this time it was that Blandrata (after having deluded into his opinion the miniſter Francis David, who from a proteſtant was become an Arian,) corrupted the greateſt part of the court by the miniſtry of this impious man. The chief members of the council made an open profeſſion of Arianiſm, following the example of Petrovitz, who all this while was exerciſing violent proſecutions againſt the Catholicks,

A. D. 1566. Catholicks, becauſe the king had declared himſelf a Proteſtant immediately after the deceaſe of the queen his mother. Laſtly, as this wretched prince was intirely governed by his phyſician, who had already poiſoned him with his pernicious doctrine, he contrived it ſo, that, forſaking the Lutherans and Calviniſts, as he had done the Catholicks, he declared himſelf openly for Arianiſm, on occaſion of a ſermon preached by Francis David, wherein he publickly proclaimed that execrable hereſy, in oppoſition to the adorable myſtery of the trinity.

The Calviniſts and Lutherans, being thunderſtruck at this progreſs of the Arians, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe it: But Blandrata took hold of this very opportunity, to render his party ſtill more powerful. For he perſuaded them to meet in a publick conference, which ſhould be held in the preſence of the king, who was to be the judge of it, in order that he might plainly ſee (as Blandrata gave out) which of the two parties had truth on their ſide. The Proteſtants could not with honour refuſe this challenge, becauſe they themſelves were generally the moſt forward in promoting thoſe kind of diſputes in the preſence of Princes and maigſtrates. Therefore they found themſelves under the neceſſity of agreeing to it; (*e*) and the conference was publickly held at Varadin, in the preſence of the king, and of the whole court, between Blandrata and Francis David on the one part, and Peter Melvius and Peter Caroli, both Calviniſts, on the other part, being attended by a ſmall number of Lutherans, who maintained the ſame cauſe. At the firſt opening of this conference, David, as it was the cuſtom amongſt the Proteſtants, immediately proteſted that he required no other judge of their diſpute but the word of GOD in all its purity, without any mixture of thoſe things which are added to it by the invention of men; and hereupon he propoſed all the paſſages which the primitive Arians had made uſe of in order to refute the divinity of JESUS CHSIST, and theſe he ſtrengthened with many other paſſages which he produced out of the old and new teſtament: For no man had a finer manner of delivering the ſcriptures, which, as we have been informed, he knew by heart, almoſt from the beginning to the end. Here

(*e*) Reſcius de Convent hæret.

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the Calviniſts were neceſſarily obliged, in anſwer to theſe paſſages of Francis David, to have recourſe to the explanation which the fathers and councils had given of them, (without which they could never have declared their true ſenſe) which was delivered to us by thoſe oracles of the church, and every one would have interpreted the ſcriptures according to his own fancy, ſo that neither the one ſide nor the other could have ſhewed any authority to perſuade each other into a belief. The caſe being thus, this miniſter was reſolved to take advantage of their anſwers, and confound them by their own arguments, and therefore addreſſed them in the following manner: "How came it, Gentlemen, ſaid he, that you diſapprove the "Roman Catholicks, when, in order to maintain the interpretation "they give to thoſe paſſages which you oppoſe to them, they "produce the authority of the fathers, and the deciſions of the "councils, which are made by men who are liable to miſtakes? "And now you yourſelves employ againſt us thoſe very weapons "which you ſo much deſpiſe, when the Romans make uſe of them "againſt you. I adviſe you to give up this human authority "which you vainly oppoſe to paſſages that are ſo undeniably "plain; or, if you are reſolved to adhere to that authority, in "order to uſe means to corupt them; I would have you turn "Romans, ſince their opinion, which you ſeem to reject as we do, "is only ſuported by the authority of the Fathers and Councils. *A. D.* 1556.

As this reply ſeemed very plauſible againſt people, who at all times uſed the ſame arguments after an inſulting manner againſt the Catholicks; and as the paſſages which were produced againſt them appeared more reaſonable than thoſe which they make uſe of to oppoſe us, it was received with great applauſe by the prince, and by the major part of the aſſembly, who implicitely followed his opinion: So that the Proteſtants, who were extreamly puzzelled, not being able to object any thing, but what was immediately refuted againſt them, were at laſt under the neceſſity of taking party with the Arians, or of diſſembling, till ſuch time as they could meet with a more favourable opportunity. Therefore it was plainly ſeen on this occaſion (as it ever will undoubtedly be to the end of the world) that a Heretick, who will not receive the authority of the church for the explanation of the true word of GOD; never can be able to convince another.

A. D. 1566. This victory which the Arians gained over the Proteſtants, was the cauſe of their triumphing throughout all Tranſilvania. They immediately publiſhed the proceedings of the conference, wherein they had acquired ſuch great advantages over the Proteſtants. *(f)* They wrote two books againſt the myſtery of the Trinity, which they cauſed to be printed and diſperſed over all Tranſilvania, Poland, and Hungary. They found means to ſend the moſt qualified of their youth to the univerſities of Padoua and Venice, with directions to converſe with the Jews, in order to learn of that perfidious nation, how to blaſpheme againſt the ſon of GOD. *(g)* But of all things they made it their chief buſineſs to procure a tranſlation of the Bible which they falſified in three different languages; firſt in Greek, (having employed for this purpoſe Jacobus Paleologus, a Calviniſt who turned Arian) then in Hebrew, for which they ſent into Poland for a certain man whoſe name was Matthias, and had the reputation of being very learned in that tongue; he alſo openly declared himſelf a profeſſor of Arianiſm: And laſtly, in the vulgar tongue, by a tranſlation which they made of it in the Hungarian language, in order that the Bible, falling into the hands of the people who are always highly delighted with any novelty, it might inſenſibly inſtil into them the poiſon of their hereſy, by means of the very paſſages which they had corrupted. And indeed it has been obſerved in all times, that the moſt dangerous artifice of the Hereticks, was always to put the ſcriptures of their own tranſlating into the hands of the common people, in order that, after having taken from the text what they did not like, and added what was agreeable to them, under the pretence of giving it a finer turn, according to the genius of the language, they might readily find therein wherewithal to maintain their errors. And for this reaſon it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to convict theſe new Arians, that the corruptions which they had introduced into their verſion ſhould be diſcovered. So when prince Stephen Battori, who ſucceeded John Sigiſmond, called the Jeſuits into Tranſilvania, in order to confute this hereſy; theſe Fathers applied themſelves chiefly to the tranſlation of a new verſion, which undeceived the

(*k*) Spond. ad ann. 1566. n. 30. Item. Flor. de Rem. l. 2. c. 15.

world

world, by discovering all the falsities that were contained in the translations of those Hereticks. *A. D.* 1566.

But whilst Blandrata was thus by his own means promoting such confusions in Transylvania, he was also causing great disorders in Poland by the means of his emissaries, whom he sent thither under the directions of Valentinus Gentilis, the most intimate of his correspondents. This man, who was born in Calabria, had embraced the doctrine of Servetus, which he explained in different terms, saying, that no other, but the Father only, had the Essence of the true GOD, and that he was the *Essentiator*, and that the Son was *essentiated*, having received of the Father an Essence different from his: (*b*) so that he denied, as it is the maxim with all the Arians, that there were three persons of the same Essence; and inventing horrible blasphemies against the Trinity, in imitation of his predecessor Servetus, he called it the new idol, the tower of Babel, the sophisticated deity; and the three phantastical persons in one only GOD, who was a fourth GOD unknown, as this impious man expressed himself, who acknowledged three persons as three eternal spirits; but he would have it that the two others were inferior to the first who had given them two divinities different from his own, and from hence it comes that this man was the head of the Tritheists who overran Poland. For having made his escape from Geneva, (where he was upon his parole) after that Calvin, who had caused him to be arrested, had obliged him to a recantation, he came over into Poland, where Blandrata had invited him, and whither the new Arians repaired from all parts, as soon as Sigismond Augustus, through too much lenity and idulgence, had admitted the Lutherans and Calvinists into Poland, from whence king Sigismond had always banished them. Lelilo Socini of Sien, and Matthew Gribaldus, a lawyer of Tubinges, came thither also to meet Gentilis: Peter Stator, Lucas Sternbergius, Lisinaninus, Gomesius, and Volanus, and amongst a thousand more of the like stamp, the wretched Bernardin Okin, repaired likewise to Poland, in order to declare themselves open enemies to

(*b*) Bened. Aretius in Hist. Valent. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. Canis. Proem. de nov. Corrup.

A.D. 1561. the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, which they could not attempt to do elsewhere. (*i*)

The reputation of the holy and most famous order of Capucius, is too well established throughout the world, to receive any prejudice from the deplorable fall of that wretched apostate Okin, who was not their founder, as some authors have given it out since Beza, (*k*) but was one of the first and most considerable persons of that blessed reform, wherein he only entered about nine years after it was instituted by Matthew Basci, the founder of it. The applause, which the sermons of Okin, and the extraordinary austerity of his life, had acquired him throughout Italy, had swelled him with pride, and being, as the Apostle expresses it, vainly puffed up with his own thoughts, he lost both his faith and reason. For John Valdes, a Spaniard, who was come from Germany, and was then at Naples, having informed him of this new doctrine of Luther, Okin attempted to spread it throughout several towns in his sermons. And being summoned to appear at Rome upon this account, he was perswaded by Peter Vermilli (called the martyr) his intimate friend, and who was also accused of heresy, to take such measures as would be the safest for them, which was to retire to Geneva, from whence these two apostates, the one a Capuchin, and the other a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, having, according to the rules of this new reformation, taken each of them a wife, they at last went over into England, after having for a long time travelled throughout Switzerland and Germany. But as queen Mary would not suffer them to live in England, Okin, forsaking his friend Martyr, went over into Poland, in order that he might be at liberty to profess Arianism, which daily increased in that kingdom. Here he composed his dialogues, which were full of abominable blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST and the Holy Ghost. (*l*) But having the impudence to preach up Poligamy, and to dedicate a book to king Sigismond Augustus, wherein he pretended to prove the lawfulness of it, he was forced to leave Poland, where the people were beginning to rise up against him. And after having wandered some time longer in Transilvania, he at last retired miserably poor to a little

(*i*) Annal. Capuc. (*k*) Beza in Icon. (*l*) Rescius Flor. de Rem. l. 3. c. 5.

village

village of Moravia, where he died of the Plague, abandoned by all the world. Some writers nevertheleſs have ſaid, (*m*) that GOD in this extremity ſhewed him mercy, and that after having lived ſo long a profeſſed apoſtate, he died a true penitent. (*n*) But the knowledge hereof is reſerved to GOD alone who doth juſtice, and ſheweth mercy as he thinketh proper. *A. D.* 1553. 1566.

Now the party of the Tritheiſts became ſo powerful in Poland, that it grew much ſuperior to that of the Proteſtants, whether Lutherans, or Calviniſts; ſeveral amongſt the nobility, and even of the Palatines, profeſſed that doctrine openly, which ſpread it ſelf throughout Lithuania, Ruſſia, Podolia, and Volinia. It alſo powerfully increaſed in Moravia and Sileſia, which lay near Poland; and as thoſe who came thither to preach up their doctrine, ſpoke of GOD after the manner that was moſt agreeable to them, without following any other rule but their private notions, this deteſtable hereſy multiplied, and divided it ſelf into ſo many different ſects, that they were reckoned to be in number thirty two, which nevertheleſs agreed together in denying the divinity of JESUS CHRIST; (*o*) and ſome of them were even ſo bold as to ſay, that he was but a man, tho' more excellent than all other men, which ſoon after occaſioned the birth of Socinianiſm. The Proteſtants, and chiefly the Calviniſts, who were juſt beginning to eſtabliſh themſelves in that kingdom, growing inſolent under the toleration of Sigiſmond, could not bear to ſee that the Tritheiſts had ſo much the upper hand of them: but they met almoſt with the ſame fate which befel thoſe of Tranſilvania. For both parties having challenged each other to a diſpute, during the diet of Petricovia, thoſe amongſt the Palatines who favoured them equally, prevailed with the king, that the chief doctors of both parties ſhould hold a conference in an open and general aſſembly of the whole nation. (*p*) The great cardinal Hoſius, biſhop of Varmia, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the king from ſo ſtrange a reſolution, in order to hinder the divinity of JESUS CHRIST from being brought in queſtion in ſo ſolemn an aſſembly. But finding that the affair was agreed on, and that he endeavoured in vain to oppoſe ſo ſcanda-

(*m*) Grati. vit. Card. Commend. (*n*) Annal. Capuc. (*o*) Reſcius de Sect. Evang. Staphil. Prateol. (*p*) Reſc. de convent. Hæret. Flor. de Rem. l. 4. cap. 12.

lous

A. D. 1566. lous a proceeding, he chose rather to retire from the diet, than to be obliged to hear blasphemies uttered out against JESUS CHRIST. This conference was therefore held between the Calvinists and Tritheists, and accordingly there were presidents chosen on both sides, who were appointed to preside alternatively at the disputations. The High-Marshal, who was a Calvinist, and presided on the first day, made a short speech, whereby he exhorted the doctors to live in peace, and to find out some means of agreeing together upon those articles which were then to be debated; and at the conclusion of his discourse, he said, "Therefore, Gentlemen, let us "begin in the name of GOD, and of the blessed Trinity." Hereupon one of the Tritheists replied in a haughty manner; "To what "you have said, Sir, we shall not answer, Amen; for, in the first "place, I declare to you, that we do not acknowledge any Trinity "whom we can invoke, and that we expect no assistance from "yours, but from the Father alone, whom we worship only as "true GOD." Well, replied the Marshal, "Let us begin the con-"ference upon that article, since it has now introduced it self." Then Gregory of Paul, and Gentilis, proposed all the passages of the former Arians; and as Andrew Radonien, and the minister Silvius, who were of the party of the Calvinists, appealed (as we do) to the ancient Fathers and the Nicene council, in order to produce the true explanation of them; but the Arians made a jest of them, and refuted them by the very same arguments which the Protestants daily use against us upon the other articles. For the Arians openly declared to them (as the Protestants constantly do to us) "That "they required nothing but the word of GOD in its purity, "which made it self manifest enough by its own light; that they "would not admit of any thing but what was contained therein: "and that it never expressed in precise terms, that either the Son "was consubstantial to the Father, or that there were three di-"stinct persons in one and the same Essence: That the Fathers "were mistaken: That the Nicene council was but an assembly "of men, and even such men as were either bribed or compelled "by Constantine, and that one council being as good as another, "they chose rather to follow the decisions of the councils of Sir-"mium and Rimini, who, by the authority of the Emperor Con-"stantius, had received the doctrine of Arius." In short, what-

ever

ever the Proteſtants argue daily againſt us, was then made uſe of by the Arians againſt them, and their objections were directly the ſame with thoſe which the Proteſtants make to us in our controverſies with them. This appeared chiefly by the beginning of the goſpel of St. John, which the Arians explained in a figurative ſenſe, as they underſtood it, as alſo by ſome other paſſages, which, as they pretended, were agreeable to their Explanation, but would never receive the interpretation of the Fathers; and thus they continued ſeveral days diſputing to no purpoſe, upon that only paſſage, becauſe they had no certain rule to direct them, till at laſt the Proteſtants one day, after having diſputed a long while, (*q*) began openly to ſing the Hymn of the glorification, "Glory "be unto GOD the Father, and to his only Son, together with the "Holy Ghoſt the comforter for evermore." And hereupon the Arian miniſters and noblemen roſe up in a paſſion, and broke up the aſſembly, proteſting ſolemnly that they could not bear to ſee ſo great an injury offered to GOD. *A. D.* 1566

Thus ended this great conference without producing any other fruits, unleſs it be, that it cauſed a diviſion between the Lutheran and Calviniſt Proteſtants, who upbraided each other for having given room by their doctrine to this abominable hereſy. The Calviniſts ſaid, that Blandrata himſelf had owned, in a diſpute which he had with the Lutherans at Alba Julia, (*r*) that Luther was the firſt who had opened his eyes to the knowledge of the faith. And indeed we find in his writings, that he could not admit of the word *conſubſtantial*, without great reluctancy, and that alſo the word *Trinity* was no wiſe agreeable to him; which undoubtedly gave occaſion to Herſerus, Campanus, Suensfeldius and Illyricus, the head of the centuriators, all of them profeſſed Lutherans, to ſtrike, as they did, at the myſtery of the moſt bleſſed trinity. But the Lutherans complained ſtill more of the Calviniſts, and they openly called them Arians, (*s*) nay, even Sabellians. For they ſaid that Calvin began to attack that great myſtery of the Trinity, when he was ſo bold as to ſay, "that the holy Fathers "had not well proved the conſubſtantiality of the Word, by theſe

(*q*) Deo Patri ſit Gloria, &c. (*r*) Weiſſemburg. Lut. contra Latomum. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. in Trinitar. (*s*) Stancar. cont. Gent. Seluſembur l. 2. art. 3.

words

A. D. 1566. " words of JESUS CHRIST, (*t*) in St. John, chap. 10. I and my Father are one; that this expreſſion of the Nicene creed, GOD of GOD; ſeemed harſh to him; that the words which followed " were but a ſimple and childiſh repetition; that the words perſon and ſubſtance, ought to be aboliſhed, (*u*) and alſo when he ſaid, " that he had neither approved nor diſapproved the creed of St. " Athanaſius till ſuch time as he had tryed it by the ſcriptures, " and that nevertheleſs he could not reſolve to approve of this " prayer, Bleſſed trinity one only GOD, have mercy on us. And here they ſaid again, that the moſt inveterate Arians, as Blan- " drata, Paulus, Alciatus, David, Gentilis, Gribaldus, and a thou- " ſand others, had been Calviniſts, and that they confeſſed they " had found in the doctrine of their maſter the very principles " which they then maintained, either by confounding the perſons " in GOD, as Sabellius; or by ſeparating them, by the difference " of eſſence and nature, as had been done by Arius and Mace- " donius.

To theſe examples they might alſo have added that of the famous Andrew Dutitius, biſhop of the five churches in Hungary, (*x*) and one of the moſt learned men of his days. For falling paſſionately in love with a beautiful Poliſh lady at the court of king Sigiſmond Auguſtus, where he was ſent Ambaſſador from the Emperor Maximilian, he ſoon after uſed his utmoſt endeavours at the council of Trent to perſuade the Fathers, that it would be very expedient to exempt the cloiſters from celibacy, or at leaſt that biſhops might be allowed to marry. But finding that ſo brutiſh a propoſal was immediately rejected with horror, he was ſo prepoſſeſſed with his fooliſh paſſion, that, in order to marry that lady, he turned Calviniſt: and ſeeing afterwards, (as he wrote it to his intimate friend Beza) that if there be not a certain authority which binds the minds of men in one only opinion, a man may attempt any thing, he at laſt declared himſelf openly a Deiſt, ſaying, that it was ſufficient to believe that there was a GOD, and to obſerve the law of nature as an honeſt man. In this manner

(*t*) Calvin. in c. 10. Joan. & in ſcrip. cont. Valent. Gent. Caniſ. de Corrupt. Inſtit. lib 1. cap. 13. (*u*) Vide Caniſ. Præf. de Corrupt. Lindan. Prateol. Rem. l. 2. cap. 15. (*x*) Iſthuanf. de Reb. Hung. l. 25. Flor. lib. 4. cap. 12.

the

the Proteſtants upbraided each other. But in order to reconcile them, it may aſſuredly be ſaid that thoſe who were the revivers of Arianiſm, after an interval of near nine hundred years, were all before that, either Lutherans or Calviniſts. *A. D.* 1566.

Nevertheleſs there were ſeveral other conferences held between the Proteſtants and the Arians at Sandomira, Lublin, Alba-Julia, and in many other cities of Poland and Tranſilvania, but with no better ſucceſs, becauſe the Arians attacked the Proteſtants with their own weapons. What proved advantageous to Religion in the conference which was held at Petricovia, was, that Sigiſmond, being awaked out of his deep lethargy, by the ſtrong remonſtrances of the biſhops, and particularly of Hoſius, as alſo being in himſelf a good Catholick, and having an extream abhorrence to the blaſphemies of the Tritheiſts, he publiſhed an edict whereby he baniſhed out of his dominions all the foreigners who had introduced ſo deteſtable a doctrine. (*y*) Gentilis, before he left the country, had ſo much aſſurance as to preſent him with a Book, wherein he expounded the articles of his impious opinion, which he proteſted to be the goſpel in its purity, and wherein, (out of a wicked jeſt, which he had learned of Gregory of Paul) ſpeaking of St. Athanaſius's creed, he called it *Symbolum Satanaſii.* But if theſe impious wretches were ſpared by the indulgence of mankind, they were ſeverely puniſhed by divine juſtice. As Gentilis and Lelius Socinus were travelling through Germany, and Suiſſerland, in their way to Italy, and preaching their Doctrine where-ever they paſſed, Socinus died at Baſil, and Gentilis was arreſted by the people of Bern, who cauſed him to be executed; and even to his death he would not make a recantation of his Blaſphemies; on the contrary, as he was going to the place of execution, he boaſted that he was the firſt that died for the glory of the Father, the only true GOD; "all the apoſtles, ſaid he, "and all the martyrs having ſhed their blood but for the glory "of JESUS CHRIST, the ſon of GOD only by adoption. Blandrata, who had perverted prince John Sigiſmond, (*z*) that unfortunately died an Arian in his arms, became poſſeſſed with fury, and was ſome years after murdered by one of his Nephews, who 1568. 1578.

(*y*) Bened. Aretius in Hiſt. Gent. (*z*) Reſcius. de Atheiſm. Evangel.

A. D. made his escape with all his money. Francis David, being accused
1571. of conspiring in a plot against the state, was confined to a prison where he died with blasphemies in his mouth, crying out most dreadfully, that he saw himself surrounded with Demons, who were going to carry him away: and James Paleologus, that famous apostle of the order of St. Dominick, and who, at the request of those impious men, had made a false translation of the bible, was taken in Moravia, whither he had fled for refuge, and conducted to Rome, where, for fear of death, he made a publick abjuration of Arianism; but having relapsed some time after into his former heresy, he was burned alive, and died hardned in his impiety, on the same day that the Ambassadors from Japan were making their entry at Rome, where they were come in order to pay their
1585. homage, at the feet of the bishop of Rome, to the divinity of JESUS CHRIST who was worshipped as true GOD in the utmost parts of the east, *(a)* whilst these wretched Christian apostates were using their endeavours to rob him of it.

Thus the greatest part of these authors of the new Arianism, as
1571. well as Arius himself, fell, even in this life, into the hands of divine justice, which nevertheless made use of that scourge to punish those northern people, which proved far more terrible to them, than either war, plague or famine. For, after the death of Sigismond Augustus, (who, being contented to be a Catholick himself, never had resolution enough to suppress those heresies, tho' indeed he would not publish any Edicts in their favour) all the Hereticks that were tolerated, especially the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arians, sollicited, during the interregnum, for a liberty to exercise their Religion, not only by toleration, but even by the authority of the laws. And as a great number of noble-men had unfortunately engaged themselves in those parties, and chiefly into that of the Arians, they prevailed in the Diet, and at last obtained an edict, which was there made, whereby it was made lawful for every body to follow the opinion he approved of best. *(b)* This edict was confirmed by the new king Henry of Valois, whom they obliged to take the following oath, viz. "That he "would maintain the peace between the different parties who

(a) 22. Mar. Flor. de Rem. l. 4. c. 12. *(b)* Flor. l. 4. c. 12.

"were

" were contending for religion." His ſucceſſor was alſo obliged to take the ſame oath, which was likewiſe required of the other kings that came after, and by theſe means the Arians, by degrees, encreaſed prodigiouſly in that kingdom. *A. D.* 1572.

As for Tranſilvania, the ſame edict of toleration was alſo publiſhed there in the year one thouſand five hundred ſixty five, and was often confirmed ſince in the ſtates, under prince John Sigiſmond, who profeſſed Arianiſm. Stephen Bathorius, a prince who was truly zealous for his faith, having ſucceeded him by the choice of the people of Tranſilvania, called in the Jeſuits, in order to oppoſe the Hereticks, whom he could not deſtroy openly, becauſe of the oath which was required of the kings to maintain the edict of Liberty. After he was choſen king of Poland, prince Chriſtopher, his brother, (*c*) whom he left Vaivod in Tranſilvania, gave them an eſtabliſhment in Clausburg, Weiſſenburg, and Varadin, where they preached againſt Hereſies, and chiefly Arianiſm, with great ſucceſs; as it appeared by the converſion of a great number of thoſe Hereticks. This brought upon the Jeſuits the averſion of the miniſters of that impious doctrine, who were reſolved to be revenged of them. It was not difficult for them to execute their deſign; for as they were become formidable, and had acquired a great deal of power during the infancy of prince Sigiſmond Bathorius, they joined againſt them, with the Lutherans and Calviniſts, by the ſollicitations of Demetrius, the falſe biſhop of the Arians, who gave it out in all places, that the Jeſuits were going to reſtore the empire of the Pope, and idolatry amongſt the people of Tranſilvania: So that being ſuperior in number at a convocation of the ſtates, which was held at Megia near Clausburg, a decree was paſſed by their management for the baniſhment of the Jeſuits, in ſpite of all the endeavours that were uſed by the Prince and the Catholicks to prevent that act, which was directed contrary to the edict of Liberty, which the Proteſtants had required. It is true, that this young Prince, having diſcarded thoſe who had conſpired againſt him, and defeated the Turks who were come to uphold them, became abſolute maſter of his dominions, and that afterwards having cauſed that unlawful edict to be

(*c*) Claudiopolis Alba-Julia.

A. D. annulled, he called in again the Jesuits, and restored the Catholicks
1595. to their former privileges. But this happy turn in the affairs did not continue long, by reason of an accident which happened to this unfortunate Prince, who lost the use of his senses either by sickness, or by witchcraft, as it was generally believed in those days. For having yielded his dominions to the Emperor Rodolphus, he soon after repented what he had done, and made them over to cardinal Andrew Bathorius, his kinsman; but the Emperor sent immediately Michael Vaivoda of Walachia into Transilvania, with the famous George Basta, General of the imperial forces, who defeated the army of this cardinal-Prince; and having put him to flight, he ran into a wood, where being fatigued he fell a-sleep under a tree, and in the mean while, some shepherds finding him thus alone, he was most miserably murdered by them with his own cimeter.

1600. Prince Sigismond, who was retired into Poland (according to his natural inconstancy) resolved again to assume the government of his dominions, and was assisted in his undertaking by the troops of Moses Szekely of Transilvania, who was a great General, and
1602. a professed Arian; but the Vaivode and George Basta having defeated him in several engagements, he found himself at last obliged to solicit the Protection of the Emperor, to whom he yielded up Transilvania a second time, and retired to the territories, which were appointed for him in Bohemia, where he died
1603. of an apoplexy, about eleven years after. The Vaivode, in the mean while, having endeavoured to assume an arbitrary command in Transilvania, was killed by Gorge Basta, who took upon him the government; and Moses being backed by a powerful body of Turks and Tartars, entered the country, whereof he immediately took possession of the best part, then marched with his forces to Clausburg, which was surrendred up to him by the Arian magistrates, upon condition that he would give up the Jesuits to them, in order that they might treat them as they thought fit. Moses, who was also an Arian, readily granted them whatever they required upon that head. So that after this treaty was signed, being entered the city on the ninth of June, the Arians of Clausburg, (*d*) joined

(*d*) Lit. ann. Societ. I. ann. 1606. Alegambe. Morts. illust.

by

by thoſe of Moſes, went in arms directly to the college and church of thoſe Fathers, where they acted all the barbarities and impieties that could be thought on, both againſt JESUS CHRIST, and the defenders of his Divinity. For having entered the church in a moſt furious manner, they firſt attacked the image of the bleſſed virgin, which they profaned in a thouſand abominable manners, pronouncing an infinite number of blaſphemies againſt her, till at laſt they cut it into pieces with their hatchets and cimters: and after having executed their rage in the like manner on the ſtatues of the ſaints, which they pulled down to the ground, they at laſt laid their ſacrilegious hands on the *Sancta Sanctorum*; and having taken the holy cup out of the tabernacle, where was depoſited the ſacrament, they moſt impiouſly trampled on the ground with their feet. Hereupon brother Emmanuel Nery, a young religious man of Piemont, who held the office of Sacriſtan, or veſtry-keeper of the church, ſeeing with horror all theſe abominable Sacrileges, and the Outrages which theſe impious men offered to JESUS CHRIST, ran without any other arms but his zeal, in the midſt of this furious troop, and endeavoured to appeaſe their rage, by repreſenting to them the greatneſs and enormity of the crime which they were committing. But his extraordinary zeal was inſtantly rewarded with the Crown of glorious martyrdom, which he ſuffered in ſome manner with JESUS CHRIST himſelf, whom the Arians treated ſo unworthily in his moſt bleſſed Humanity, whilſt they were at the ſame time endeavouring to rob him of his Divinity by the blaſphemies of their hereſy. For theſe Barbarians, having immediately turned their arms and fury againſt this zealous Prieſt, after having loaded him with an infinite number of outrages, calling him an Idolater and Papiſt, to ſhew the hatred which they bore to the religion he profeſſed, they ſtruck him to the ground with a blow of an hatchet, and then ſhot him through the body with a musket, ſo left him dead on the body of his divine Maſter, which, in the Sacrament, they had before trampled under their feet. It may be ſaid, that this Martyr was happy to have ſhed his blood for ſo glorious a cauſe, by defending the Divinity and moſt bleſſed Humanity of JESUS CHRIST, againſt his implacable Enemies, the Arians. For he, in ſome manner, died like Moſes in the arms of JESUS CHRIST, who received him on his

A. D. 1603.

A. D. 1603. his Body, when he fell on the Sacrament by the blow he had received, which made his martyrdom the more compleat.

After theſe furious men had thus ſatisfied their rage in one reſpect, they ran up and down the houſe of theſe Fathers, and with ſticks and ſwords fell on ſeveral of them; amongſt others, they beat brother George Bartholick ſo unmercifully, that they broke two of his ribs; and with a ſword wounded father Peter Majorius; then pulled the ſick out of their beds, and left them lying on the ground, and expelled the reſt, after having loaded them with blows and opprobrious language: Yet, not content with all this, they plundered and pulled down the Church and College from the top to the foundations, glorifying themſelves in ſo barbarous a manner for having revenged the Glory of GOD, by exterminating thoſe from their City who made it a place of idolatry. But this horrible impiety did not remain long unpuniſhed. George Baſta having defeated Moſes in two engagements, and the latter, with moſt of the noblemen of Tranſilvania, having loſt their lives in the ſecond battle; this General, after his victory, laid ſiege to Clausburg, and took it in the month of Septemper. He then cauſed the author of the treaty with Moſes to be put to death, and having reſtored the Jeſuits, he obliged the City to give them another houſe, and a Church in the room of that which the Arians had demoliſhed. But as it came to paſs ſoon after, that Tranſilvania fell under the dominion of the Calviniſt Princes, who were protected by the Turks, if the Jeſuits, who had been more than once baniſhed, and reſtored again, were ſufferers by it, the Arians reaped no advantage from this change; for though they are ſtill tolerated in that country, nevertheleſs the Catholicks and Proteſtants, both Calviniſts and Lutherans, were reſtored to their liberty by virtue of the edicts, particularly, when they found that all the different ſects of Arianiſm had, by degrees, confounded themſelves with the moſt deteſtable ſect of them all, which took its name from Fauſtus Socinus.

This man, who was nephew to Lelius Socinus of the city of Siena, the inſeparable companion of Valentinus Gentilis, being proſecuted in Italy for the crimes of Apoſtaſy and Hereſy, ran away, as had done the other Apoſtates, and paſſed through Geneva and Germany, from whence he reſolved to paſs into Poland, in order

order to compleat the work which his Uncle had begun, For, after having acquired a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinitarians, and of these new Arians, which, at this time, puzzeled them very much, and created so many different opinions amongst them, he thought, that, in order to reunite them, he might attempt something beyond what had been till then; and therefore, setting aside all restrictions, he made use of the liberty which was then allowed them to explain the scriptures, every one according to his own private meaning, and, in short, was so bold as to say very freely, what was much easier to be comprehended, viz. That JESUS CHRIST was but man, and that he only began to take his Being from the time that he was born of the virgin Mary; that therefore one only GOD should be worshipped without distinction of Persons, according to the opinion of the Deists; and that there would be no difficulty to explain what was the Word, how it proceeded from GOD from all eternity, and after what manner it became Man, which very much perplexed the Arians. Yet I cannot say that this wicked man was the author of that heresy, for he had a great many predecessors amongst the ancient hereticks, and even amongst the new Arians, who had taught the same doctrine. (*e*) Ebion and Cerinthus, in the time of the Apostles, were the first who dared to utter this blasphemy; and it was on their account that St. John wrote his Gospel, (*f*) who was the last of the Evangelists, in order to confute them, which he did in a most heavenly manner, by establishing so plainly the Divinity of the Word, which became Man for the love of us. Symmachus the Samaritan, (*g*) who wrote a version of the Scripture about the year 196, maintained the same error, which he endeavoured to prove by the gospel of St. Matthew, whereupon he made Comments for that purpose; for neither he nor his successors could ever approve the gospel of St. John. (*b*) This was also one of the heresies of Sabellius, who confounded the three persons in GOD, and who afterwards denied that JESUS CHRIST was the Son of GOD. (*i*) Paul of Samosatus, bishop of Antioch, was condemned in the year 274. by the council of that very City, because he said that

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(*e*) Iorn. lib. 3. adv. hæres. (*f*) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. (*g*) Epiph lib. de mens. & ponder. Niceph. l. 5. c. 12. (*b*) Hilar. l. 1. de Trin. (*i*) August. in Catal. Hæret.

the

A. D. 1603. the divine Person of JESUS CHRIST began only to take his Being from the time that he was conceived in the blessed womb of the holy virgin. Photinus also bishop of Sirmium, who maintained the same impiety, was convicted by Basil of Ancyrus at the council of Sirmium, (*k*) and condemned, as it may be seen in that history, by the very Arians themselves, who confessed that the Word, tho' a creature according to their doctrine, was nevertheless from all eternity, and that it became man, by uniting itself with human nature in the blessed womb of a virgin. Amongst the great number of Tritheists, who were the revivers of Arianism in these latter times, many of them before Socinus had already fallen into an opinion of this detestable impiety. Lucas Sternbergius made a publick profession of it, Okin introduced it slily in his writings, (*l*) Duditius was used to say, that people were at liberty to believe what they thought fit, concerning that article: and Simon Budneus, who published this doctrine throughout Lithuania, composed a bible on purpose, after his own manner, in order that the world might find therein the hundred and twenty passages, whereby he pretended to maintain that blasphemy.

Therefore this Faustus Socinus is neither the author, nor the reviver of what we call Socinianism; but that name was given to it because Socinus treated this impious subject after a more nice and plausible manner, than the others; which afterwards procured him a greater number of followers, chiefly amongst the nobility of Poland, where a great many of his disciples, became his protectors. For indeed he said nothing but what might be easily understood, without being obliged to make a sacrifice of a man's reason, in order to submit it to the belief of what is so infinitely beyond his comprehension. His doctrine was, that GOD is but one only person, and that the Word and Holy Ghost, were nothing more than the wisdom and omnipotency by which he acteth all things according to his will: That GOD hath no Son by nature, but only by adoption; and that he who beareth that title by excellency, is JESUS CHRIST, who is a man exraordinary, whom he framed in the womb of a virgin by his almighty power, and by that divine

(*k*) Vincent. Livin. contra Prof. hæret. novit. de Rom. l. 4. c. 13.

(*l*) Pratsol. in Dial. Resc. Fl.

operation

operation which is alſo called the Holy Ghoſt: That he is chiefly for this reaſon ſtiled the Son of GOD, and even GOD by participation, becauſe of his ſuper-eminent dignity, and of the miniſtry, which he hath received of GOD his Father, who hath given him all power, both in heaven and on earth, and hath appointed him mediator and high-prieſt, in order to reconcile us to him after our tranſgreſſions, by interceeding for us; and that whatever is ſaid of the Trinity, of the incarnation of the Word, of the preſence of CHRIST's body in the Euchariſt, and the efficacy of baptiſm towards blotting out the original ſin, all theſe, he ſays, are meer illuſions and fables of man's invention. *A. D.* 1603.

There was nothing in this doctrine, above human underſtanding, nor that humbled the vanity of the mind, which naturally rebels againſt what it cannot comprehend; and beſides, you could not diſcover therein the difficulties which perplexed the Arians and Antitrinitarians, when they were put to it, to explain their myſteries: and this occaſioned amongſt them that great number of opinions, which divided them into ſo many ſects. Therefore moſt of thoſe Hereticks, who were oppoſed chiefly to the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, joined all together, in order to follow that opinion, which in a little time got the upper hand. The Proteſtants began to fear this new enemy, who was growing formidable, by the union of ſo many forces, and at firſt uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the progreſs of his doctrine. Volanus, who was the moſt powerful and famous Lutheran of thoſe days, wrote againſt him, in defence of the great myſtery of the Word incarnate, which he maintained by the ſcriptures interpreted according to the opinion of the Fathers and Councils. But Socinus having employed the arms of the Proteſtants themſelves againſt him, found it no difficult matter to overcome him; for he told him what he himſelf had often ſaid to the Catholicks: (*m*) "Thoſe Councils, and thoſe Fathers whom "you mention, are they infallible? There is no judge amongſt "men who hath authority to determine the affairs of religion; that "power is veſted alone in the word of GOD, which we find in the "ſcriptures, and my belief is grounded on that only." And indeed there is no Proteſtant, who acts on his own principle, that can

(*m*) Socin. l. de Chr. nat.

A. D. 1603. reasonably condemn a Socinian, because the disputes of the latter, either when he challenges, or defends himself, are always maintained by the scripture interpreted according to his own fancy, in the same manner as the Protestants proceed against us when any disputes arise, which are decided by them according to their own interpretations of the scriptures. A Catholick is the only person that can destroy this abominable heresy with the same arms which he employs against the Protestants, but it is not the business of an historian to mention the truths, which must be proved by a divine, tho' I think I have made them very plain in the treatise which I wrote on the true word of GOD. (*n*)

In this manner it was that Socinus by degrees re-united to his party, all the different sects of modern Arians, who, tho' they retain their ancient name in some parts, are nevertheless real Socinians, and have nothing left of the old Arianism, but their obstinate impiety by endeavouring to destroy the divinity of JESUS CHRIST. However, these impious men were abhorred almost throughout the world; and even Poland, where they began to spread the venom of their wicked doctrine, was happily delivered of them in our days, under the reign of king John Casimir. For during the last war that was carried on between Swedeland and Poland, it being discovered that the Arians or Socinians, who were striving to take advantage from the ruin of the Polish state, held a private correspondence with Prince Ragozky of Transilvania, who had invaded Poland at the same time; the Catholick noblemen, who were assembled at the general diet of Varsovia in 1658. the year sixteen hundred fifty eight, took that opportunity to free Poland from that abominable heresy, which might have brought still greater calamities on that state, who had already been very near its utter destruction. The Lutheran and Calvinist Nuncio's, who were present at this diet, fearing least the laws, which were going to be put in force against those Hereticks, might affect them also, and expose them to the like treatment, they all joined together, in order to oppose the decree. But as their number was much inferior to that of the Catholicks, and that they were left out of the question by an act of toleration, and moreover, as they bore

(*n*) Chap. 9. & 10.

an

an averſion to the Arians, whom (had it been in their power) they would often have baniſhed thence out of Poland, at laſt a law was paſſed by a general conſent, whereby Arianiſm was utterly aboliſhed; and the Arians and Socinians, being both comprehended under the ſame name, were obliged either to abjure their hereſy, or to leave the kingdom within the ſpace of two years, which was the time allowed them to diſpoſe of their eſtates. This decree, which has been ſince confirmed by the other general diets, was not of the nature of thoſe which often loſe their force by length of time, like thoſe laws that are made from time to time, out of a party zeal for the ſuppreſſion of publick diſorders. It was put in execution, and is ſtill in force to this day; ſeveral of theſe Hereticks retired into Hungary, and ſome to the territories of the Turks, who in a manner profeſs the ſame belief as they do, concerning the perſon of JESUS CHRIST; others went into Germany, where the ſtates had obliged the Emperor to grant an act of toleration to the Arians, as well as to the Lutherans and Calviniſts. A part of theſe Hereticks retired into Holland, (*o*) where all, excepting the true religion, are tolerated, and where the victorious arms of our moſt Chriſtian king, who has reſtored it in above thirty places, which he conquered in one campain, give us ſome room to hope, that it will ſoon again retrieve (either by the means of peace, or war) that liberty, which it had been deprived of for the ſpace of near one hundred years. The reſt of the Arians paſſed into Tranſilvania, which, in the miſerable condition it is now reduced to, by the power that the Turks have aſſumed in that country, is rather become a baniſhment to them, than a place of refuge.

A. D. 1658. 1660.

As to thoſe who were reſolved to continue in Poland, and were far ſuperior in number to the others, ſome of them became Catholicks, and the reſt were obliged to join in opinion with the Lutherans and Calviniſts; ſo that they all were baptized, becauſe one of the Errors of the Socinians being, that Baptiſm was nothing more than a ſign, by which the primitive Chriſtians took upon them to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Pagans, and was now no longer neceſſary, they never uſed Baptiſm. Socinianiſm was in this manner rooted out of Poland, at leaſt with regard to the publick

(*o*) Merc. Fran. Tom. 8.

A.D. 1660. profeſſion and exerciſe of that hereſy. For we have known by experience, that many of thoſe who adhered to the party of the Proteſtants, continued ſtill Socinians in their heart, though they aſſumed another name, in order to skreen themſelves from the Puniſhment which was inflicted by the law on thoſe who were convicted of that impious hereſy. Neither are thoſe heretick tolerated at Geneva, in Suiſſerland, Germany, Muſcovy, Suedeland, or in England, where there are ſevere laws which prevent thoſe enemies of JESUS CHRIST from profeſſing their impiety. So that the Arian hereſy, after having unmercifully exerciſed its tyranny, for about three hundred and forty years, almoſt throughout the whole world, by all the wickedneſs, deceit, treachery, violence, and cruelty, which you have ſeen in this hiſtory, and by all the moſt abominable crimes that Hell it ſelf could inſpire in the moſt impious of men; this hereſy, I ſay, deſtroyed it ſelf in Socinianiſm, which ſprung from it in theſe latter days.

It is true, that the profeſſors of this laſt hereſy have writ large Volumes, wherein they endeavour to maintain their doctrine, either from paſſages of the Scripture, or by thoſe reaſons and arguments which they oppoſe to the Catholick faith, with reſpect to theſe two great myſteries, viz. The Trinity, and the divinity humanity of JESUS CHRIST. But for the intereſt of Truth, and in order to undeceive thoſe who were ſo far impoſed upon as to be perſuaded that thoſe Books were written by men of good ſenſe and learning; I think my ſelf obliged to declare, that they ſhewed all the want of judgment and weakneſs imaginable in writing as they have done. For as to what relates to the Scriptures, they have only produced thoſe paſſages which the Paulianiſts, the Photinians, and Sabellians, their anceſtors, had oppoſed to us above a thouſand years ago, and which the Fathers of thoſe days had often times fully and plainly anſwered, by explaining them according to their true ſenſe, which was that of the Church, of whom they were the principal Members. What can be more weak and deſpiſable than to advance nothing more than what has been ſo often propoſed, and as often explained; as it is ſtill done every day, by conſidering JESUS CHRIST according to the two natures both Divine and Humane? And for the arguments which they oppoſe to us, they borrow from the writings of our Doctors thoſe very paſ-

ſages,

ſages, which we our ſelves object againſt our myſteries, in order to explain them; and they glory in them, whilſt at the ſame time they take pains to conceal the anſwers which our Doctors have made to them. What can be more wretched? Let us add to this, that when we propoſe a hundred paſſages to them, which plainly expreſs the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, they will explain them according to their own Meaning; and they will not allow us to explain their paſſages as the Fathers of the ancient Church underſtood them. This certainly muſt raiſe the indignation of any man that is maſter of common ſenſe. But, as an hiſtorian, it is my buſineſs to refute this hereſy. I have already made that matter clear, in my treatiſe of the True Word of GOD, (*p*) by ſuch invincible arguments, as the Proteſtants, to their great misfortune, are not able to employ againſt the Socinians; (*q*) and you may ſee a confutation of what I have mentioned, which is yet much ſtronger, in the learned Father Petavius, (*r*) who has left nothing untouched relating to this ſubject. A. D. 1660.

It was therefore to no purpoſe that Arianiſm, after having been aboliſhed during the ſpace of almoſt nine hundred years, uſed ſuch ſtrong endeavours to revive again in the laſt century, by the intereſt of thoſe who roſe up againſt the Church. The very people whom it called upon for protection againſt the Catholicks, have abhorred it themſelves. It has been baniſhed out of all the Chriſtian countries, and dares not to appear either in its own ſhape, or under the cloak of Arianiſm, which has aſſumed both its place and name, unleſs it be in that wretched part of the world, which is under the government of the Mahometans, who take pleaſure to ſee the Chriſtians join with them in renouncing the belief of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. But it never was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as it now is, through thoſe very means which the Arians applied, in order to deſtroy it in the minds of men, ſince it occaſioned ſo many miracles as made it manifeſt throughout the world. And as Arianiſm was ſubdued at laſt, after all its furious attempts, it more glorioufly conduced to the

(*p*) Chap. X. (*q*) Tom. 2. l. 3. de Trinit. contra Crell. Socinianism.
(*r*) Peteau.

triumph

A. D. 1666. triumph of that Truth, which hath declared from the beginning of Christianity to this time without interruption, that He who became Man for our sake, is the Son of GOD by nature, who liveth and reigneth, in equality of Power and Majesty, with the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

FINIS.



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FINIS.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SOCINIANISM.

Wherein are treated its RISE and PROGRESS in the different Parts of CHRISTENDOM, from Monſieur *L'AMY.*

CHAP. I.

The Riſe of SOCINIANISM.

THE original of the Socinians is more antient than is generally ſuppoſed, and may be ſaid to have had its riſe in the very firſt ages of the Church, amongſt thoſe grand Hereticks who appeared againſt the Trinity of the Divine perſons, the Conſubſtantiality of the Word, the Divinity of CHRIST, &c. againſt whom the holy fathers took up arms, and whom the Church has condemned in her earlieſt Councils.

And, indeed, the moſt penetrating Hiſtorians of this ſect pride themſelves in having ſucceeded Theodotius of Byzantium, Artemon, Beryllus Biſhop of Boſtra, Paul of Samoſata, and Photinus Biſhop of Sirmium.

They might have added (taking their riſe higher, and continuing it down to the fourth Century) that they were the ſucceſſors of Cerinthus, of Carpocrates, Ebion, Elxai, Valentinus, who were before Theodotus, of Praxeus, Noëtius, Sabellius, Arius, and Priſcillian, who followed their ſteps.

All theſe Hereticks were heads of the Socinians, and trod in the ſteps one of another, made uſe of their proofs, or gave them a new turn.

Cerinthus. St. Epiphanius. L. 28. c. 1. St. Irenæus, L. 1. c. 25.

Cerinthus, who began to teach towards the end of the firſt Century, and in the life-time of St. John the Evangeliſt, made a great difference between JESUS CHRIST, and *the* CHRIST: He inſiſted, that JESUS CHRIST was a man born, like other men, of Joſeph and Mary; but that he excelled the reſt of mankind chiefly in juſtice, prudence and wiſdom; that this JESUS having been baptized, *the* CHRIST of the ſoveraign GOD, that is, according to St. Epiphanius, the HOLY GHOST deſcended upon him under the figure of a dove, revealed to him the Fathers (who were till then unknown) and by his means revealed it to the reſt; that it was by the virtues of CHRIST that JESUS had performed Miracles; that this JESUS had ſuffered, and riſen again: But that the CHRIST had left him, and was aſcended again in his plenitude without ſuffering at all. Thus, like the Gnoſticks, he overturned that fundamental truth of our ſalvation, that the Word was made fleſh; tho' he alledged, that JESUS was born from Joſeph, yet he ſeemed to ſay, that he was the SON of the CREATOR, and even that by his union with the CHRIST, he was become the SON of the ſupreme GOD. Some of the Socinians have talked in this manner, and particularly Francis David.

Tillemont Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. 2. p. 62.

Carpocrates.

Carpocrates, about the year 130, endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome extraordinary opinions, contrary to thoſe of *Saturninus* and *Baſilides*, who maintained, that JESUS CHRIST was not truly man. Carpocrates gave into the oppoſite extreme. He inſiſted, that he was a meer man, ſon of Joſeph, born as others are, differing from them in nothing but his virtues, which had drawn upon him from above, the power whereby his ſoul, being freed from his body, had obtained the privilege of aſcending to GOD his FATHER, and to have a place amongſt the angels, and heavenly powers. There have been in Hungary Socinians who talked in this manner.

Ebionites.

The *Ebionites* (who, according to Origen and Euſebius, are ſo named from the word *Ebion* (which ſignifies a contemptible fellow) becauſe

becauſe they had mean notions of JESUS CHRIST; but, according to the moſt common opinion, from one named *Ebion*, a Stoic philoſopher (a diſciple of Cerinthus, and his ſucceſſor) do not agree among themſelves concerning JESUS CHRIST. Some ſay he was born, in the uſual way, of Joſeph and Mary, and acquired his holineſs only by his good works: Others own him to have been born of a virgin, but deny him to be the word and the wiſdom of GOD, or that he exiſted before his human generation: Thus it is not likely, they would call him, the WORD of GOD. They only ſaid he was the only true prophet; but however a meer man, who by his virtue roſe ſo high as to be called CHRIST, and the SON of GOD. There are few Socinians, who do not thus explain themſelves. *St.* Ireneus. Euſebius.

Elxai, a Jew, in the time of the Emperor Trajan, joined with the Ebionites; he and his diſciple, called *Elxaites* or *Sampſeans*, admitted a CHRIST deſcended from Heaven in JESUS CHRIST; but pretended, that this CHRIST was not the SON of GOD, but an Angel, or power deſcended from heaven, to put an end to the ſacrifices of the creator: That is, they abſolutely denied the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. Elxai.

The *Valentinians* had no other ſentiments of JESUS CHRIST. According to them he was but a mere man, upon whom the heavenly CHRIST deſcended; and that the HOLY GHOST was no more than a divine virtue: This is the common language of the Socinians. Valentinians.

Theodotius of Byzantium, whom the Socinians regard as their great Hero, was a currier by profeſſion, converſant in the *belles lettres*, and happy enough to have ſuffered perſecution under Marcus Aurelius, though ſo unhappy as not to have perſevered. All thoſe that were taken with him, ſuffered martyrdom for JESUS CHRIST. That mean ſpirited proceeding brought him into great confuſion and perplexities in his own country. Not being able to bear them, he went to Rome, and in order to excuſe himſelf, there maintained, that it was no ſin, or at leaſt not a conſiderable one, to renounce JESUS CHRIST, ſince he himſelf declares, that whatever ſhall be ſaid againſt him, ſhall be pardoned. From That he went on to a greater blaſphemy, ſaying, that he had not renounced GOD, but only a man, namely JESUS CHRIST. This blaſphemy drew upon him an excommunication from St. Victor, the then Pope. His diſciples, who have retained the name of Theodotians, have ſupported the ſame error. Tertullian, St. Auſtin, and St. Philoſtratus, relate his relapſe almoſt in Theodotius.

the ſame manner: And St. Epiphanius ſays, he held that JESUS CHRIST was born in the ſame manner as the reſt of mankind. Yet Tertullian, or another of the ſame age, ſays, he acknowledged him to be born of a virgin by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, but without any other privilege, than that of being more eminently virtuous and juſt. And this is the favourite paradox of the modern Socinians.

Tillemont Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. 3. p. 68.

Artemon. Gennadius Dog. c. 3. t. 3. p. 380. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 5.

Artemon, or *Artemas*, taught, ſometime after Theodotius, that JESUS CHRIST was born of a virgin, and that he was GOD, but that he did not ſubſiſt either in his *human*, or *divine* nature, before his Birth. This opinion ſeems different from that of Theodotius. However, Theodotius finds no difference in it. He pretends, that all Artemon's hereſy conſiſts in ſaying, that JESUS CHRIST is not the ſupreme GOD, but meer man. And Euſebius, ſpeaking of a treatiſe written againſt Artemon, ſays, it was written againſt him as well as againſt *Theodotius*: Which ſhews us, that they two were guilty of the ſame hereſy, of which Theodotius was the Author, and which Artemon made ſo famous. St. Epiphanius calls their diſciples *Aloges*, that is, without the Word, becauſe they acknowledged not the word, preached by St. John. He likewiſe mentions the *Melchiſedechéans*, ariſing from another Theodotius, called the banker. They believed that JESUS CHRIST was no more than meer man, but born of a virgin by the operation of the HOLY GHOST; and theſe Melchiſedechéans, differed from the *Aloges* in nothing but in ſetting Melchiſedeck above JESUS CHRIST.

Aloges.

Melchiſedechéans.

Hermogenes *and* Praxeus.

Tertullian ſpeaks of two Hereticks named *Hermogenes* and *Praxeus*; the latter was the firſt who had the boldneſs to maintain a new hereſy at Rome. He acknowledged one only GOD, but in ſpeaking of him, he deſtroyed the diſtinction of the Perſons. He inſiſted, that the FATHER was the ſame as JESUS CHRIST, and that it was he that was incarnate, born of the virgin, ſuffered, and himſelf ſat down at his right hand. It is true indeed, that by means of Tertullian he recanted, and that his recantation, written by his own hand, is preſerved by the Catholicks. But his return to the Church did not laſt long.

Beryllus.

Beryllus, Biſhop of Boſtra in Arabia, whoſe letters and other works were collected by St. Alexander of Jeruſalem, in the library he made, appeared about the Year 235, under Alexander Severus, Maximin, and Gordian: He for ſome time governed the Church committed to his

his care with great reputation, and at laſt fell into a hereſy, which denied that JESUS CHRIST had properly an exiſtence before the Incarnation; and pretended, that he did not begin to be GOD, until he was born of the Virgin, and even that he was only GOD, by the FATHER's being in him, in the ſame manner as he was in the Prophets. The Socinians ſpeak no otherwiſe. He was afterwards converted by Origen, and Euſebius places him amongſt the illuſtrious eccleſiaſtical writers.

Noëtins, an Aſiatick of Epheſus, or of Smyrna, in the beginning of the third century, trod in the ſteps of Praxeus. He taught, that the eternal FATHER was not different from the SON; that there was but one perſon in GOD, who took the name ſometimes of the FATHER, and ſometimes of the SON, who was born of a virgin, and ſuffered upon the croſs. Noëtius.

His diſciple *Sabellius* of Pentapolis, of the Lybia Cyrenaica in Egypt, ſeemed to own, there were three perſons in GOD, but not really diſtinct and ſubſiſting; he conſidered them only as three names, and virtues. The Socinians are fond of ſuch a TRINITY. Sabellius.

Paul of *Samoſata*, Biſhop of Antioch, another Patriarch of the Socinians, maintained, that the word was not really united to the humanity of JESUS CHRIST, and beſides, denied this word to be a perſon diſtinct from the FATHER. It is ſaid in a letter, which the fathers of the ſecond councils of Antioch ſent to Pope Dionyſius, that they had condemned Paul of Samoſata, chiefly for reviving the hereſy of Artemon, in teaching that JESUS CHRIST was meerly man, who had not ſubſiſted before he was born of the virgin Mary. Paul of Samoſata.

Arius, a prieſt of the Church of Alexandria, about the end of the year 328, otherwiſe explained himſelf. He advanced that the word of GOD was a creature formed out of nothing, and of a ſubſtance different from the FATHER, that he had a beginning, and was capable of changing: Thus he deduced the Trinity of the perſons, the Conſubſtantiality of the Word, the ſupreme Divinity of JESUS, and all thoſe myſteries that are the conſequences of them. Arius.

Photinus, the laſt Patriarch of the Socinians, was a native of Galatia, Biſhop of Sirmium, and diſciple of Marcellus, Biſhop of Ancyra. He did not diſſemble his ſentiments in regard to Sabellianiſm, of which his maſter had been ſuſpected by the Arians; he openly maintained, that the word was not a diſtinct perſon from the FATHER, and that he ought not to have attributed to him the title of Photinus.

SON

SON of GOD, before he was born of Mary. This is the manner of talking among the Socinians.

Priſcillianiſts. To all thoſe Hereticks we may add the *Priſcillianiſts*, who appeared about the middle of the fourth Century; they embraced many hereſies, but particularly thoſe of the Manicheans, and thoſe which fall under our ſubject. Turribius, in his memorial, addreſſed to Pope Leo, tells us, that they, as well as the Sabellians, held, that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were but one ſingle perſon; and in the ſame manner as Paul of Samoſata, and Photinus, aſſerted, that JESUS CHRIST was called the SON of GOD, only from his being born of a virgin.

This conformity between the modern Socinians and thoſe antient Hereticks, whom they themſelves acknowledge as their fathers, together with the diverſity in the ſentiments of thoſe, who firſt amongſt them declared againſt the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the odd fantaſtical expreſſions, which moſt of them have uſed in their books and controverſies; the alterations made in their ſyſtem of faith and diſcipline; and the cities where they firſt ſettled in order to form a ſociety ſeparate from the reſt of the ſects; all theſe circumſtances have induced hiſtorians to give them different names, which we will here mention, to give a greater light into our ſubject.

CHAP. II.

The different Names which the SOCINIANS *have born, and now bear.*

THE Catholicks, Lutherans, and Calviniſts, ſeeing the myſteries of the TRINITY, and the divinity of CHRIST oppoſed at the beginning of the Reformation, gave names agreeable to their errors to ſuch as thus ſwerved from the firſt principles of their religion; calling them Ebionites, Samoſatians, modern Arians, Sabellians, Photinians, Trinitarians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Deiſts, Tritheiſts: Some time after thoſe names were changed; and they called them Pinczowians, Racovians, Sandomirians, Cujavians, the Poliſh Brethren, and at preſent, Socinians, Monarchy-men, Arminians, Mennonites, and Latitudinarians.

They called them *Trinitarians*, becauſe there were ſome, who in the beginning confeſſed three things in the Trinity; but they did not mean that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST were three perſons; that indeed there was a nature or GODHEAD common to all the three, but not an eſſence; that there was but one GOD ſupreme, great, eminent, Creator of all things, called the FATHER, and that the SON and the HOLY GHOST, were not the true GOD. Servetus is the head of this kind of Socinians, and falls under Sabellius's hereſy, who maintained an unity of nature, and denied the Trinity of perſons: Though theſe are improperly called Trinitarians, this name agreeing with ſuch only who confeſſed three perſons really diſtinct and ſubſiſting in one eſſence or divine nature. Trinitarians.

They called them *Unitarians*, almoſt for the ſame reaſon: It was thus that all thoſe were called in Tranſilvania and Hungary, who believed in GOD the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, and yet acknowledged but one perſon, namely, the ALMIGHTY FATHER, and only GOD: Who only admitted the Apoſtles Creed, and the doctrine of the primitive Church, without explaining it: And ſaid, that as there was but one GOD in eſſence, ſo there was but one in perſon, or one perſon: Yet they worſhipped JESUS CHRIST as the only LORD, and the only SON of the moſt high GOD. And they were therefore in contempt named Ebionites, Samoſatians, Arians, Photinians, &c. Unitarians.

They called them *Antitrinitarians*, becauſe amongſt theſe Innovators, there were ſome, who, not comprehending the doctrine of the Unitarians, and admitting nothing into Religion, but what was agreeable to their reaſon, took the ſide quite oppoſite to the others. The Unitarians and Trinitarians admitted a kind of Trinity; the Antitrinitarians admitted none at all, and comprehending nothing real in GOD but his eſſence, reckoned the divine perſons, or the perſonalities as nothing: And by a natural conſequence, gave no privilege to the SON, or the HOLY GHOST, which might diſtinguiſh them to be GOD. They were certain miniſters of Poland, who firſt forged this ſyſtem. Antitrinitarians.

They called them *Tritheiſts*. The antient Tritheiſts, not to confound the perſons, admitted and diſtinguiſhed three natures in GOD, dividing the divine eſſence into three perſons, and calling one the FATHER, the other the SON, and the third the HOLY GHOST, as if each perſon were not perfectly GOD, but only an intelligence, which made three ſubſtances in GOD. In the ſame manner they, Tritheiſts,

whoſe

whoſe hiſtory we are writing, eſtabliſhed, as it were, three GODS in different degrees, GOD the FATHER, GOD the SON, and GOD the HOLY GHOST, with this difference, that the HOLY GHOST was not GOD ſo much as the SON, nor the SON ſo much as the FATHER, and that the FATHER was the true and ſupreme GOD. It was thence concluded, that they were true Tritheiſts. It is ſuppoſed, that Gregory de Paul, a miniſter of Cracow, and Valentin Gentilis were the inventors of this ingenious Chimera.

Deiſts. They called them *Deiſts* for the ſame reaſon; for by making the FATHER greater than the SON, and HOLY GHOST, they denied the SON and HOLY GHOST to be GOD. Gomez and Farnovius are they who explain themſelves thus, in order to deprive JESUS CHRIST of his divinity.

Pinczowians, Racovians, Sandomirians, Cujavians. They called them *Pinczowians*, *Racovians*, *Sandomirians*, *Cujavians*, becauſe the firſt who declared againſt the divinity of JESUS CHRIST lived at Pinczow, Racovia, Sandomir, and Cujavia; and it was only in Poland they were ſo called.

Poliſh brethren. They called them the *Poliſh Brethren*, becauſe all the modern Sectaries in Poland, who declared againſt the myſteries of the Trinity, and of a GOD incarnate, formed a ſort of confederacy to ſupport themſelves againſt ſuch as did not believe as they did: And all they who entred into this confederacy, affected the name of *Brethren* amongſt each other.

Socinians. They called them *Socinians*, from Fauſtus Socinus, who ſeeing all the Unitarian miniſters in Poland divided among themſelves, ſo as to make above thirty ſorts of ſocieties or communions, all differing in their tenets, except that which took away the ſupreme divinity from JESUS CHRIST, in which they all agreed, united them all by his new ſyſtems, and the new turns he gave to his doctrine, and thereby made himſelf their maſter, and their chief, though they never would conſent to hold any religious ſociety with him, and even went ſo far as to excommunicate him.

Monarchy-men. L. revelatio cathol veri. They called them *Monarchy-men*, and it is the name which Zwicker gave to the Unitarians of Poland, meaning, that they acknowledged GOD the FATHER alone as the only and ſovereign GOD.

Mennonites, Arminians, Cocceians, Quakers. In Holland and England they now call them *Mennonites*, *Arminians*, *Cocceians*, *Quakers*, &c. becauſe the name of a Socinian being every where odious, moſt of them have joined with thoſe tolerated Congregations, and ſo much the more readily, as they agree well enough

nough with the Socinians in that eſſential point: I mean of JESUS CHRIST, whom thoſe Communions do not acknowledge to be the great GOD, or whoſe Divinity appears doubtful to them, or a point, the belief of which is not eſſential to Salvation, as will appear when we come to ſpeak of thoſe Sects.

To conclude, Mr. Jurien calls them *Latitudinarians* and *Tolerants.* His reaſon is, that the Latitudinarians are a ſort of people who are enemies to all the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, who reduce the Articles of Faith to believing a GOD, a Providence, a Paradiſe, and a Hell, who ſcarce believe a JESUS CHRIST crucified for the Salvation of the world, and who ſo widen the paths of Salvation, that all Hereticks, Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens, may enter into them without any change in their ſentiments. And indeed, the Socinians, who declare themſelves enemies to our myſteries, are ſatisfied with worſhipping a GOD, acknowledging a Providence, ſuch as it is, that is, ſuch a one as does not foreſee future contingencies; admitting a Paradiſe and a Hell, believing a JESUS CHRIST, not as the ſupreme GOD, but as man, a great king, and a ſpiritual judge eſtabliſhed by his GOD; are very eaſy with Jews, Mahometans, and all the other communions, and inſiſt much upon Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience. Latitudinarians.

CHAP. III.

The Motive which gave riſe to SOCINIANISM.

THough we have laid it down as fact, that the Socinians took their riſe from thoſe Hereticks who divided the Church in its beginning; yet we are to think, that thoſe antient hereſies being laid aſleep during the ſpace of many ages, the Socinians have not taken upon them to revive them without ſome freſh motive. This motive is the reformation, which Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Mennon, and others have introduced into Chriſtianity. It is therefore to theſe new reformers that the Socinians think themſelves obliged for their new paradoxes.

In effect, all thoſe Reformers, not admitting any other judge of the diſputes inceſſantly raiſed in matters of religion, but the holy Scripture alone, nor any other interpreters, for the ſenſe of them, than

their own genius: There were found among them men who carried their wantonneſs of wit ſo far, that at length neither would they admit of any other religion than that, which their own particular genius could inſpire them with, upon the bare reading of the ſacred books, and allow of nothing in their belief, but what the ſcripture ſhould hold out to them in a manner clear, and incapable of any diſpute. And as the words Trinity, Conſubſtantiality, Eternal SON, baptiſm of infants, were not found in the ſcripture, in a manner that appeared deciſive to them, they began to retrench from their belief the words Trinity, Conſubſtantiality, the ſupreme Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, his Eternity, the baptiſm of infants, and other doctrines, the detail whereof would carry us too far.

Theſe novelties did not fail making a great noiſe, not ſo much among the Catholicks, who expected nothing leſs from people who had divorced themſelves from the Church, as among the Lutherans and Calviniſts. Moſt of them openly ſhewed their deteſtation of them, and every where oppoſed them with heat and violence; but they too who adhered to them, wanted not an anſwer, and making uſe either of Luther's, or Calvin's words, put their adverſaries, although their maſters, out of a condition of replying.

In ſhort, what could the Lutherans or Calviniſts ſay that was reaſonable, who had rejected Tradition, the Authority of Councils, and allowed nothing but the holy ſcripture, interpreted according to their own private fancy? which was juſt the Conduct of ſuch as Arianiſed. They alſo explained the Scripture according to their taſte or prejudices, and from thence drew concluſions for the greateſt part of their belief.

True it is then, that Luther, Calvin, and all thoſe Reformers, have furniſhed the Socinianswith motives for revolting againſt the myſteries of the TRINITY, and of the incarnation of the Eternal SON of GOD. And indeed, the latter have been modeſt enough in the praiſes they have given themſelves, and in their apologies for their faith, not to ſay they are the authors of it; but that they have ſet it in its cleareſt and fulleſt light after Luther, and Calvin, and the reſt, had begun to remove the rubbiſh, with which, according to their way of talking, the errors and prejudices of the Church of Rome had cover'd it.

Lubieniſki Hiſt. Ref. Ecc. Pol. c. 4.

Doubtleſs it was to leave us a perpetual monument of their acknowledging the Lutherans and Calviniſts as their maſters, and the

firſt

firſt Founders of their Sect, that they had pictures drawn, where they repreſented a magnificent Temple, with Luther on the top of it, ſtriving with all his might to take off the tiles and rafters; Zuinglius and Calvin, who were making uſe of different machines to throw down the walls; Servetus, Blandrat, Gregorio Pauli, and others, who ſpared nothing, but were making uſe of every thing, antient errors as well as modern, in order to ſap the foundations of it, and remove the laſt or corner ſtone, to wit, the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the adoration due to him, and his mediation: Whereon is built the ſpiritual edifice of the SON of GOD.

From all which we may conclude, that the Socinians, even by their own confeſſion, have taken their riſe from the new Sects; and that it is on occaſion of their principles, they have revived the antient hereſies concerning the Trinity, the Conſubſtantiality of the Word, and the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. So that they, who have written upon the Sect of the Socinians, have taken care to ſhew us, that the firſt who oppoſed the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, were either Lutherans, Sacramentarians, Anabaptiſts, or Calviniſts, or belonging to ſome of the Sects that roſe in the ſixteenth Century.

The firſt of thoſe, who, from the Errors of the modern Sectaries, gave in to Arianiſm, were Fabritius Capito, Cellarius, Halzar, Valdes, Campanus, Schufenvel, Illyricus, Michael Servetus, and all thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves amongſt the Anabaptiſts, of whom I ſhall give an account, in ſpeaking of the Socinianiſm of the Upper and Lower Rhine, introduced into the Communion of the Mennonites.

CHAP. IV.

The SOCINIANISM *in* Italy, *by whom, and how ſpread into different parts.*

WHilſt ſome of Luther's diſciples made the world talk of them in Germany by the novelty of the Tenets they had broached upon the myſtery of the Trinity, forty perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their rank, employments, and talents, in 1546, ſet up a kind of Academy at Vicenza, a town in the Venetian territories, to confer together upon matters of religion, and particularly upon ſuch

as then made the greateſt noiſe. And nothing keeping them within
Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol. the bounds of that Faith and reſpect they owed to the Church, they took the freedom to call in doubt moſt of the Articles of our holy Faith.

They eaſily agreed that there was but one GOD moſt high, who had created all things by the power of his Word, and governed all things by that Word; that this Word was his SON; that this SON was JESUS of NAZARETH, the SON of Mary, and true man, but a man, who had ſomething more in him than other men, having been begotten of a Virgin, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST; that it was he whom GOD promiſed to the antient Patriarchs, and ſent down to mankind; who preached the Goſpel, and ſhewed unto men the paths he trod, in order to aſcend to Heaven, by mortifying his fleſh, and living in holineſs; that he died by the command of his Father, to procure us the remiſſion of our ſins; that he was raiſed again by the power of the FATHER, and that he was glorified in Heaven.

To theſe Tenets, which appear at firſt ſight to contain nothing but what is orthodox, they ſubjoined, that ſuch as obeyed this JESUS were juſtified of GOD; that ſuch as were holy in him, through him received the Immortality they had loſt through Adam; that he was himſelf the ſole LORD, and Head of the people, who obeyed him; that he was the judge of the Living and the Dead; that towards the Conſummation of things he ſhould return unto us; it may be ſaid, that they made all their Religion to conſiſt in theſe points only.

As to the doctrines of Chriſtianity, viz. whether there be a TRINITY, or one GOD in three perſons really diſtinct: Whether JESUS CHRIST was GOD, and a GOD conſubſtantial with the Eternal FATHER; whether the HOLY GHOST was alſo a GOD proceeding from the FATHER and the SON from all eternity: Whether juſtification was wrought by the merits of JESUS CHRIST, or by our own, or not: About theſe they gave themſelves no manner of trouble; they looked upon all ſuch Doctrines, as upon the points of the Grecian philoſophy, and not as belonging to the Faith; and confirmed themſelves in that thought, by all the proofs employed by the antient Hereticks againſt us, being beſides perſuaded that a fine genius could not long continue firm in the Tenets of the Roman Church.

The aſſemblies of theſe men could not be kept ſo ſecret, but a republick ſo regulated, and ſo vigilant as that of Venice, at laſt had information of them, as well as of the ſubject matter of them: And fearing the ill conſequences which are inſeparable from novelties in matters

matters of religion, iſſued out decrees againſt ſuch who called together or frequented ſuch aſſemblies, and ordered them to be ſeiſed. Two were taken and put to death, viz. Julio Treviſano, and Francis de Rugo, who were ſtrangled. B. Ochin, L. Socinus Pazuta, Gentilis, James de Chiari, Francis Neri, Darius Socinus, Alciatus, the Abbot Leonardus, &c. eſcaped, one into Switzerland, the other into Turky, and the reſt where they could. Narratio comp. B. A. p. 210.

It was this diſperſion that cauſed all the evil ſince ſpread into different Regions, as to our belief in the Myſtery of the TRINITY, and of the Incarnation of the SON of GOD. It is true they had not all the ſame ſhare of labour, nor of ſucceſs. We know nothing of Darius Socinus, Francis Neri, nor James Chiari, but in giving the hiſtory of the reſt we ſhall ſee, they made a great noiſe by the novelty of their Tenets, and gained many proſelites in Poland, Hungary, and other parts.

CHAP. V.

SOCINIANISM *introduced into Poland under Sigiſmond* I.

SIgiſmond I. king of Poland, was according to Hiſtorians, the Solomon of his age: No Conduct could be more prudent, nor Kingdom better governed than his: And indeed, he ſpared no means to ſupport the Catholick Faith, and to hinder the new hereſies, which made a great noiſe in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, from getting footing in this Kingdom. However, it muſt be owned, as he himſelf acknowledged before he died, that even in his time all Poland was infected with the Hereſies of the Huſſites, the Picards, the Anabaptiſts, the Bohemians, Lutherans, Sacramentarians, and even with the modern Arians.

The firſt who began to corrupt the Faith of the Poles, in regard to the myſteries of the TRINITY, and Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the HOLY GHOST, was a Dutch Adventurer, to whom they give the name of Eſprit or de Wit. *Homo, natione Belga, Spiritus, hoc enim nomen Belgæ erat.* This man, whom ſome take to be the ſame as Adam Paſtoris, one of the Anabaptiſts Heads, who made their appearance towards the lower Rhine, and whom others affirm to have been no other than a diſciple of Paſtoris, had good parts, improved De Wit a Dutchman B. A. Narratio comp. Append. p. 216. N. 1. p. 6.

improved by the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and of the holy Scripture. He happened to be at Cracow, in the year 1546, and was invited to an entertainment, which John Triceſſius (a man of diſtinction by his birth, learning, and knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew tongues) gave to Fricius Modrevius, Bernard Wojewadka a Printer, and Prætor of Cracow, James Prilluſius a Counſellor, and ſome other perſons of condition.

All theſe gueſts, whilſt dinner came up, went into Triceſſius's library, which paſſed for one of the beſt in the town, and each man laid hold either of his favourite Author, or on that which firſt came to his hand. De Wit took out one, wherein were prayers of different kinds, which the faithful are uſed to ſay over at their devotions: He found one addreſſed to the Eternal FATHER, another to the SON, a third to the HOLY GHOST, and a fourth to the HOLY TRINITY. The Dutchman wanted no fairer an opportunity to ſhew what he thought upon the TRINITY; and puſhing thoſe that ſtood neareſt to him, as one ſurprized, he broke out; How then, have you three GODS? *Treſne vos habetis Deos, O boni?* No, anſwered they, We believe one GOD in three perſons, and three perſons in GOD. But, replied the Dutchman, *Qui habet & qui habetur diverſa ſunt*, the perſon containing, is different from what he contains; if GOD have three perſons, and if there are three perſons in GOD; GOD is then different from the three perſons, and therefore the three perſons are different from GOD; You are upon the catch, anſwered the gueſts, *Sophiſtam agis, O ſpiritus*; we ſpeak ſimply, we believe there is a GOD, and that there are three perſons in GOD, and that thoſe three perſons are GOD. This GOD, then replied de Wit, is both three and one with you. *Eſt igitur Deus vobis & trinus & unus.* Yes, affirmed they, but under different relations. If it be ſo, concluded the Dutchman, that is, if GOD, be one, and three; then you ought not to addreſs yourſelves to thoſe three perſons in different prayers, ſince the one of theſe three can grant you nothing but dependantly of the other two, or in conjunction with them. *Si igitur iſte trinus unus eſt, cur diverſis orationibus eos compellatis? cur in his orationibus diverſa beneficia, quæ in genus mortalium conferant, ab illis petitis.*

This reaſoning, however captious and ridiculous, yet did not fail confounding thoſe Gentlemen, ſo true it is, that it belongs not to the Laity to diſpute upon the myſteries of religion, without they have made

made it their particular Study. They were ſo much ſurprized as to remain ſilent. Their Faith perſuaded them of the truth of a GOD in three perſons, and their Religion did not at that time allow them to conteſt ſuch a truth, ſo they broke off the diſpute as handſomly as they could, and ſat down to table.

Modrevius, who gives us this account, adds, that being returned home with his head heated by the Dutchman's arguments, he undertook to go to the bottom of it, and dived ſo far into it, as to adopt it for his own, and become a ſtrenuous Arian. Notwithſtanding his wit and his fine parts, he could not imagine GOD, that infinitely perfect Being, under different regards, under which our prayers may be addreſſed to him, as well to do honour to thoſe regards, that is, his attributes, his perfections, his relations, and himſelf in thoſe regards, as the more ſtill to raiſe and enflame our devotions and prayers; and riveted thoſe arguments ſo faſt in himſelf, as never after to depart from them. He ſtill went on to worſe in his conceptions; and ſo boldly declared againſt a GOD in three perſons, that it may be affirmed, that his quality, credit, wit, capacity, and obſtinacy, conſidered, Socinianiſm owes its eſtabliſhment and progreſs in Poland to him; and to be convinced of it, and ſee how this Sect was introduced into this kingdom, we muſt obſerve what condition it was in under Sigiſmund Auguſtus.

L. 1. Sylvarum, tract. 2. c. 2.

CHAP. VI.

The ſtate of Poland and progreſs of SOCINIANISM *under Sigiſmund* II.

SIgiſmund II. governed himſelf very differently from his father Sigiſmund I. The latter ſpared no pains to prevent the antient and modern hereſies from gaining any footing in his Dominions: The former took all poſſible meaſures to give them entrance, and ſtrengthen them, but yet without quitting the Roman Catholick religion; more, indeed, through weakneſs or neceſſity, than through malice or impiety.

This prince was the laſt of the Jagelons, who in the male line had been in poſſeſſion of the Crown of Poland about two hundred years; and we may ſay, after one of our Hiſtorians, that he had collected in his

his own perſon, moſt of the good and ill qualities of his Anceſtors He was generous, prudent, and almoſt always ſucceſsful in his wars. In 1552, he ſettled Alexander in the Principality of Walachia, having diſpoſſeſſed Stephen, and quieted the troubles of Dantzic; in 1556, he drove Henry Duke of Brunſwick out of Pruſſia; in 1557, he reduced William of Furſtenburg, Grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order, to his Duty; he covered Livonia againſt the Attempts of Baſilius, grand Duke of Muſcovy; in 1562, he eſtabliſhed Gothard Ketlerus Duke of Courland. More than ten times he beat the Muſcovites, and forced them to live in peace with him. The Tartars ſtood in fear of him, and he kept them within bounds, after having beaten and routed them ſeveral times in the incurſions they made into his territories. In 1569, he forced Solyman II. Emperor of the Turks, a man ſo formidable to all Chriſtendom, to keep up a good correſpondence with him, and to ſend him his ſon to negotiate a treaty of peace; the ſame year he reconciled John Sepus, King of Hungary, and his nephew, with the Emperor Maximilian II. in 1570; he made a reconciliation between his brother-in-law John King of Sweden, and Frederick II. King of Denmark, and put an end to the diviſions which then reigned between the Poles and Lithuanians. For theſe reaſons, ſays a Socinian writer, his Subjects loved him, his neighbours reſpected him, ſtrangers admired him, and his enemies feared him.

Lubieniſki Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol. l. 5.

But it muſt be acknowledged, that all theſe ſhining qualities found a ſad and unhappy counterpoiſe in thoſe that were bad: He is ſet out as a man of a weak conſtitution; of a very ſmall capacity for affairs; extremely and obſtinately bent upon his pleaſures; inflexible in the ill he had once projected; inſenſible of the point of honour, ſo that he could carry his aim; an enemy to the affairs of the ſtate, not caring ever to hear them mentioned; ſo whimſical in his amours, and thoſe pleaſures that are aimed at in them, and ſo extravagant in his ways of purſuing them, that it was enough to have converſed a quarter of an hour with him perfectly, to know him, and ever after deſpiſe him.

The broachers of thoſe new doctrines, always intent upon ſpreading their errors, and ſeeking the means of eſtabliſhing their Sect, judged very rightly, from this character, that they might at laſt find thoſe means of multiplying themſelves, which the deceaſed King had deprived them of with ſo much prudence and piety, and they were not miſtaken. That we may be convinced of it, we muſt conſider the

this king's paſſion for Barba de Radzivil, a lady of one of the nobleſt and richeſt families in Lithuania, widow of the Palatin Geofoldus, or Gaſtold; but a lady whoſe life was extreme diſorderly, and ſtill more infamous. The Queen mother, and the Princeſſes her daughters, fearing this amour might proceed to a marriage, did all they could to ſtop the progreſs of it. They were no ſtrangers to Radzivil's gallantries; and indeed often brought them into converſation, eſpecially the Queen mother; who let ſlip no occaſion of complaining of them, and reproaching her ſon with them, in order to put him out of conceit with her. All this however made no great impreſſion upon a mind ſo light, and a heart ſo inſenſible to honour, as Sigiſmund's; nay, it only ſerved to raiſe his paſſion for his miſtreſs, and to induce him to proſecute his marriage with her. The Queen thinking herſelf affronted by ſuch an intention, went on from complaints to murmuring, and from murmuring to threatning, often loudly proteſting ſhe would leave nothing unattempted in the Republick, even to the putting it into a flame, rather than ſuffer ſo infamous a Courtizan as Radzivil, to become her Daughter, her Queen, and Soveraign.

The King, who hearkned to nothing but his paſſions, giving himſelf no pain about his mother's remonſtrances and complaints, ſtill leſs regarded her threats. Hitherto he had gone no farther than laying ſchemes for his marriage: But now, in order to brave his mother, he reſolved to bring it to concluſion, by a ſolemn and authentick Declaration. Any other but Radzivil, and of the ſame character, would have ſtopped there: But it was too little for her ambition to ſhare the King's bed, ſhe was determined to enjoy the title of Queen, and the Prerogatives inſeparable from it, ſo that ſhe gave the King no reſt, till he had granted her all her pretenſions. But the Matter depended not upon him alone, the conſent of the Senate and Palatines was requiſite, and indeed Sigiſmund was exerting himſelf to the utmoſt to obtain it, whilſt the Queen mother, and the Princeſſes her daughters, were making their ſtrongeſt efforts to have this marriage broken off, or at leaſt to prevent its being recognized by the Republic, and to hinder Radzivil from enjoying the name and privileges of Royalty. But all their Endeavours were to no purpoſe.

The King, who was determined to have his marriage acknowledged lawful, convoked the Senate, together with all the Grandees, and ſpoke to them to this effect; "My Faith and Salvation are dearer to "me than all the Kingdoms in the world; and ſince I have given Lubienius Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

" that Faith to Madam de Radzivil to marry her, I muſt therefore " keep it with her, whatever it may coſt me, that I may not be per- " jured, and renounce my ſalvation. " That if they pretended to force him to a breach of faith with any one, after having ſolemnly given it to that perſon, and with all poſſible unconſtraint, he did not underſtand how they themſelves could depend upon the Faith he had given them at his coronation; and ſince they inſiſted, even upon pain of depriving him of his Crown, that he ſhould be faithful to them in what he had ſworn to them in the *Pacta Conventa*, they therefore ought to oblige him upon pain of loſing his Crown, to keep and perform the Faith and Oath he had given to Madam de Radzivil, to take her to be his lawful wife, unleſs they had two different balances for their judgments, one of full weight for themſelves, and the other of falſe meaſure for him: And to confirm his Argument, he produced a Book, and read out of it, What ſhall it profit a man to gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul? What ſhall I gain then, concluded he, by being your King, and under that title gaining battles for you, if after that, I break my Faith to my wife, ſince I thereby loſe my own Soul, and damn myſelf? Therefore come now to a reſolution; as for me, I am reſolved to be ſaved, and therefore will not go from the Faith I have given to Madam Radzivil, and I will have her for my wife.

N. 1. p. 7. After this diſcourſe, the Lords declared the marriage lawful, that Madam de Radzivil was the King's wife, and their lawful Queen; and indeed they began to pay her the honours due to her as their Sovereign. A Complaiſance they thought fit to pay, either out of compaſſion to the King's weakneſs, or from a hope that his ſucceſſors might do the Palatines the ſame honour by marrying their daughters, or in order to advance their fortune and rank at court; or becauſe they were convinced of the juſtice of his demand; or in ſhort, to induce him to favour them in the new opinions which ſeveral of them had already taken up.

Life of Cardinal Comendon. It is eaſy to comprehend now what the Biſhop of Amelia tells us, that during thoſe inteſtine diviſions, amours of the King, and mean ſolicitations to the Grandees from both parties, the Royal Authority was ſtrangely weakened; that licentiouſneſs grew to an exceſs; that crimes remained unpuniſhed; and that the Innovators very well knew how to make the beſt advantage of thoſe diſorders, to inſinuate and ſtrengthen themſelves every where. At this time, adds that Author, the

the Worſhip and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome were ridiculed; the new Doctrines of Luther and Calvin were publickly profeſſed; and there paſſed not a day without Aſſemblies and freſh Cabals. The publick Prayers, and the celebration of the holy Myſteries were performed according to the modes newly introduced. The antient Religion paſſed for a monſtrous heap of apiſh Ceremonies; the worſhip of it was aboliſhed in ſeveral places. The Churches of the Catholicks were ſeized for theſe new Broachers of Doctrine to preach in, all the treaſures of the Churches fell into the hands of the Laity; the Prieſts were turned out of their houſes, and deſpoiled of their effects; the chief men at Court, and part of the Senate, either through inclination or intereſt, fell in with this unhappy contagion; and the body of the People found themſelves ſtrong enough, neither to fear the authority of the Laws, nor the King's power.

But ſtill beſides, ſuch foreigners as had embraced the new opinions, and whom Sigiſmond I. had forbidden the Kingdom, flocked into it from France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and other parts, and were ſo bold as to live there conformably to the corruption of their Courts, and to ſpread abroad a thouſand pernicious Doctrines with which their minds were infected. Amongſt thoſe foreigners are reckoned Servetus, Blandrat, Lelius Socinus, Alciatus, Okinus, Gentilis, Gribaldus, Stator, and many others, who had all taken up the new Arianiſm, and declared againſt the Myſtery of the Trinity; and as they wanted neither genius, nor capacity, addreſs, nor friends, they made uſe of ſo many Artifices, and ſet ſo many engines to work amongſt the Grandees, that in the end they found ſome, and thoſe the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the State; who, either out of vanity, or a ſpirit of rebellion, or intereſt, or ſome diſguſt, they had conceived againſt the Catholick Faith, or from ſome other motive, made it their buſineſs, as if it had been a duty, to grant them their protection; and by this means theſe new Arians gaining acceſs to the Grandees of the Court, and being under no apprehenſions of ſuffering, found ways of infuſing their new Tenets into a great Number of People of all Conditions and Sexes.

Several Perſons of Diſtinction had already declared for them in the reign of Sigiſmund I. as John Ericeſſius and his ſon, Andrew and John Philipovius, James Prilluſius. *Viros nobiliſſimos & doctrinâ conſpicuos, initiis reformationis Sigiſmundo primo rege factis, ſocii eorum Fricius Modrevius*, &c. to whom are added Modrevius, Nicolas

Vindiciæ Unitarior. B. Anti. p. 281, & 282.

colas Oleſnicius, Staniſlaüs Laſſocius, his brother Chriſtopher Jerom Philipovius, Martin Chelmius, Nicolas Rejus, Staniſlaüs Cicovius, and after them (that is, after the Schiſm begun in the year 1565, between the pretended Reformed and the Unitarians) John Lutomirſcius, and his brother Staniſlaüs, Nicolas Sicnicius, called the Demoſthenes of Poland, Tenutarius, John Niemojevius, and ſome others. *Aliique firmo pede ſecuti ſunt.* All theſe men diſtinguiſhed by their Birth, their Qualities, their Employments, their Wit, and their Capacity, immediately and at firſt declared for the Doctrine which oppoſed the Myſtery of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and in conſequence of that Declaration, took the name of Unitarians, who acknowledge but one GOD, and one perſon in GOD. *Zeloſi & fortes Patroni ſententiæ Unitariæ extiterunt.* Moſt of theſe men were powerful in labouring and preaching: Some of them exercifed the Miniſtry of Preaching amongſt the pretended Reformed; others had Poſts, and even the higheſt both in the Army and at Court, in the Republic, in the Senate, in the Palatinates, and in the Cities, and ſome of them engroſſed the King's, or the Queen mother's favour: In ſhort, the Progreſs this Sect made under ſuch great men cannot be exaggerated, and even before the Schiſm begun in the Diet of Petricovia in 1565, between thoſe Unitarians, and the pretended Reformed. From the year 1552 and 1555, their number was conſiderable enough to form Churches at Pinczow, Racovia, Lublin, Luclavia, Kiovia, Volnia, and other places, and ſo well diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the other Innovators, by the ſingularity of their Sentiments upon the Trinity, that they were no longer called modern Arians, but Pinczowians, Racovians, &c. and grew ſo powerful, as to be able to give the Law in the Synods, which the Reformed and they held in Poland in the Reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, as we ſhall ſee by what immediately follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The firſt and following Synods held at Pinczow *to the year* 1651.

PINCZOW is a ſmall town in the Dioceſe of Cracow. Towards the middle of the ſixteenth Century, Oleſnickski, a man of Parts, and ſtill more of Enterprize, was Lord of it; his family was one of the moſt noted in the Province, related to that of Sieniniuski, and the Cardinal Sbigneus was of it; as to the reſt, the man of all the World the fondeſt of Novelties in matter of Religion. He renounced the Roman Faith, to embrace Lutheraniſm; diſguſted with Luther's opinions, he went over to the Sacramentariſts, and declared himſelf the Protector of all thoſe whom the Biſhops proſecuted for Heterodoxy. One of the firſt whom he honoured with his Protection, was Stancar, an Italian by birth, a man skilled in the Oriental Languages, whom the Biſhop of Cracovia had proſecuted, and clapped into priſon, for ſpreading of Hereſies, and from whence he could find no means of deliverance, but by the ſecret Practices and Intrigues of Staniſlaüs Laſſocius, Triceſſius, and ſome others. The refuge which Olieneski gave this turbulent ſpirited man, drew upon him ſeveral ſharp Conteſts with Macicijovius, Biſhop of Cracow, about which he gave himſelf very little pain, and always went well accompanied by a good number of armed men. Stancar adviſed him to turn the Cordeliers out of the City, to prophane the Church, and ſeize upon their Monaſtry, together with all their Poſſeſſions to his own uſe. But being adviſed by ſome perſons of a leſs turbulent Spirit, he attempted nothing of that kind, and contented himſelf with ſerving GOD in his own Caſtle, after the manner of Zuinglius, whoſe Hereſies Stancar preached to him.

Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol. Oleſnicius.

The Biſhop, who could not reduce this Lord to reaſon, cited him before the King's Council, but in vain. Oleſnieski eaſily juſtified himſelf before the Council, and came off without any decree againſt him. This Proceeding of the Council, which was as it were an abrogation of the Law made in 1524, which forbad the exerciſe of the new Hereſies in Poland, was, in a manner, an authentic permiſſion to the reſt of the Nobility to introduce thoſe Hereſies, which were the moſt in faſhion, and moſt to their taſte, into their Eſtates, and Oleſnieski well

well understood it. Having thereby gained a victory over his Bishop, he openly persecuted both the secular and regular Clergy, turned them out of Pinczow, and declared himself more than he had till then done, the Protector of all Ecclesiasticks that apostatized for the sake of marrying, and who were upon that account prosecuted by the Bishops.

The first Priest whom he honoured with his protection was Valentin, Curate of Krzconovia, who had married publickly. The Bishop of Cracow cited him to appear before him, Valentin obeyed, and boldly maintained before him, that he had done no more than he might do, and that his marriage was lawful. The Bishop, though then Chancellor, carried the thing no farther: He foresaw, that these judicial Proceedings would be to no purpose, and that the Lord Olesnieski would easily hinder the effects of them in order to support him who had put himself under his Protection.

This Complaisance, or rather Obstinacy of Olesnieski, in receiving all such as declared for the new Heresies, gave opportunity to Blandrat, Gregory Pauli, Crovicius, Stator, Schoman, Brelius, Tricessius, Lasco, and some others, to retire to Pinczow, there to set up a Church against the TRINITY, which became so famous for the Ministers that governed it, and for the extraordinary things that passed in it, that there was no talk in Poland, but of that borough, in the same manner as Athens was talked of all over Greece, and the Polite World.

The Pinczowians (for we shall call the new Arians or Unitarians by that name) being strong enough in number, and in men of learning, to maintain their new Doctrines against the pretended Reformed, demanded a conference with them, and these, scandalized at the errors that they taught and spread with impunity in their new Churches, easily consented to have one.

Synod at Pinczow. They met for the first time in 1555, at Pinczow, under Olesnieski's protection. The first resolution they came to was to examine the Doctrine, Manners, Spirit, and Religion of the Brethren of Moravia, who were generally called by the Name of Vaudois, the Poor of Lyons, Picards, Hussites, Anabaptists, and who were joined in Communion with some of the Polish Brethren, or new Arians. Upon this resolution, it was debated whether they should write to Lisimaninn, who was in Switzerland, and newly married, to exhort him immediately to return into the Kingdom. The Lords Patrons of the new

Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

new Churches, and ſome of the miniſters who had occaſion for that Apoſtate Cordelier, to ſupport the common Cauſe by his credit and parts, concluded he ought to be written to, and took that matter upon themſelves. But Sarnicius, a man of quality, of a ſour, and domineering temper, a zealous miniſter for the pretended Reformation, and a declared enemy to the Pinczowians, ſtrongly oppoſed that debate, and the return of Liſiſmaninn, tho' to no purpoſe. Liſiſmaninn was written to, and Budzinius undertook to write that Letter, as well as thoſe which the King had the Complaiſance to write to the Miniſters of the Swiſs Cantons; after theſe Debates, Stator, Stancar, Blandrat, de Laſco, and ſome others, had a ſmart diſpute concerning JESUS CHRIST in the quality of MEDIATOR; the one inſiſting, he was no farther ſo than as man, and the others, that he was ſo as God-man.

This Synod was not held ſo ſecretly but that Zebridovius, Biſhop of Cracow, had intelligence of it; who to diſperſe, or ſtop the progreſs of it, ſent his Chancellor with a party of Soldiers thither. Oleſnieski, wiſer than the children of Light, had had the precaution to order the Gates of the town to be ſhut, and good Centinels placed at them. The Chancellor determined to execute his Biſhop's Orders, found means of letting the Synod know he came from the King, and was charged with his commands. Upon advice of this, they debated and concluded, that he and three more ſhould be let in; who were carried into the Church-yard belonging to the Cordeliers, where the Aſſembly was held, but not then there. Oleſnieski, accompanied with a few other Lords, examined the Orders the Chancellor brought, and finding them ſigned by Przerembſius, Vice-chancellor of the Crown, and the very man, who a little before had cited him before the King's tribunal, and that they were ſealed with the King's Seal, he and all the Aſſembly received that Seal with their uſual reſpect and ceremonies, and made a jeſt of the Orders, ſaying, that the Catholic Biſhops had written them without the King's knowledge, and continued the Aſſembly, the reſt of the Deliberations of which did not come to Lubieſnieski's knowledge.

In 1556 a Diet was held at Warſaw, in which after many Conteſts between the Prelates and Catholicks on one ſide, and the Reformed on the other; the former would have had a Decree made to oblige the Evangelical Miniſters, who were in the Seats and Houſes of the Noblemen, to be inſtalled and approved by the Biſhops of the ſeveral

ral Dioceſes where they ſhould reſide, to preach the Goſpel according to the ſenſe of St. Auſtin, St. Jerom, St. Chryſoſtom, and St. Ambroſe, and to pay Tithes and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties. The latter, to elude that Deliberation, inſiſted that thoſe Fathers had departed from the purity of the faith of the Apoſtles, of Apoſtolick men, and even of the Council of Nice. Theſe replies were the occaſion of leaving the pretended Reformed in the liberty they had arrogated to themſelves, that no violence might be uſed againſt thoſe which the Catholicks enjoyed.

Synod of Seceminia.

It was in conſequence of that Liberty, that the Pinczowians, and pretended Reformed met the ſame Year at Seceminia, where Peter Gonés gave himſelf great airs; he there with oſtentation and obſtinacy maintained the preeminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and HOLY GHOST; that the Apoſtles Creed was the only one that ought to be the rule of our Faith; that the Nicene, and that attributed to St. Athanaſius, were meer human compoſitions; that the HOLY TRINITY was not one GOD; that the SON was leſs than the FATHER; that indeed he was GOD, but a GOD which had always honoured his FATHER, from whom alſo he had received whatever he had; that the communication of attributes was a Chimera, as well as the Conſubſtantiality of the Word with the FATHER. To theſe Paradoxes he added, that the Word, which is inviſible, was changed into Fleſh in the boſom of the Virgin Mary, or that GOD was turned into Man, and ſome other impieties, which he had borrowed from Servetus.

This Diſcourſe made different impreſſions upon the minds of the Aſſembly; the Pinczowians were pleaſed and edified by it, and the pretended Reformed ſhocked, and indeed they raiſed a great clamour againſt it. To quiet them, it was reſolved to examine thoſe Queſtions to the bottom, and to ſend to Philip Melancthon, for his thoughts upon them. Upon this reſolution, Gonés ſubmitted his faith and perſon to the Synod, and thought it more expedient to give way to a ſmall number of Lutherans, Sacramentarians and Unitarians, than to the Roman Church, or to the antient Fathers and Councils.

That piece of reſpect did him honour; he was choſen to carry the letters of the Synod to Melancthon, and thoſe too relating to himſelf, wherein were laid down his Doctrine and Opinion upon the *Logou*; aſſerting the inferiority of it to the eternal FATHER, and in which great

great praiſe was beſtowed upon him. Melancthon put the pains of examining thoſe letters, and that propoſition of Faith, upon Selnecejus; who having reported that this profeſſion of Faith ſmelt ſtrong of Arianiſm, he ſent back this Pole and all his company, without doing them the honour of hearing them. The Synod did not ſtop there; in purſuance of the Decree, made in the Aſſembly of Pinczow in 1555. To examine into the Religion of the Brethren of Moravia, they went upon it, and condemned the union which the Brethren of the pretended Reformation had made with thoſe of Kaminieck, and told them, that that union had ruined the Diſcipline of the reformed Churches.

In 1558 there was another Aſſembly at Pinczow, at which were preſent Blandrat, Gonés, Stancar, Liſiſmaninn, Crovicius, who had great diſputes on the preeminence of the Eternal FATHER, agreeable to the notions of Servetus. Andrew Jubienieski, Elder of the Synods, did his utmoſt to bring them to an agreement; he thought he had found the ſecret to do it, by rejecting the common belief of a GOD in three Perſons. Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

Upon this deſign, in the month of November in the ſame Year, a new Aſſembly was held. John de Laſco, Superintendant (that is, Biſhop) of the Churches of Great Poland, Gregorio Pauli, Staniſlaüs Sarnieki, Felix Cruciger, and other perſons of diſtinction were preſent at it; and after long and great diſputes, they broke up, without coming to any concluſion, and every man continued in his own opinion. The Hiſtorian, who has furniſhed us with the memoirs of this aſſembly, ſays, it was held for no other end, than to combat the Myſtery of the TRINITY, and to overturn the belief, which Chriſtians have of it. *Ad hanc Synodum annotat Chronicon Lubienicii fuiſſe magnum ingreſſum ad demoliendum dogma Trinitatis.* Bib. An. p. 184.

The Miniſters met again the 15th of December the ſame Year at Brieſcia in Lithuania, and this is their ninth Synod. Gonés made a greater clamour than he had done in the other Synods. In this he attacked Infant-baptiſm, and inſiſted it was nothing but human invention, and produced a Treatiſe he had written on the Subject. The Pinczowians would have had it read in the Aſſembly, and it was accordingly read; the Reformed were offended at it, cenſured a doctrine ſo often anathematiſed in the Anabaptiſts, and would have proſecuted him; but Jerom Piekerski, who was of his opinion, honoured him with his protection, and the minds of the Aſſembly grew Ibid.

calm upon the matter, to make way for another, which was of no leſs conſequence, and which Gonés ſet forth with more boldneſs, than he had done the former: It related to the Myſtery of the TRINITY, the diſtinction of perſons, the communication of attributes, the two natures in JESUS CHRIST, and ſome other points received in common amongſt both the Catholicks and Proteſtants; all thoſe Myſteries he denied, and maintained they were meer Chimera's, introduced into the Church by the Authority of the Popes. Theſe new attempts revived the Complaints of the Reformed; which obliged the Preſident of the Aſſembly to forbid Gonés any more maintaining the errors he had advanced, upon pain of excommunication; tho' to no purpoſe, for this ſort of People give themſelves no uneaſineſs about Eccleſiaſtical cenſures: And he anſwered in the fanatic way, that he had internal Lights, and that he ought to follow them rather than the command of man; which gave occaſion to Piekerski (who had received the ſame prohibition) to harangue the Synod upon the errors, and diſorders, which, in his opinion, were crept into the Church; and he ſpoke with ſuch a grace, and ſo much force, and Pathos, that many declared on his ſide, and went over to Gonés's doctrine. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the different attempts of the Prelates and the Reformed, and in ſpight of the anathemas they pronounced againſt the Enemies of the TRINITY, and of Infant-baptiſm, the errors of Gonés upon the preheminence of the FATHER, and upon the baptiſm of Infants, to whom it was afterwards denied, were received into the Church of Pinczow. It is pretended that Blandrat and Liſiſmaninn had a great hand in that innovation, and was what brought upon him very ſharp conteſts with Gregorio Pauli, who had not yet declared for the ſuperiority of the FATHER over the SON.

The tenth Synod.

The Reformed, allarmed at the contempt ſhewn to the Decrees of their Synods, and their cenſures, thundered out againſt the diſobedient, and ſuch as ſpread falſe doctrines, aſſembled for the tenth time on the 25th of April 1559, and choſe for their Preſidents the Sieur de Laſco and Sarnicius, both of them good proteſtants, and declared Enemies to the Pinczowians. They began, by making a Decree to oblige all Miniſters to give an account of their doctrine, and of what they believed concerning the Unity of GOD, on the TRINITY of perſons. They were in hopes thereby to clear the Churches of Arianiſm, and put into them Miniſters of a ſound doctrine: But that Decree had no ſucceſs, and for this reaſon. On

On the 22d of November of the ſame Year, they aſſembled at Pinczow: Stancar there diſputed ſtrongly in maintenance of his doctrine, that JESUS CHRIST was our mediator only according to his human nature; and the letters of Remi Chelmski were read here, wherein he aſſerts that the Poliſh Lords had great Scruples concerning the prayers we addreſs to the HOLY GHOST, becauſe moſt of thoſe prayers conclude, to the FATHER through the SON. It is pretended thoſe pretended Scruples had been ſuggeſted to them by Stator of Thionville. *The twelfth Synod of Pinczow, 1559.*

In September 1560, the Innovators convoked an Aſſembly at Zianz, which paſſes for the nineteenth of their Synods. Blandrat there ſhewed ſo great a capacity, and found ſuch hearty friends in it, that from a wretched fugitive as he was, he was made the head Elder of the Churches of leſſer Poland. *Synod of Zianz.* B. A. p 185.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed and Pinczowians from the Year 1561, *to* 1562, *wherein the Divinity of the* HOLY GHOST *was oppoſed.*

ON the 30th of January 1561, the Reformed and the Pinczowians held their nineteenth Synod at Pinczow; it wholly turned upon the anſwer made to Chelmski, and the new title conferred upon Blandrat. Stator, who longed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity of laying open his doctrines, ſaid, he had learnt from good hands, that Chelmski was not ſatisfied with the anſwer that had been made him; that he had ſent him his thoughts upon it, but yet without venturing to go to the bottom of the matter, or ſetting it in its full light; but that ſince he had now the honour of being before ſo many, who were able both to judge of, and approve his doctrine, and that a miniſter of the Holy Goſpel ſhould never bluſh at ſpeaking the truth at a time when he ought to tell it, he would inform them that he was perfectly convinced, that it was pure idolatry to call upon the HOLY GHOST, and that he would demonſtrate whenever they pleaſed, that there was not a ſingle paſſage in the Holy Scripture which proved the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, nor any adoration, or invocation of him, nor even any Belief we are to have in him. *Synod of Pinczow.*

As Novelty has ever ſomething agreeable in it to light and wavering minds, theſe Paradoxes appeared plauſible to ſome of the Aſſembly, who would have had them received by the Synod; but others were offended at them, demanded juſtice againſt him who had advanced them, and put themſelves into a poſture of convincing him by the Scripture, that he was in an error. But Stator, who had well ſtudied his Subject, who ſpoke with eaſe, and who handled the Scripture as he pleaſed to bring it to ſerve his purpoſe, was himſelf beforehand with his Enemies, and endeavoured to prove to them by the very Scripture, that the HOLY GHOST was not GOD, and conſequently that no religious worſhip was due to him.

Lubieniecki Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

The Miniſters of the Reformation did not want quotations of many paſſages from the Scripture to confute his arguments which were negative, and which at the bottom, proved nothing againſt the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST; yet as they did not appear clear and deciſive enough to a temper ſo obſtinate as Stator's, they were forced to have recourſe to Tradition, and the interpretations which the antient Fathers have given to thoſe paſſages: And as Tradition and the Fathers were prohibited goods in a Synod of the Reformed, they proceeded to paſſion and invective.

Stator, far from being moved, perſuaded himſelf, that ſince nothing but foul language was offered in confutation of his Paradox, he ſhould be declared maſter of the field of Battle, and puffed up with his victory, continued ſpeaking in a magiſterial tone. He loudly complained of the behaviour of the Geneva miniſters, and particularly of that of Calvin; accuſes him of having violated all the laws of Charity and Juſtice, in regard to Blandrat, by accuſing him of hereſy, and throwing a ſtain of infamy upon him, by a Sentence, whereof he had a copy, which he produced: It was read, and there were many who thought it was juſt, and worthy of commendation. The complaining ſtrain not ſucceeding with Stator, he employed another battery againſt Calvin; ſaying, it belonged not to him to accuſe his brethren of arianiſing, he who ſabellianiſed himſelf, by admitting three Gods, and inſiſting in his writings, that the FATHER was not begotten, the SON was begotten, and the HOLY GHOST proceeding. This reaſoning to many appeared ridiculous; wherefore he changed his tone, and ſaid, that Blandrat and he were greatly wronged, by being accuſed of Heterodoxy, they whoſe ſentiments of the matters in queſtion, were no other than thoſe of the Reformed

Churches;

Churches; that as to the reſt, if it was being a Heretick to believe in the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, and to believe in every thing which the holy Scriptures ſay concerning them, and nothing elſe; he ingenuouſly owned he was a Heretick, and was willing, in ſupport of thoſe pretended Hereſies, to ſuffer whatever the jealouſy and malice of his enemies could raiſe up againſt him upon account of his belief, too happy in the good teſtimony of his conſcience upon ſuch his doctrine: He thus ended that part of the Scene belonging to him. B.A.p.185.

Blandrat, in aid of ſuch a Friend, who had ſo handſomely and ſo well defended him, ſpoke with no leſs intrepidity in his juſtification. He inſiſted, that Faith being ſimple and divine as to its motive, as well as object, nothing ought to be believed but what was expreſsly and formally in the Scripture, and what was to be deduced from it, by clear, natural, deciſive conſequences: He added, that the contents of the Apoſtles Creed were not entirely conformable to the Scripture, to thoſe of Nice or Conſtantinople, and thoſe of that generally attributed to St. Athanaſius ſtill leſs: *Videmus in ſymbolo Apoſtolico quaſdam phraſes Scripturæ inuſitatas, quarum plures in Nicæno, plurimas in Athanaſio, videre eſt.*

Jerom Oſſolinius, or Oſſolinski, a man of quality, ſhocked at the great liberty which Blandrat had aſſumed in ſpeaking, told him, in behalf of the Synod, that the Aſſembly was greatly offended with the ſcandalous Doctrines he maintained, and ſpread amongſt the Faithful, and to juſtify his reproaches, called upon Liſiſmaninn, as a witneſs that was preſent, who had blamed him, for giving a book of an ill tendency to a lady of quality to read. Liſiſmaninn did not ſeem pleaſed with being called upon on that occaſion, being unwilling to have it ſaid, that his ſentiments were different from thoſe of Blandrat: He reſumed the matter of the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and endeavoured to convince Oſſolinski of it, by the authority of the antient Fathers, as he had already done in his letter to John Charniuski; which opened a door to great conteſts and mutual reproaches of Heterodoxy. To put an end to them, the Moderators obliged thoſe who had accuſed Blandrat and Liſiſmaninn of Hereſy, to make them reparation in their honour, upon condition however, that Blandrat ſhould ſign the Profeſſion of Faith, after which he ſhould ſtand juſtified from the Crime of Hereſy with which he had been charged. Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

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As the Temper and Letters of Calvin had very much contributed to the diſturbances raiſed againſt Blandrat in this Synod, it was thought the duty of the Aſſembly, to write to Calvin and Bulinger, an account of what had paſſed in it. Liſiſmaninn took upon himſelf the writing of thoſe Letters, and the following year, Ezechovius carried them to Geneva, with the Palatin of Radzivil's Letters: The latter contained, that he could not condemn Blandrat, being perſuaded, that he ſincerely believed three conſubſtantial, coeternal, and coequal Perſons in GOD: And that if they would force him to condemn this man, it was neceſſary for the Geneva and Zurich Miniſters firſt to condemn that doctrine. By this it is plain, that the Palatin did not refer himſelf ſolely to Calvin, and that he ſuſpected his reſentment againſt Blandrat. After theſe many Conteſts the Synod broke up. Luthoremiski was removed from the Miniſtry of Pinczow, to be made Superintendant, or Biſhop of the Churches of leſſer Poland.

Synod of Cracow, 1561. B.A.p.185.

The ſixteenth of September, in the ſame year, the Innovators aſſembled at Cracow; this Aſſembly made their twentieth Synod. Calvin's Letters, which Ezechovius had brought from Geneva, were read in it. Theſe Letters exhorted the Churches of the Reformation, and particularly thoſe of Cracow, and Pinczow, to have a watchful eye upon Blandrat, and to guard againſt his doctrine. They diſpleaſed many, and particularly Oſſolinski, who exclaimed that it were to be wiſhed, that the myſtery of the TRINITY had never been ſpoken nor written of: *Utinam & ſcripta de Trinitate ſparſa non eſſent.* (By that he apparently blamed the Fathers and Councils, who have inſtructed us in this myſtery, and that we ought to ſtick to the Scripture only.) Thoſe Complaints were ſupported by Blandrat and Liſiſmaninn, and indeed they had the neareſt concern in them, and cried out; Alas! Let all the learned talk as much as they pleaſe of the myſteries of Religion, but let them leave us one only GOD; let them not divide him, and let them make themſelves a Mediator to their own minds; *Relinquant mihi doctores unum Deum, nec illum dividant, habeant Mediatorem qualem ſibi confinxerunt:* And we will give ourſelves no trouble about the reſt. Yet this great clamour, and all theſe complaints came to nothing: Blandrat was forced, in purſuance of Calvin's Letters, to give evidence of his Orthodoxy, upon the Trinity and Conſubſtantiality of Perſons: He did ſo, he ſigned the formulary of Faith commonly received

N. 1 p. 8.

ceived by the Reformed Churches, and it was imputed to Liſiſmaninn as a crime, the having written to John Charninski upon the Superiority of the FATHER in regard to the SON.

Synod of Pinczow, 1561. Lubienieski tell us of another Synod held at Pinczow, the nineteenth of November, in the ſame year; it was therein reſolved to have ſatisfaction for the impieties which Stator had advanced againſt the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, and he was obliged to give in his ſentiments in writing upon that ſubject, in order to come to a clearer explanation of them than he had as yet done. But he ſhuffled, ſays John Stoinski, a miniſter of Cracow, and did not dare to put in writing all he thought concerning it. He inſiſted in his own Juſtification, that ſince the Miniſters were ſatisfied with Blandrat, and had commended his Faith, although condemned by Calvin, they might very well let him alone as to his belief, him who had no other upon the matter in debate, than that of Blandrat: That indeed if ſuch were Hereticks, who believe in the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, he acknowledged himſelf ſo, being of that Belief. Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

CHAP. IX.

Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed, and the Pinczowians, *from the year* 1562, *to the Diet of* Petricovia.

Synod of Xianz, 1562. IN the year 1562, and in the month of March, the Innovators aſſembled again at Xianz; and this is their twenty-firſt Synod: Blandrat, diſſatisfied at the violence which he pretended had been offered him in the Synod of Cracow, in being forced to ſubſcribe, preſented a new confeſſion of his Faith. The purport of it was, that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were three different Hypoſtaſes or Perſons, and that they were eſſentially GOD; that he acknowledged the eternal Generation of the SON, and his Divinity, and that the HOLY GHOST was truly GOD Eternal, proceeding from the FATHER and the SON. However orthodox this declaration appeared, the Synod would not do him the honour to ſuffer it to be read in the Aſſembly. Some particular men examined it; there were ſome that ſpoke in its commendation, and others that found fault with it, doubtleſs becauſe he did not retract the opinion he had B. A. p. 186.

had warmly maintained, that the FATHER had a Superiority over the SON.

Synod of Pinczow. The Synod of Pinczow, held in the month of April 1652, compoſed of two and twenty Miniſters, and twelve Gentlemen, Patrons of their Churches, was more favourable to him. After having therein examined Gentilis's profeſſion of Faith, who was there, and wherein he ſet up direct Arianiſm, his own was read and approved, being authorized by ſome Texts of Scripture, and he promiſing to reconcile himſelf with Calvin, upon condition, nevertheleſs, that he ſhould allow the freedom of believing, that the CHRIST was the SON of the moſt High and Almighty GOD, and to ſpeak of this High and Mighty GOD, in a plain ſimple manner, and without interpretation; that he ſhould not be obliged to follow any other rule of Faith than the Holy Scripture and the Apoſtles Creed, and that he ſhould retract what he had ſaid at the beginning of his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apoſtles. Blandrat ran no riſque by making theſe the conditions of his reconciliation with Calvin: He knew too well his enemy's temper to believe him a man that would recant upon the ſole proſpect of gaining the friendſhip of ſuch a man as he, for whom he had the utmoſt Contempt. However, theſe conditions were ſent to Calvin, and indeed they only ſerved the more to raiſe his ſpleen againſt that wretched Fugitive, and to furniſh him with innumerable opportunities of hunting him out of Poland.

B. A. p. 185.

Blandrat's affair being over, a decree was made, forbidding all miniſters and other preachers to ſpeak as philoſophers concerning the Doctrines of the TRINITY, of the divine Eſſence, Generation, Spiration, and of the eternal proceedings, and ordering them, that when they ſhould be obliged to lay thoſe myſteries before the people, to do it agreeably to what the Scripture and the Apoſtles Creed ſay of them. It was by the means of this decree, that the Pinczowians gained great reputation amongſt the Reformed Churches, that they ruined the belief of the TRINITY amongſt the other Sectaries, and that they never mentioned it in the Pulpit, or in their Aſſemblies, but to combat it.

The firſt who purſued this Decree, and added ſomething of his own to it, was Gregorio Pauli, a Miniſter of Cracow, and Superintendant of the Churches of leſſer Poland. He not only no longer ſpoke of the myſteries of the TRINITY, of the divine Eſſence, Generation and Proceedings, as a Philoſopher, but he never ſpoke of them

them at all. When he was to preach, he read the New Teſtament in order, and without adding any thing to it but the Gloſſes, Commentaries, Paraphraſes, and moral Reflections, he was pleaſed to make upon it; and as he was Superintendant of the Reformed Churches, he forbad all the Miniſters of his Diſtrict to call upon, or even pronounce the name of the TRINITY, at the entrance of their Diſcourſes.

This novelty made a great noiſe amongſt the Reformed. Sarnicius, a good Proteſtant, a zealous Defender of the Myſtery of the TRINITY, and ſtill more deſirous of the Poſt which Gregorio Pauli held, loudly blamed his conduct; and that he might not break with him without preſerving ſome appearance of Charity and Decency, deſired him not to introduce ſuch innovations into the Churches of CHRIST, but to inſtruct the People in the uſual way, and to explain at Length, and plain Paraphraſes, not the Text of the New Teſtament, but the Apoſtles Creed, and thoſe points which ſolely regard the Belief of the Faithful. Gregorio Pauli, who was of a haughty Temper, and valued himſelf upon his title of Superintendant of the Churches, deſpiſed the Complaints, Advice, and Prayers of Sarnicius, and went on with his novelties in his Inſtructions, and even in his Preſence. Sarnicius thus deſpiſed, broke with him, and brought a proſecution upon him before the Magiſtrate of Cracow, and accuſed him of Arianiſm, and of favouring the errors of Servetus.

In the month of July the ſame Year, Bonarus not being able to reconcile theſe two Miniſters, Staniſlaüs Szefranecius, a man of Quality, aſſembled at his houſe at Rogow, a number of Miniſters and perſons of Quality, in the form of a Synod; and one of the firſt things they went about, was the endeavouring to reconcile thoſe two men. As ſoon as Gregorio had leave to ſpeak, he harangued the Aſſembly upon it for the Purity of the Faith, cenſured the diſſenſions that reigned in their Churches, attributed them to Satan, the Author of Diſcord, and proteſted it was an injuſtice to attribute them to him, or to accuſe him in general or particular of preaching up Arianiſm, becauſe he preached one only GOD, FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. He added, that if by preaching that Truth he was become a Heretick, then the Apoſtles were to be taxed with Hereſy, they who had no other object in their preaching than the only GOD, the GOD of Iſrael, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and JESUS of NAZARETH, the MESSIAH promiſed to the antient

Synod of Rogow. Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

Patriarchs, the King of the Holy People, and the Saviour of the World; and that he was not ignorant, that ſince the time of the Apoſtles, many errors were crept into the Church of CHRIST, as Hegeſippus owns in Euſebius of Cæſarea, and particularly as to the three Perſons in the divine Nature, and the two Natures of JESUS CHRIST; novelties, continued he, which the Apoſtles knew nothing of, and which we ourſelves might be ignorant of without any danger to our Salvation: That in order to avoid thoſe errors, and this corruption in doctrine, we ought to ſtick to the holy Scripture, examine every thing, as the Apoſtle ſays, and hold to that which is good: That therein might be ſeen the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, which would be eaſy for him to prove; that indeed the Council of Nice had defined, that the SON was conſubſtantial with the FATHER, but there were alſo many of the Fathers, who were not well pleaſed with that term; that the Council did not venture to decide upon the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST; that St. Hilary, in his twelve Books upon the TRINITY, had never given the Title of GOD to the HOLY GHOST, nor ſaid we were to worſhip, or call upon him; that St. Athanaſius was the firſt and only one who had advanced that the HOLY GHOST was GOD, or ſuppoſing any of the Fathers had taught that doctrine before him, they were but few, and of no conſideration; ſince, according to the teſtimony of St. Gregory of Nazianza, that tenet began to be taught in the Church, but about the year 365.

L 3. Hiſt. Eccl. c 29.

After this diſcourſe, he attempted to prove the Preheminence of the FATHER over the SON, by the authority of St. Hilary, St. John Chryſoſtom, St. Cyril, Theophilact, and ſome other of the Fathers, becauſe thoſe antient Writers have called the Eternal FATHER the cauſe, or principle of the SON: And in order to juſtify himſelf againſt Sarnicius for not ſpeaking of the TRINITY, eſſence of Perſons, Hypoſtaſes; he alledged the authority of the Synod of Pinczow, preferring it to that of ſo many Fathers and antient Councils, which direct us to make uſe of theſe terms, and to ſay, *Homouſion*, *Hypoſtaſes*, *Conſubſtantiality*, &c.

Sarnicius had an anſwer ready to this Speech; he owned that corruption had crept in amongſt Chriſtians, ever ſince the death of the Apoſtles, but that this corruption was in the Ebionites, and in the followers of Cerinthus, of Simon Magus, of Paul of Samoſata, and of Arius, and having owned thus much, he oppoſed the errors

errors of Gregorio Pauli from the Scripture, Councils, and antient Fathers.

That happened on this occaſion, which happens in moſt of the diſputes upon Religion: Each man choſe his ſide; ſome applauded Gregorio, and others commended Sarnicius: Which gave Gregorio an opportunity of returning to the charge; he diſclaimed the holding any opinions that favoured the Ebionites or antient Hereticks; and added, that all the authorities Sarnicius had employed againſt his ſentiments, did not at all affect the proofs himſelf had urged from the Scripture; that whatever he had ſaid of the Fathers by way of oppoſing him, were of no uſe, ſince they were but men: That the hymn *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto*, in which he triumphed, was not in uſe till the beginning of the fourth Century, according to Euſebius and Nicetas: That it could be no Evidence, there being none to be made uſe of or received, agreeably to the principles of the Reformation, but the Scripture itſelf alone, and without any gloſs: To conclude, that he believed in GOD through JESUS CHRIST, and gave him all glory through JESUS CHRIST the Mediator; that he adhered to the ſimplicity of Peter the Fiſherman, and of the Apoſtles Creed, wherein he differed from the Jew. The latter believing in Almighty GOD, and I beſides in JESUS CHRIST his SON, the promiſed MESSIAH, agreeably to the command he has given us in St. John; *Creditis in Deum, & in me credite.* In ſhort, he ſo well maintained his cauſe, that all who were preſent at this Converſation, were inclined of his ſide, and were of opinion, that in order to preſerve peace among the Churches, the Evangeliſts and Calviniſts ought to bear with the Pinczowians, and the Pinczowians ought not to diſturb the Evangeliſts and Calviniſts; that no more mention ſhould be made of new forms of Faith, unleſs they were perfectly conformable to the Scripture, and that for the reſt they ſhould hold to the laſt Synod of Pinczow. This deciſion was giving up the cauſe to the Pinczowians; by this they had what they wanted, peace, liberty, and the Scripture alone for the rule of their Belief.

Sarnicius plainly ſaw the conſequences of this reſolution, and that it would only ſerve to ruin the Belief of the TRINITY in the new Churches of the Reformation; wherefore upon the cloſe of this Conference, either through a true Zeal for the belief of the TRINITY, or from an extreme deſire to get into Gregorio Pauli's place (for he is accuſed of that ambition) he went and repeated his Complaints to

Bonarus and Miſcovius againſt Gregorio, and accuſed him of Hereſy. They, in order to do his Complaints juſtice, ſent for Gregorio, together with Wiſnovius, and ſome others. The firſt thing Sarnicius did was to reproach them with not calling upon JESUS CHRIST in their Prayers. Wiſnovius maintained the contrary; from words they went on to foul language: They mutually reproached each other with their errors. In ſhort, Sarnicius had the worſt of it; the moſt antient Elders of the Church of Cracow, deſired him to give over his purſuits, to leave the Church at peace, to keep up to the Decree of the Synod of Pinczow, not to ſet the Brethren and Miniſters a quarrelling with the Lords their Patrons, and to maintain a good underſtanding with Gregorio Pauli.

Theſe admonitions made no great impreſſion upon Sarnicius; and he diſcovered as much to Bonarus, at his country-houſe, where were met ſeveral Miniſters, in order to ſearch into the moſt natural meaning of theſe words, *Unus Deus, unus & Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Jeſus:* There is one GOD, and one Mediator between GOD and man, who is the man CHRIST JESUS: Sarnicius would have it, that this word GOD meant the TRINITY, and Gregorio denied it upon a forced ſenſe which he gave thoſe words. Sarnicius cried out Hereſy, demanded to have him depoſed from his office, and turned out of Cracow as one who revived the Hereſies of Arius and Servetus.

1 Tim. c. 2. v. 5.

Synod of Pinczow, 1562.

To put a ſtop to theſe Conteſts, and to ſee who was in the wrong, a new Synod was appointed at Pinczow, in Auguſt 1562. Sarnicius was invited to it, and promiſed to be there, but thought fit not to keep his word. They who were there gave in their profeſſion of Faith, which profeſſions of faith came to the knowledge of Sarnicius, who made a handle of them to convince Bonarus and the Moderators, that thoſe men had ill thoughts of the TRINITY, and thereby he ſowed diviſion amongſt the Reformed Churches.

The ſudden death of Bonarus, who was Lord of the Manor, and had taken the new Church at Cracow under his Protection, and ſoon after his widow's marriage, altered the face of Gregorio Pauli's affairs. The Manor on which his Church ſtood fell into the hands of a new maſter; and Cichovius, Archicamerian (a title much reſembling that of a Senator, or of a tribune of the Roman people: *Archicamerarius, quæ dignitas apud nos eſt Senatoriæ proxima, tribunum plebis Romano more rectè vocaveris*) a man much eſteemed amongſt the Reformed, for

B. A. p. 282.

for having given them one of his houſes at Cracow, which ſerved them for a Church, called an aſſembly at his Houſe, where the intrigues of Sarnicius and Laurentius Praſnicius, his Collegue, were ſo powerful as to get Gregorio Pauli proſecuted, tho' he was abſent. In this Aſſembly he was condemned to loſe his Superintendance of the Churches of the leſſer Poland, and to leave Cracow, as a man who endeavoured to revive the hereſies of Arius. The Decree was put in full force; but he went not far, for he ſoon found perſons who honoured him with their protection, and gave him a ſafe retreat. In this number are placed Cichovius himſelf, Lutoromiski, Nemojovius, Philipovius, Lazanovius, Crovicius, Pacleſius Schoman, *&c.*

Sarnicius did not ſtop here; he plainly ſaw it was acting but by halves for the good cauſe, to turn Gregorio out of his Superintendance, if at the ſame time ſome curb was not put to the itching, which moſt of the Miniſters had to be preaching the errors which the Pinczowians held upon the TRINITY. Inveſted with the Superintendance of the Churches of the leſſer Poland in the room of Gregorio, he had a new profeſſion of faith drawn up in oppoſition to that of the Pinczowians, and to it added a Decree, purporting, that all ſuch as preached up the Superiority of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, ſhould be depoſed. This Decree, tho' approved and ſigned by the Synod, had no effect, the Miniſters ſtill went on in their own way.

The Elders, who clearly ſaw that by ſuch a proceeding, the flames of diſcord would every day blaze out fiercer in their Churches, agreed to have a new Synod in November, and exhorted Sarnicius to be there. But he, not at all in the humour to appear at it, as a Scholar, but as Maſter, refuſed to be at it, foreſeeing plainly, that he ſhould not have the latter title.

Synod of Mordas in 1563.

In June 1563, the Pinczowians, at the ſollicitation of Lutoromiski, aſſembled to the number of two and twenty Miniſters at Mordas, a town in the Palatinate of Vilna, and there made a Decree againſt ſuch as maintained the doctrine of a GOD in three perſons. This Decree was as it were the firſt alarm which made moſt of the Churches of the Reformation riſe againſt the myſtery of the TRINITY. A great number of Miniſters, Magiſtrates, Noblemen, Knights, Satrapæ, Palatins, Generals, Governors of Provinces, Secretaries of State of the greater and leſſer Poland, Lithuania, Ruſſia, Podolia, Volinia, Pruſſia, Moravia, Sileſia and Tranſilvania declared for the new Arianiſm, againſt the divinity, equality, and conſubſtantiality of JESUS CHRIST;

and if that party was not the ſtrongeſt and moſt extenſive amongſt the Enemies of the Roman Church, at leaſt it appeared formidable to the Evangeliſts, and Calviniſts. It was to bring it low, or curb it, that in the Diet of Petricovia in 1565, they demanded leave to enter into a publick Conference with all thoſe who had declared againſt the Myſtery of the TRINITY, who deſiring no better, it was granted them.

CHAP. X.

The Progreſs of SOCINIANISM *in Poland after the Diet of Petricovia, in* 1565.

WE may eaſily imagine that thoſe Innovators would never have been able to maintain permiſſion of Sigiſmond Auguſtus to hold a publick Conference upon Doctrines of Faith, if moſt of the Nobility who compoſed the Diet of Petricovia had not been infected with the new hereſies. It was venturing too openly and boldly againſt a Catholick King, and one reſolved to remain in the boſom of the Church of Rome. They who ſupported the Evangeliſts and the Reformed were ſhocked to ſee their Sect every Day falling away, or changing its appearance, and becoming the Subject of the raillery of the Pinczowians, who were continually urging them to diſputes; and they who were for the Pinczowians, or who were indifferent as to religious Controverſies, and who, by the licentiouſneſs which the hereſies and the ill government had introduced, were in great numbers, were tranſported to ſee their party engage with their adverſaries, reckoning that their capacity, together with the pretended juſtice of their cauſe, would bring them off victorious. This is what made them beg the King to grant them this Conference, to preſcribe the Rules, name the Commiſſioners, and Divines for it. The Catholick Lords, however, who were at that Diet, exclaimed loudly againſt ſuch a proceeding; and the great Oſius, Cardinal of the Holy See, who ſaw the conſequences of it, took the trouble (notwithſtanding his great age, and the fatigues he had ſuffered in the Journey at his return from Trent) of waiting on the King, in order to lay before him how much his honour and religion were concerned in this Conference: That it was his duty as a King to recall his word, and the power he had granted the hereticks upon that account, and

even

even to break and diſſipate ſuch Converſations, wherein the Faith, being expoſed to the arguments of Wranglers and captious Men, was always in great danger. However judicious this remonſtrance of the Cardinal was, it had no effect: For the King, as it were enchanted either with the extreme deſire of ſeeing the Innovators engaged with their adverſaries, or the ſollicitations of the Grandees on this head, or the apprehenſions of diſobliging thoſe whom he either loved or feared, reſolved that the Reformed ſhould diſpute in publick with the Pinczowians, on thoſe points which were controverted between them. This proceeding ſo much diſpleaſed the Cardinal, and the Catholick Lords, that they went out of the Diet, that they might not be witneſſes to the blaſphemies which would be thrown out againſt the Holy TRINITY in this Conference.

They who formed this Conference were, on the ſide of the Pinczowians, Gregorio Pauli, Staniſlaüs, Lutoromiski, Superintendant of the Churches of the leſſer Poland, and Secretary to the King, John his brother, Nicolas Sienicius, John Niemojovius, Caſanovius, Paracliſius, &c. and on the ſide of the Reformed, Sarnicius, Silvius, Pluſius, and ſome others of the moſt noted among them.

In the firſt Seſſion with much ado the places were ſettled: It was agreed the Pinczowians ſhould ſpeak firſt, after them the Reformed; and each Man in his turn. Caſanovius was appointed Secretary to the former, and Pluſius to the latter. The Commiſſioners were choſen out of each party, and preſided in turn. The firſt was John Firlai Palatin of Cracow, Grand Marſhal of the Crown, a ſtanch Calviniſt: At the Concluſion of a ſhort Speech, in order to exhort both parties to procure a ſolid peace for the Churches, he ſaid, let us then begin in the name of GOD, and of the Holy TRINITY. At this word a Pinczowian, who very probably was Gregorio Pauli, roſe up in a Paſſion againſt the Preſident, and, as if he had been ſcared, ſaid, we know of no TRINITY; therefore we ſhall not ſay *Amen.* The Marſhal, who without doubt ſhould have made this Man hold his tongue, ſince he ſpoke at an improper time, and could not know but the Preſident might have ſome other rules, or ſome other things to preſcribe for the Conference, the Marſhal, I ſay, replied; then begin your diſpute with that Myſtery.

Upon this, Gregorio Pauli, aſſiſted by Gentilis, and ſome others, played off all the arguments made uſe of by the antient Ebionites, Samoſatians, and Arians, againſt the TRINITY of perſons, the Conſub-

Consubstantiality of the SON, his Eternity and other divine Attributes. Sarnicius, Sylvius, and some other Ministers of the Reformed, before they entred upon the dispute, had a mind to come to an agreement upon a point, on which certainly the Success of their cause depended, *viz.* whether the Pinczowians would receive as proofs the authority of Tradition, of the Fathers, and first Councils; but they, practised in the principles and maxims of the reformation, answered that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, denied both Tradition, Councils, Fathers, and Church, and adhered to the holy Scripture only without comment, or interpretation, as the only proof of the doctrines of Faith, and that they would imitate them; and that they themselves too, being Lutherans, Calvinists, or Sacramentarians, could not deviate from that rule, and receive the authority of Tradition, or of the Councils, or antient Fathers for proof, without giving up the cause to the Roman Catholicks on a great many points controverted between them, since by their confession, the Catholicks were grounded on Tradition, the Councils, and the Fathers, and so clearly, that no reply could be made to them with any sort of reason. Now, added they, the Scripture taken in its natural sense, and such as it at first appears to the understanding, does not say there are three persons in GOD, and that the SON is consubstantial with the FATHER; therefore you ought not to admit the TRINITY, or Consubstantiality. In short, if we are to explain the Scripture by the Councils, we think we have as much reason to stand by the explication which the Councils of Sirmium and Rimini have given us upon this matter, as they, being Evangelists and Sacramentarians, to stand by the decision of the Council of Nice; nay, that they had much more reason to stand by the Councils of Sirmium and Rimini, than they had who held for the Council of Nice, since the Councils which they adhered to had been free, but that of Nice not by the presence of Constantin the great, who kept all the Fathers in awe, and under a necessity of acting according to his pleasure: This they ought to have proved, but did not, judging the fact notorious, or at least useless to their design.

The Reformed therefore found themselves under a necessity of confining themselves within the bounds of the Scripture, and of using it
C. 1. without comment; they did so, but went not far. They began with explaining these words of St. John; *In the beginning was the word.* The Pinczowians, who were prepared upon this passage by the paraphrases

phraſes which Lælius Socinus had written upon it, gave it a figurative ſenſe, and confirmed that ſenſe by other paſſages, to which the Reformed themſelves gave a figurative ſenſe, as to theſe words, *This is my body*; *I am the vine, my Father is the Husbandman*; *I am the water which ſpringeth up to eternal life*, &c. The Reformed wanted not proofs drawn from tradition, the Councils, and Fathers, to break the force of theſe new fictions and explications, but did not dare to make uſe of them; and at laſt, after many words and much foul language on both ſides, the Reformed not being able to bring any proofs drawn from Scripture, to which the Pinczowians could not reply, they with all their might, and in the full Aſſembly, broke out into, *Gloria Patri Deo, gloria Unigenito, cum Spiritu Paracleto, & nunc & in perpetuum*; Glory be to GOD the FATHER, Glory be to his only SON, and to the Spirit of Comfort, now and for ever.

This manner of proceeding, which at the bottom ſhould have paſſed for a proof of their weakneſs and ignorance, and of the loſs of their cauſe, was taken in another ſenſe by the Pinczowians. They took it into their heads that GOD was blaſphemed, in order to inſult them, demanded juſtice of the Aſſembly for it, proteſted they would no longer ſuffer ſuch abuſes to be done to the majeſty of the great GOD, and pretending to be extremely offended, broke up the Aſſembly, and ſeparated in this manner.

As ſoon as they were gone, the Reformed preſſed the Palatin Firlai to make ſome regulations, in order to ſettle a peace amongſt the Churches, and put a ſtop to the Novelties of the Pinczowians, which was promiſed them, and it was ordered therein, that no publick Conference ſhould be granted any more to the new Arians: That the Tenet of one only GOD in three perſons conſubſtantial and coequal in every thing, ſhould be maintained, and that all the Churches of the Reformed ſhould adhere to it.

All the Pinczowian Miniſters who were not preſent at that regulation, proteſted againſt it, and ſaid they had acted againſt the ſtipulations agreed upon before the Conference, by condemning Gregorio Pauli and his Adherents without hearing them, and ſo well maintained their cauſe, that the Aſſembly divided into two parties, one of which declared for the great TRINITY, and the other for the ſmall TRINITY; the former called the latter Arians, and theſe, the other blaſphemers. The former, who knew not whom to blame for the ill ſucceſs of their diſpute, and for not confounding their adver-

ſaries, mutually reproached each other with having given birth to this new Arianiſm. The Calviniſts accuſed the Evangeliſts with it, becauſe Luther had ſaid, that he could ſcarce bear the word TRINITY, and Conſubſtantiality. Nor were the Evangeliſts nonplus'd by thoſe reproaches: They were not ignorant, that ſeveral expreſſions had eſcaped Calvin againſt the TRINITY, and that the moſt determined Arians, as Blandrat, Alciatus, Gentilis, Gribald, &c. had been Calviniſts, and that they themſelves owned, that they had found the principles of the opinions which they maintained in the doctrine of Calvin. The ſecond, I mean the Pinczowians, ſtill went on their own way, but with leſs heat and oſtentation, becauſe they had been ſtrangely decried both in ſpeech and writing, particularly Philippovius, and Laſſicius. It was as heartily wiſhed to have them treated in Poland, as Servetus had been at Geneva.

Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

CHAP. XI.

Infant-Baptiſm is therein debated.

IT was much about the ſame time that Infant-Baptiſm was debated on both ſides with great ſharpneſs. The Pinczowians were againſt it, upon pretence, that the Scripture, according to their ſenſe, did not ſpeak of it expreſsly: And the Reformed were for it, upon pretence, that the Scripture was not againſt it, and that Tradition down from the Apoſtles to them, authorized it.

The firſt who riſe againſt Infant-Baptiſm, were the Arians of Cujavia, of Briſtia, and of ſeveral Churches in Lithuania. Before this almoſt univerſal Revolt upon this ſubject, Sandius ſays, that Farnovius and Viſnovius had already begun to re-baptize ſuch adult perſons as had been baptized in their Infancy. The honour of this Innovation is given to Gonés, who about the year 1562, had written a treatiſe againſt Infant-Baptiſm, to Peter Pulchranius a German, Rector of the College of Bieha in the Province of Lublin; to Paclefius, to Mathias Albinus, Miniſter of Ivanovia; to Jerom Pickarſius, and to Martin Czechovius. This laſt got ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of thoſe of Cujavia, as to bring them to baptize adult perſons only.

Nucleus, Hiſt. Eccl.

Simon Zacius Proſſevicius, one of the Elders of the Church of Vilna, had in the year 1559, compoſed a formulary of Faith againſt Infant-

Infant-Baptiſm. This formulary in the ſequel raiſed violent diſputes between Czechovius, Nicolas Wandrogovius, and Paul, Superintendant of the Churches of Lithuania: The latter was for Infant-Baptiſm, and the two others againſt it. In 1565, a Synod was appointed at *Breſnia* with deſign to reconcile them, at which were two and thirty Miniſters, but without any ſucceſs: That number was not ſufficient to ſtop the clamours or impetuoſity of the two Re-baptizers, and the affair was put off to another Synod. *Synod of Breſnia, 1565.*

It was held on the 25th of December 1565, at Wendrovia, a town in Podlakia. Lutoromiski took the pains to write to the Churches of Vilna, to deſire them to ſend thither their deputies. Forty-ſeven Miniſters, ſixteen perſons of quality, and a great number of Lithuanians, who were not for Infant-Baptiſm, were preſent at it. Philippovius preſided in it by the conſent of the whole Aſſembly. The Letters of Madam Kiſciana, and Madam Anne de Radzivil, Palatines, were read; after which thoſe of the Churches of Lublin, Sidlovia, Breſcia, &c. of the Elders of thoſe Palatinates, and of ſeveral other perſons of both ſexes, and of different conditions, were examined. They all deſired that nothing might be decided in regard to Infant-Baptiſm, but upon the terms of the Scripture, and that they would apply themſelves to the pacifying the Troubles that reigned in the Churches. Six days were ſpent in diſputes for and againſt Infant-Baptiſm, and with as much heat as had been ſhewn in the reſt of the Synods for and againſt the myſteries of the TRINITY; but however, without coming to any concluſion: *Utraque pars permanſit in ſua ſententia.* *Synod of Wengrovia, 1565.*

In the mean while the Miniſters of Lithuania being returned home to their Churches, boldly ſpread abroad, that the Synod had condemned Infant-Baptiſm, and had declared, that the people ſhould take care to be inſtructed in the Faith before receiving Baptiſm. Some Miniſters of Vilna, who were for Infant-Baptiſm, proteſted againſt this falſe Report, and writ in a ſharp ſtinging manner to thoſe of Breſcia, for endeavouring to introduce into the Churches the pernicious Cuſtom of not baptizing the Infant Children of the Faithful. Theſe worthleſs men (I make uſe of the very terms of the letters) at firſt demanded Baptiſm for adult perſons only, to quiet their conſciences on that ſubject; and going on from one abyſs to another, they called in doubt the validity of their Baptiſm, and openly maintained, that they had not been baptized. The time will come, continue thoſe letters, when they ſhall imagine there is no neceſſity Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

for the baptizing the Adult, they being all ſpiritual; and they will at laſt come to that pitch, as to deprive men of all the means of ſalvation. After theſe complaints, the ſame letters exhorted thoſe of Breſcia to fly from that generation of Anabaptiſts, to keep to the plain inſtitution of Baptiſm, and to the Goſpel, and promiſe them to beg of GOD to deliver them from thoſe turbulent and unquiet ſpirits. Theſe letters are dated from Vilna, 1566.

The Miniſters of Breſcia took thoſe letters very ill; and anſwered them in the ſame ſtrain. You ſay (they are their words) that the doctrine, which is againſt the baptizing of Infants, is the peſt and deſtruction of the Commonwealth, and of the Churches of GOD; but we on our ſide call it the doctrine and command of the Apoſtles, and will keep to it. And indeed, after theſe diſputes they remained conſtant in their error, and did not baptize Children any more.

Some other Churches, in particular thoſe of Ruſſia and Tranſilvania, were not ſatisfied with embracing the error in regard to Infant-Baptiſm; they called it an idol, and likened it to the brazen ſerpent, adding, that they who inſiſted upon the neceſſity of it, were like to thoſe who ſought Noah's Ark, Jeremiah's Yoke, and Joas's Arrows; and maintained, that this Baptiſm, which had been neceſſary in the beginning of the Church, was now-a-days uſeleſs, ſince the Infants of the Faithful are called holy by the Apoſtles, and that being really holy, it was an error to impute to them original ſin; from whence they concluded, that it was uſeleſs to give them Baptiſm, inaſmuch as by the principles of ſuch as give it, they give it only to take away original Sin, to make men holy, and to encreaſe the Alliance and Family of GOD, and of JESUS CHRIST his SON.

Upon theſe maxims they received the antient cuſtom of the Church in regard to the Catechumens, and took care to inſtruct ſuch on whom they conferred Baptiſm. Indeed the practice was not general; ſo that, to avoid proſecutions, had ſuch a proceeding been known, each man had the liberty, on theſe occaſions, of doing what reaſon, conſcience, or intereſt, perſwaded them to.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed and Pinczowians, from the year 1566, to 1568.

THE diſputes concerning the Preheminence of the FATHER, the Conſubſtantiality of the SON, and the Baptiſm of Infants, ſtill grew more and more warm. To put an end to them, the Catholick Lords, and ſome of the Reformed Miniſters, as Sarnicius, Gilovius, Silvius, Zachius, Trecius, complained loudly of thoſe impieties, and demanded juſtice upon them at the Diet of Lublin, in 1566. King Sigiſmund Auguſtus, who appointed it, to do juſtice to their complaints, made a decree againſt the Re-baptizers, and ſuch as oppoſed the myſtery of the TRINITY, and obliged them to depart the kingdom in a month. Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol. *Diet of* Lublin, 1566.

In purſuance of that Edict, Philippovius was proſecuted, and accuſed before the King (perhaps in this accuſation, there was as much revenge, jealouſy, and avarice, as juſtice and truth) he was accuſed, I ſay, of having re-baptized ſome Adult Perſons, and taught impious Doctrines againſt the Holy TRINITY. The accuſation being proved, he was condemned to loſe his head, without any one daring to ſpeak in his favour, becauſe they who had declared againſt him, had a very great credit both with the King, and in the Diet. Deſerted thus by his friends, except Prilecius, and finding himſelf in the King's preſence, he cried out, *Veniet tempus, quo alius rex judicet, & ſuperior cauſa evadet, qui ſuos tuebitur:* The time ſhall come when another King ſhall judge, the good cauſe ſhall triumph, and that King preſerve his ſervants. Zamoſiski, a good Catholick, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak, hearing him talk in that manner, accuſed him of menacing the Republick with a new King, who would juſtify him, and of thereby being an Enemy to the King and the State. Sigiſmund himſelf was moved at it, and imagined, that the criminal was ſome new Prophet, who foretold ill to him; or an Aſtrologer, who by the help of his art had diſcovered, that within a year there would be ſome alteration in the Republick; and this was what ſet him the more againſt the Criminal.

Philippovius, mortified with this new accuſation, was reſolved to demand juſtice of the Diet, either to gain time, or perhaps too to ſhew

ſhew his affection to the King, and for the publick tranquillity; but Cicovicius adviſed him againſt it, not to exaſperate the minds of men the more againſt him. He therefore abandoned himſelf to his tears, and in that condition addreſſed himſelf to the father of Zamoſiski, begging him to do him juſtice againſt the injuſtice which his ſon did him. That Lord, who knew Philippovius, by ſeveral handſome inſtances which deſerved his protection, threatned his ſon that he would kill him himſelf, if he did not give the accuſed immediate ſatisfaction. The ſon, who poſſeſſed all the good qualities of a gentleman and a man of honour, did ſo, and that in ſo generous a manner, as diſpoſed the King to alter his mind in favour of the Criminal. This gave ſo happy a turn to Philippovius's affairs, that all the accuſations brought againſt him, all the proſecutions and preſſing inſtances of his enemies, and the ſentence of death ſo ſolemnly pronounced, came to nothing.

At the ſame time, and by virtue of an Edict of the Diet, the Curate of Biacia proſecuted ſeveral perſons accuſed of Arianiſm and Anabaptiſm, but without ſucceſs; for as ſoon as they had appeared and declared that they were neither the one nor the other, and that they held the Scripture, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Faith of the firſt Ages, they were ſet at liberty, and diſcharged from perſecution.

Gregorio Pauli, who was apprehenſive, that under favour of that Edict, Miſcovius would proſecute him for his errors, ran away together with ſome other Miniſters, who held the ſame doctrines: Some of them made to the Woods, there to live at peace; others retired to Albinus, and ſeveral to Philippovius: Rudzinius, who lived there, received them in *viſceribus Chriſti*, in the bowels of Chriſt: He comforted them upon the perſecutions they ſuffered, and exerciſed them in the works of the Sect, that is, in prayer, in giving the communion, and in preaching, which he continued to do, ſo long as any regard was had to the Edict of the Diet: They feared, leſt by acting contrary to it, they might be treated as Servetus had been, and as ſuch, who had held erroneous opinions like theirs, had been puniſhed.

Synod of Lublin, 1566. *Teſtam. of* Schoman. B.A.p.194.

At the ſame time, the Evangeliſts and Calviniſts, authorized by the Diet of Lublin, held a Synod there, where they found their number and authority ſo great, as to hinder the Pinczowians from being preſent at it, and even to force them to depart Lublin with precipitation. Things would have been carried farther, if Nicolas Sie-

Sienieski, Internuntio at the Diet, had not beſought the King to ſupport the liberty of the Diets, and of his ſubjects. The King was ſo complaiſant to that Lord, as not only to forbid any violence to be done to the Pinczowians, but was pleaſed alſo to honour them with his protection. However, they had the prudence not to appear at the other Diets, or to appear but ſeldom, and in a ſmall number, that they might not give umbrage to the Reformed, or draw upon themſelves freſh inſults. But this piece of prudence did not avail them; for the Reformed, finding themſelves the ſtronger, and as it were Maſters in thoſe Aſſemblies, carried their complaints as far as poſſible againſt Arianiſm, and were continually preſſing ſuch Lords with whom thoſe Arians had taken refuge, to drive them out of their territories, which ſome of them were very much inclined to.

In this year 1566, George Schoman places the Epocha of the favourite opinion of the Pinczowians, and which afterwards was ſet in its full light by Fauſtus Socinus. Having filled their minds with the rhapſodies of Lælius Socinus, they began to ſhake off Arianiſm to give into the Samoſatian doctrine. *Sub id ferè tempus ex rhapſodiis L. Socini quidam fratres didicerunt Dei filium non eſſe ſecundam Trinitatis perſonam, Patri coeſſentialem, &c.* It was not enough to give the preference to the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and to deny the Conſubſtantiality of the latter, his Eternity and Perſonality really diſtinct from that of the FATHER: They boldly affirmed, that JESUS CHRIST was not GOD, but a man like others, born indeed of a virgin, by the operation and virtue of the HOLY GHOST. It was one Luke Sternberg who firſt maintained this impious Paradox in Poland: Many were for going to the bottom of it, adhered to it, and thereby gave the beginning to Socinianiſm. *A quibus nos commoniti ſacras literas perſcrutari, perſuaſi ſumus.*

Though the Pinczowians appeared no more at the Diets to diſpute, yet they did not give over their Aſſemblies and Synods, in which they made a great clamour. Farnovius maintained, in a Synod, that the Word was before the world. Some of the Pinczowian Miniſters attacked him roundly upon this Tenet, and one named John Bon, a Sacramentarian, attacked them in his turn, and treated them as Arians. After much paſſion and foul language on both ſides, which was of no ſervice to the common cauſe, they parted in very ill temper, after having appointed a Synod for the 24th of June 1567.

That

Synod of Serinia, 1567.

That Synod was held at Serinia, a borough of the leſſer Poland. An hundred and ten perſons diſtinguiſhed, either by their nobility or employment, and a great number of the common people of both ſexes came thither from Poland and Lithuania, either out of curioſity or neceſſity. Philippovius was Preſident of this too, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome of the Sacramentarians, who did not care to truſt him. Criſcovius and Swzechovius were Secretaries for Caſanovius, Farnovius, Niemojevius, Zilinus, Cechoviſius, Daniel, Bielinus, who all maintained, that the Word, or the SON of GOD, had been before Mary, and that he was the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as well as the FATHER: That is to ſay, that they were ſtill Arians, and were reſolved to ſupport their ſentiments, ſince they did not add that the word was eternal. Coſcianus & Budzinius were Secretaries for Schoman, Gregorio Pauli, Securinus, Albinus, and Calinovius, who inſiſted, that the SON, the Word, the Interpreter of the FATHER, or JESUS, was not before the world, and began to exiſt but about the time of St. John Baptiſt, and the Emperor Auguſtus, that is, that they adhered to the opinion of Lælius Socinus, that JESUS CHRIST began to be but when Mary brought him forth. The diſpute continued long, and after each man had explained the paſſages of Scripture, which he alledged, agreeably to his own Genius, and the intereſt of his cauſe, they ſeparated with a little leſs diſorder than in the foregoing Synods.

But Farnovius, a very noiſy man, and who was not uſed willingly to yield, took it into his head to write ſharply againſt thoſe who inſiſted that CHRIST was not before his mother; which created freſh diviſions amongſt the Churches, and formed a fourth party, who had the name of *Binatarians*, or *Farnovians*, given them, to diſtinguiſh it from that of the Catholicks, Evangeliſts and Calviniſts.

To quiet all ſides, and without noiſe, the affair, the arguments, and anſwers, were put into the hands of Staniſlaüs Cichovius, Archicamerian of Cracow. Matters being in this ſituation, the Synod was put an end to by a piece of advice which Philippovius gave the two parties, which was, that they ought to hold the doctrine generally received concerning the TRINITY, and mutually behave towards each other with Charity, and allow every one to write upon their opinion, but without ſharpneſs, againſt ſuch who were of different ſentiments, that they might be preſent at the prayers and ſermons of the Reformed Churches, provided every thing were conformable to the

the ſtyle and natural ſenſe of the holy Scriptures, and refer all ſuch as ſhould pray or preach otherwiſe, to the Tribunal of Conſcience. His deciſion was the ſame as to Infant-Baptiſm; I mean that he left every one to his liberty to do what he ſhould think moſt expedient, waiting till the laſt Judgment, wherein it would be ſeen, which of all parties was in the right. Thus was Toleration eſtabliſhed in the Churches of the Reformation, and that by Synodal Authority.

In this manner the Preſident concluded the Synod, wherein, as may be eaſily ſeen, each ſide gained his cauſe, and was ſupported in it's opinions. But this deciſion, which had more of Pyrrhoniſm and licentiouſneſs, or rather of weakneſs and complaiſance, in it, than prudence or Chriſtianity, was not univerſally approved of. Farnovius, a factious man, ſet the minds of men into ſuch a ferment, that the Churches of the Pinczowians divided into ſo many branches and opinions, that at that time there were reckoned no leſs than thirty two Sects, all of different ſentiments, and which notwithſtanding agreed in this point, that JESUS CHRIST was not the true and ſupreme GOD. This diverſity, together with the wars which theſe Innovators made upon each other, and which the Reformed made upon them, gave a juſt motive for turning them into ridicule, and for the reproach caſt upon them, that their Church was not the true Church of GOD, ſince ſo many diviſions reigned in it upon fundamental points of Faith. They ſaw plainly that this reproach was but too well grounded: And to remedy it, they reſolved to call a new Synod.

A great number of Miniſters and Divines of the Pinczowians, Evangeliſts, and Calviniſts, met at Cracow in 1568, and after many arguments and debates for a re-union, and forming but one Church, to ſet up as a balance againſt that of the Catholicks, they reſolved upon making a new confeſſion of Faith, which might be approved by all the parties of the Reformation. That form being drawn up according to the deſign, was preſented to Sigiſmund Auguſtus. They imagined that he, having granted liberty of conſcience to the Lutherans and Calviniſts, would grant the ſame liberty to the Pinczowians too, upon ſight of this form of Faith, which jumbled them into one Church, and that by the means of that liberty of conſcience, they ſhould no longer be excluded from the Employments and Honours due to their birth and merit. Perhaps their hopes had not been ill-grounded, if the minds of the King's Council had been corrupted by the new Hereſies: but luckily it had underſtanding enough to perceive

Synod of Cracow, 1568.

perceive that that piece was impious, and even incomprehenſible to thoſe who had framed it, and courage enough to reject it, and give a very cool reception to thoſe who had preſumed to preſent it to the King.

This Refuſal diſconcerted them. They could never unite again, whatever meaſures they entred into at Sandomir in 1568, and at Racovia in 1569. It is ſaid, that ſome gentlemen, Divines and Miniſters met there, to examine into ſome points of Scripture, and make ſome regulations; that the point of concord could never be come at, and that after much debating they broke up the Aſſembly, all equally out of humour, and calling each other Phariſees, Sadducees, Jews, and Atheiſts. Things were puſhed on with ſo much heat, that all the Miniſters, except Czechovicius, were ſuſpended; and probably ſome remedy might have been applied to the evil that encreaſed every day, if one Simon an Apothecary, whom the Pinczowians on this occaſion looked upon almoſt in the ſame view as the Jews did on Eſdras at their return from Babylon, had not by his credit and learning hindred that ſuſpenſion, and cauſed thoſe Miniſters and Preachers to be reſtored to the exerciſe of their functions, who carried matters ſo far during the Reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, who died in 1573, that if the Pinczowians and they who had declared againſt the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, was not uppermoſt in Poland, at leaſt it appeared ſo terrible to the Evangeliſts and Calviniſts, as well by their great number of Churches at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Novogrod, Racovia, in the country, and on the territories of ſeveral Noblemen, as by the great number of perſons conſiderable for their nobility, employments, and capacity, which attached them to it. I ſhall now paſs into Hungary and Tranſilvania, where the new Arians, who had the name of Unitarians given them, made no leſs progreſs than they did in Poland.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The State of Hungary and Tranſilvania in the Reign of Sigiſmund Zapoliha, and the progreſs of SOCINIANISM *after the death of Cardinal Martinuſius.*

TO give light into the hot diſputes which broke out in Hungary and Tranſilvania, in the time of Ferdinand and Sigiſmund Zapoliha, ſo favourable to the beginning and progreſs of Socinianiſm, it is to be obſerved, that after the bloody battle in the plains of Mohars, or Mohagzie, which the Turks won over the Hungarians, (wherein Lewis their King, a youth about twenty, periſhed in a marſh.) Ferdinand, brother to Charles the Fifth, grounding his pretenſions upon the right of Anne his wife, and ſiſter to Lewis, as well as upon Treaties made by his predeceſſors with the Kings Mathias and Uladiſlaus, got himſelf elected King of Hungary by a numerous party of Hungarians, who were headed by the Queen mother, the widow of Lewis, by Stephen Bathori, Palatin of the Realm, and by a great number of Prelates and Barons. John Zapoliha, Vaivode of Tranſilvania, and Earl of Scepus, who upon other pretenſions had already diſputed the Crown at the death of Uladiſlaus, likewiſe got himſelf elected in 1526, by another faction, which they ſay repreſented the States of the Kingdom, and was crowned by the Archbiſhop of Strigonia. But having neither money nor forces to ſupport his election againſt ſo powerful a competitor as the brother of Charles the Fifth, he retired into Poland, to the Palatin Jerom Laski, in expectation of the whole Kingdom's declaring for him, which they did, brought to it by the intrigues of a Monk, whoſe name was George Martinuſius, or Martinuſias, and whoſe hiſtory is as follows. *In* 1555.

G. MARTINUSIUS.

Martinuſius was deſcended of a noble, but poor Family, ſo that from his childhood he was forced to enter into the ſervice of the mother of John Zapoliha, where he behaved with ſo much prudence, that being arrived at an age capable of chooſing his way of life, ſhe procured him to be admitted amongſt the Benedictins; others ſay

amongſt the Monks of St. Paul the Hermit, and Father Paul will have it, that it was amongſt the Monks of St. Baſil. After entring into Prieſt's Orders, he gave into his natural genius, which was delicate and ſubtle, induſtrious and adroit, enterprizing, capable of the greateſt and moſt difficult affairs, and happy enough to be ſucceſsful in every thing; and he ſo wrought up the minds and diſpoſitions of the Hungarians in favour of his old Maſter, as to make them declare for him againſt Ferdinand. Having taken theſe ſteps, he waited on his Maſter then with the Palatin Laski, to give him an account of the State of his Affairs in Hungary, and to let him know that he would do well to make uſe of the opportunity to enter upon his inheritance. Zapoliha, who was grown tired with a private life, and deſired nothing ſo much as to take the advantage of his election, ſent back Martinuſius into Hungary, promiſed ſoon to follow him, and engaged him to do his beſt to make the deſign he had began, ſucceed.

Du Verdier *Hiſt. of the* Turks.

Whilſt the Monk was ſetting every Engine to work, the Palatin Laski perſuaded him of the neceſſity of deſiring the aſſiſtance of Soliman II. Emperor of the Turks, in order to make head againſt Ferdinand. Zapoliha approved the advice, and Laski went himſelf to Conſtantinople, and obtained aid from Soliman, upon condition that Zapoliha ſhould pay tribute to the Port. Upon theſe conditions, Zapoliha went into Hungary. Wars were to be maintained againſt his Competitor; and after many battles and towns taken on each ſide, a peace was concluded, wherein it was agreed, that the two Kings ſhould each keep the Towns they had conquered; and that if Zapoliha died without Children, the whole Kingdom ſhould revert to Ferdinand.

The Peace being concluded, Zapoliha, in acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Martinuſius, made him Counſellor of State, high treaſurer of the Crown, and Biſhop of Waradin. In 1540, he carried his gratitude farther; the moment he had, after a long ſiege, taken the Caſtle of Foragas by force (whither Stephen Mailats, the moſt obſtinate of Ferdinand's partiſans, had retreated, and where he expected the relief which the King ſent him under the command of Nadaski, to raiſe a rebellion in Hungary) he received a Courier with the news of the birth of a ſon, whom GOD had given to him the 7th of July. For joy of it, he gave an Entertainment, and drank after the Hungarian manner. This exceſs encreaſed his diſtemper; whereupon he thought ſeriouſly of death, made his Will, therein declaring

declaring Martinuſius Regent of the Kingdom, and Guardian of his ſon, jointly with Iſabella his wife, daughter to Sigiſmund I. King of Poland, and in a few days died at Saſſabes, in the 53d year of his age.

Martinuſius was not long unemployed, nor without ſhewing inſtances of his great Abilities. Scarce had Zapoliha payed his tribute to nature, when Ferdinand was extreamly inclined to forget one of the articles of the peace, purporting that he ſhould not be King of all Hungary, except Zapoliha died without Children, and reclaimed the towns which the late King had conquered before the peace. The Queen, fond of eaſe, would willingly have given them up to him, to avoid a war, which poſſibly might be attended with ill conſequences: But Martinuſius was abſolutely againſt it. He repreſented to her, that Ferdinand's way of acting, was an open and horrid piece of injuſtice, and that he intended to make advantage of the minority of his Pupil, who was but 13 days old, of the Queen's timorouſneſs, and the pretended ignorance of a Regent who had been brought up in a Cloiſter: Beſides, that the Grandees of the Kingdom would be the firſt in their Complaints both againſt her, and himſelf, ſhould he give up thoſe appennages of the Crown of Hungary, and leave the reſt of the Kingdom as a prey to Ferdinand and Solyman, by abandoning thoſe towns which were the ſtrongeſt. After theſe reflections and remonſtrances, he oppoſed the attempts of Ferdinand, fortified his frontiers in the beſt manner he was able, ſent an Embaſſador to Solyman, to conjure him to come to his Pupil's relief, and in the mean while ſhut himſelf up in Buda with the King and Queen.

Ferdinand, in order to get into his hands the towns he pretended to belong to him, ſent an Army into Hungary under the command of Roccendolf, or Regendolf, who having taken ſome of the Frontier towns, came and ſat down before Buda. Martinuſius defended himſelf long enough to give time to the Turks to come up with their Army to his relief. Scarce was it before the town, when the Germans raiſed the Siege, and left the Turks Maſters of the Field and of the Town. Soliman, who followed his Army, upon News of it, haſtened by long marches to Buda, took poſſeſſion of it, as well as of the reſt of Hungary that was dependant upon Stephen the young King, to whom he gave the name of John Sigiſmund. He covered this Uſurpation with a pretence of making himſelf amends for

for the charges he had been at, and of being always in a condition to hinder Ferdinand from making freſh inroads into Hungary. However, he was deſirous of keeping ſome meaſures of decency in this uſurpation, which muſt paſs for a monſtrous piece of treachery and perfidiouſneſs in any but Turks: He took the King and Queen into his protection, gave them the Soveraignty of Tranſilvania, which he had lately wreſted from Ferdinand, and deſired the Queen to ſend him the King that he might ſee him. She complied, and he received him with thoſe ceremonies which are to be ſeen in the Monk Hilarion de Coſte, in his *Eloges des Dames Illuſtres*, and ſent the Queen word, that if he did not ſee her, it was for fear the Viſit might prejudice her reputation.

Tom. I. p. 631, 632.

Martinuſius, whom Solyman had confirmed in the Regency, retired to Lippa, a town of Tranſilvania, where the new Court had its Reſidence. There he ſeriouſly reflected on the wrong meaſures he had taken with the Turks, and on their perfidy: And to remedy it, he contrived means to make peace with Ferdinand. Nor was that difficult, for it was concluded on this ſingle condition, that in caſe of John Sigiſmund's death without Children, Ferdinand ſhould enter upon all his Rights, and be acknowledged ſole King of all Hungary and Tranſilvania.

Father Paul. Upon the concluſion of the Treaty, Ferdinand, to recompence Martinuſius, and bring him over entirely to his Intereſt, gave, or promiſed him a penſion of fourſcore thouſand Livres, others ſay fourſcore thouſand crowns, to which he added the Archbiſhoprick of Strigonia, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable See in Hungary, amounting to above 25,000 ducats a year. In ſhort, to carry his liberality to the utmoſt, on the 12th of October 1551, he procured him a Cardinal's Hat, with a permiſſion from Pope Julius III. to wear the red Hat and Habit without going to Rome, notwithſtanding the Habit of his Order which he was obliged to wear. Theſe were gratifications capable of flattering and captivating a Man, who had known himſelf poor, a domeſtick Servant, and a Monk. Yet all this made leſs impreſſion upon him, than the obligations he had to the Family of Zapoliha, and the honour of doing his Duty. Unfortunately for himſelf, for the State, and for the Catholick Religion too, it was too ſoon perceived; and the ſequel will plainly ſhew it.

Father Paul.

Hiſt. of Coſte. John Baptiſta Caſtaldi, Marquis of Caſſani, an Italian, a cunning head, attached to the houſe of Auſtria, and brought up in the fami-

ly of Francis Avalos, Marquis of Peſcara, at that time commanded in chief, or under that Marquis, the groſs of the Army which Ferdinand kept up in Tranſilvania, under pretence of preſerving that Principality againſt the Enterprizes of the Turks; but in reality at the inſtance of Martinuſius, who had a mind to reſtrain the authority of the Queen mother, and force her to depend upon him in the government of the State. The Marquis imagined that the Cardinal made no great account of any of the benefits whereby the Court of Vienna had obliged him; that he had no good Will to Ferdinand, whoſe intereſt he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice whenever they came in competition with thoſe of his Pupil, and that probably he might be worth a million in Gold, a conſiderable Sum for the times and the country, which he lived in!

Upon theſe imaginations he formed the deſign of ridding himſelf of Martinuſius: And to confirm himſelf in ſo horrid an intention, took it into his head to perſuade himſelf he ſhould oblige the houſe of Auſtria, that in the million of Gold, which he ſhould be maſter of, he ſhould find the means of paying his troops, that began to mutiny and disband for want of their pay, and beſides, that in recompence of ſo conſiderable a piece of Service done Ferdinand, that King would not fail making him Regent of the Principality, or at leaſt he ſhould get rid of a Man whoſe authority extreamly reſtrained his own. *Father Paul,*

To colour over this Aſſaſſination, which he was deſirous of executing, with ſome ſhew of Juſtice, he had the Cardinal accuſed at the Court of Vienna, with holding intelligence with the Turks; that he was contriving no leſs than the making Tranſilvania Mahometan, of driving out the young King and the Queen mother, and making himſelf the Soveraign of it under the Protection of the Porte, upon condition of paying them a large tribute. Upon theſe propoſitions, the Court of Vienna conſented, or as others ſay, ſolemnly decreed the Cardinal's death.

Caſtaldi authoriſed by this Decree, ſuborned ſixteen Italians, with his own Secretary at their head. They all came to Binſa, or Binga (a Caſtle which the Cardinal had newly built upon the ruins of the Monaſtry where he had been a Monk.) The Secretary told the Cardinal's Valet de Chambre he had a Meſſage to deliver the Cardinal from his maſter. The Valet ſuffered him to go in alone, and would have ſhut the door after him; but the Marquis Sforza, a Captain, one of

of the Aſſaſſins, put his knee between the door, and whilſt he was conteſting with the Valet, the Secretary ſtabbed Martinuſius in the throat with a dagger, at the moment he was going to ſign a paper which the Secretary had given him. The Cardinal finding himſelf wounded, cried out, *O Virgin Mary!* and gave the Secretary a blow with his hand, that laid him upon the Floor. The Marquis of Sforza, at ſight of this, forced open the door, and gave the Cardinal a blow with a Sabre, which ſplit his head in two, and only gave him time as he was expiring, to ſay, *Jeſu, Maria, quid eſt hoc fratres?* Jeſus, Mary, what is the meaning of this, my Brethren?

This blow was given the 18th of December 1551. The Cardinals and Prelates then at the Council of Trent, conſidering the ill conſequences that attempt might have, conjured the Pope to take cognizance of it, and puniſh the Authors. To engage him to do ſo, they aſſured him that Martinuſius was worth a million; that he had died without a Will, and that of right that million belonged to the Apoſtolick Chamber. The Pope deputed ſome of the Cardinals to take informations of it upon the ſpot; and thoſe informations charged Ferdinand and his troops in Tranſilvania, with it. He again ſent Commiſſioners to Vienna, to inform themſelves more fully of the Fact. It is ſaid on this occaſion, that in conſequence of the informations taken in Tranſilvania, the Pope excommunicated the Emperor and his Miniſters, and that by the informations taken at Vienna, thoſe cenſures were taken off. However that may be, it is ſure that the laſt Commiſſioners declared Martinuſius innocent of the Crimes Caſtaldi had accuſed him of, and abſolved Ferdinand, and thoſe who had not been preſent at the murther, with this clauſe; Suppoſing the facts reported in the cauſe be true: But this clauſe, which brought into doubt Ferdinand's innocence, was taken off, upon the Complaint of his Miniſters. They only who had given the blow, went to Rome to obtain abſolution, not ſo much Criminals, as Men who had performed an action worthy of reward. Upon Martinuſius's death, Petrowitz, a Dalmatian Nobleman, a favourite of the Queen mother, and a great partiſan of the new Opinions, came into his place, and thereby grown very powerful in the State, with all his might favoured the new Sects, and encreaſed them, particularly that of the *Unitarians* (for ſo were the new Arians of Hungary and Tranſilvania called) by the means of George Blandrat, whom he ſent for out of Poland into Tranſilvania.

Father Paul.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Continuation of the ſame Subject. SOCINIANISM *introduced into Tranſilvania under John Sigiſmund, Prince of Tranſilvania, by the Intrigues of Blandrat.*

JOHN Sigiſmond, now about three and twenty years of age, upon the report he had heard of the Abilities of the Phyſician Blandrat, ordered him to be written to, to have him about his perſon as his Phyſician. Blandrat, who at that time ſtood but ill with the Reformed Churches of Poland, and was even perſecuted by them, did not ſtay to be twice written to on that Subject, but immediately ſet out, and arrived in Tranſilvania in the Year 1563.

Scarce was he got thither, when he began to gain a name by ſome important cures, he undertook with Succeſs. There needed no more to gain him admiſſion and credit with the moſt conſiderable Men. Petricowitz, who was pleaſed with his wit and temper, his manners, and his doctrine, took an affection to him. The Princes Stephen and Chriſtopher Batori, made uſe of him as their Phyſician in ordinary, and Stephen went ſo far as to make a friend and counſellor of him. John Sigiſmund declared him his firſt Phyſician, and put ſo much confidence in him, as never to be better pleaſed, than when he had him with him. Blandrat being as cunning, as eager in advancing his fortune, and inſinuating his new opinions, knew very well how to put all thoſe advantages to the beſt uſe.

It is obſerved, that when he had eaſed his patients of their pains, and brought them out of danger, he uſed to tell them diverting Stories; that by his jovial humour, he eaſily inſinuated himſelf into their confidence, and particularly into that of people of Quality: That when he had gained their friendſhip, he would entertain them with ſerious affairs, ſuch as thoſe of Religion, Politicks, and State; and as the aſſaſſination of Martinuſius ſtill hung extremely heavy upon their minds, and ſo much the more as the murtherers gloried in it, and the Germans declared openly, that they had thereby preſerved the State and Religion; therefore Blandrat generally made it the ſubject of his converſation; and thereby, and by other arts and diſcourſes corrupted the Minds of moſt of the Grandees of the Court, upon the myſtery of a GOD in three perſons, and a GOD incarnate.

Thoſe Grandees were already infected with the hereſies of Luther, Calvin, or Zuinglius; and the Prince took a particular pleaſure in hearing him argue upon matters of Religion, not as a Divine, but as a Heathen Philoſopher, and eſpecially upon the TRINITY, as on a Chimera which might reaſonably ſtrike a horror into Men. Theſe diſpoſitions in the whole Court, could not but raiſe the deſire, which Blandrat had, to inſinuate his paradoxes upon the TRINITY, and our other myſteries.

However, as he was not capable of ſuch matters, nor of deep reflections, as his mother continually kept a ſtrict eye over him to preſerve him in the Roman Faith, as Solyman II. had formerly deſired, that is, commanded, that there ſhould be no alteration made in Religion, that the minds of men might not be divided upon ſo nice a point as that of the Roman Faith, amongſt nations who had always continued in it ſince their converſion from Paganiſm: And as in obedience to that injunction, an Edict had been made in 1555, to baniſh all foreign Religions as the Romans had done; an Edict indeed that was never put in execution, ſince, as we juſt now obſerved, moſt of the Grandees had fallen in with the Proteſtants, and the Calviniſts obtained a ſuſpenſion of it as to themſelves: Sigiſmond did not as yet dare publickly to embrace the errors which Blandrat infuſed into him; but matters altered very much ſoon after.

In 1561, *Francis Davidis*, a Man bigotted to the Confeſſion of Augsburg, and Superintendant of the Reformed Churches, had a ſharp diſpute with Simon Calmoneki, a Sacramentarian, and a noted Preacher, cunning, well verſed in controverſy, and favoured by the Governor of Clauſemburg (it was Coloſvar.) What occaſioned the diſpute, was ſome people newly arrived from Geneva, and Zurich, who ſo divided the minds of the Tranſilvanians by the novelty of their doctrines, that they no longer knew which ſide to take, nor what to fix to. *Francis Davidis*, in order to clear up theſe doubts, demanded a publick Conference to be held in the preſence of Sigiſmond and all the Lords, and challenged the Sacramentarian Preacher, and all thoſe new comers, to maintain their opinions before him. The Challenge was accepted, on condition that they ſhould ſend the Acts of the Conference to Philip Melancthon, and ſtand to his Judgment.

Here I fix the firſt Epocha of the change in heart and mind of Sigiſmond, as to Religion; for had he been a good Catholick, he had driven all thoſe Broachers of falſe doctrine out of his Kingdom.

However

However that may be, Melancthon was not a Man to give into Zuinglius or Calvin's Opinions, and decided in favour of Francis Davidis, as appears in the hiſtory of the Confeſſion of Ausburg. But before his deciſion arrived in Tranſilvania, Francis Davidis, by a turn of mind not to be accounted for, unleſs we attribute it to a Spirit averſe to all confinement in matters of Religion, declared for the Confeſſion of Zurich, and from a good Lutheran became a Sacramentarian; a good Omen for Blandrat, as we ſhall ſee.

Hitherto we have nothing more than preſages of Sigiſmond's heterodoxy; it was not till towards 1566 that he gave proofs of it.

Petricowitz, who governed the Principality with an authority which nothing could oppoſe, and who beſides knew that Selim, Succeſſor to Solyman II. gave himſelf no trouble about the differences which might ariſe in Hungary and Tranſilvania, in matters of Religion, at laſt reſolved to execute the deſign he had long formed, *viz.* to bring all thoſe new opinions into vogue. And to ſucceed in that deſign, under pretence of the Edict of 1565, which allowed the exerciſe of the new Sects to ſuch as had embraced them in Tranſilvania, he made way for all Strangers who profeſſed the Reformed Religion, gave them the liberty of publickly performing the functions of it, and granted them Colleges for the Education of their Children, and a power of diſputing and maintaining Controverſies againſt ſuch as were not of their opinions.

One of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed himſelf the moſt amongſt theſe new Comers, was *Dionyſius Alexis*, a learned and able Man, who had the ſecret of pleaſing Blandrat, and by his means, of gaining acceſs to Sigiſmond. That Prince liked him ſo well, as to make him one of his Confidents, and even his maſter in matters of Religion, and made ſo great a progreſs under ſuch a maſter, that in a ſhort time he grew out of conceit with the Roman Church, and became a good Lutheran.

But this was not Blandrat's aim. Some of the Calviniſts, ſuch as Gallus, Matthew Denei an Apoſtate Monk, Peter Melvis, Peter Carolinus, George Geontius, &c. who had been introduced into the Court of Sigiſmond, were ſo loud againſt the Doctrines and Practices of the Lutherans, as being too like the Romans, and ſo extolled the Doctrine of Geneva, and Zurich, that Sigiſmond became tired of Lutheraniſm, and fell in with the Calviniſts and Sacramentarians.

All theſe changes were ſo many good Omens for Blandrat, he eaſily foreſaw by them that a time would come when that Prince would believe nothing, or only what he ſhould propoſe to him; and to arrive at that point, gained the friendſhip of Francis Davidis, who ſtuck to nothing as to Religion. He had quitted the Confeſſion of Auſburg againſt his own conviction, and gone over to that of Zurich, for reaſons which no body could ever comprehend, and at laſt quitted the Confeſſion of Zurich for the doctrine of his new friend, which was no more than an Arianiſm ſet in a finer Light.

It cannot be conceived how far Blandrat carried his conqueſts upon this union. All the Counſellors and great Lords of the Court, who were already fallen in with the doctrines of Wittenburg, of Auſburg, Geneva, and Zurich, as Petrowitz, Jaſper Cornis, Chriſtopher Famigali, John Gerendi, Head of the *Sabbatarians*, a people who did not keep Sunday, but Saturday, and whoſe Diſciples took the name of *Genoldiſts*. All theſe, and others, declared for the opinions of Blandrat; and Francis Davidis preaching one day in the Church of St. Stephen at Tewiſwar, before Sigiſmond and his whole Court, inveighed ſo much againſt the TRINITY, and ſuch as believed it, and with ſo much eloquence maintained from the holy Scripture, that the Eternal FATHER was the only true and ſupreme GOD, to whom the SON was inferior, that the young prince openly declared that he was of the Preacher's opinion.

This blow made a great noiſe, and confounded the Lutherans and Sacramentarians. They eaſily judged that the example of the Prince and great Men at Court, who thus gave into Arianiſm, would not fail debauching the reſt of the people againſt them, who had embraced their opinions, and that this overturning of Religion would have two effects. Firſt, that their Sects would no longer be the prevailing, as they had been in prejudice of the Roman Catholick Religion, which they had put a ſtop to almoſt all over the Principality. Secondly, That they ſhould be expoſed to the ſame perſecutions they had made the Catholicks ſuffer under Petricowitz's authority, and Sigiſmond's protection. (For in truth Petricowitz, in favour of the Reformed, treated the Roman Catholicks very ill upon all occaſions.) To obviate theſe misfortunes, they employed all ſorts of Complaints, murmurs, ſubmiſſions, Cabals, and Attempts againſt Blandrat, and Francis Davidis.

But

But theſe, to put a ſtop to thoſe Complaints, or make a ſhew of their Learning, and the pretended juſtice of their Cauſe, propoſed the way of Conferences and Debate upon the controverted Matters. the firſt was held at Alba Julia in 1566; and in the heat of the diſpute, Blandrat told the Reformed, they were very much in the wrong to oppoſe his doctrine, ſince he had drawn it from the writings of their Doctor, Martin Luther, and added, that if he had particular notions, as to the TRINITY, he was obliged to that famous Reſtorer of the Goſpel for them: That he ſhould always think it an honour to call himſelf his diſciple: That he had not bluſhed to maintain his Tenets upon the TRINITY before the Senate of Geneva, much leſs ſhould he bluſh to defend them before ſuch as love truth, as did thoſe Lords, before whom he had the honour to ſpeak.

All theſe Compliments, as well as all that paſſed at the Conference, came to nothing. So that they asked leave of the Prince to meet once more the ſame year: And to make the Tranſilvanians believe that theirs was the only true doctrine, as well as the only agreeable to the Scripture, they declared againſt Fathers, Councils, and all human Authorities, and inſiſted upon the Scriptures taken in their natural ſenſe, and in order to flatter the young Prince, beſought him not only to honour them with his preſence, but alſo to take upon himſelf ſingly the quality of Judge, and decide the matters in controverſy, after having heard them, though aſſuredly he underſtood but little of them: For he is handed down to us by Hiſtorians as a man of a weak underſtanding, inconſtant in the Faith, beſet by corrupt men, no leſs ignorant than himſelf as to the matters in queſtion.

The Lutherans and Calviniſts, who in their diſputes with the Catholicks, had, as they themſelves ſay, ſome times gained the advantage, accepted Blandrat's Challenge.

The day being appointed, they all met at great Waradin. The Prince preſided at the Aſſembly, accompanied by his Lords. Blandrat and Davidis diſputed againſt the Belief of a GOD in three perſons; and Peter Malius, Peter Caroli, and ſome others, Calviniſts and Lutherans, maintained, that GOD was one in nature, and three in perſons, conſubſtantial and really diſtinct; but without ſucceſs. For they, inſiſting upon the authority of Tradition, Councils, Fathers, and the unanimous conſent of Doctors in points of Religion; and David is refuſing all authority but that of the Scripture, and turning their own argument againſt them, by reproaching them with uſing

two ſorts of weights and meaſures in points of controverſy with them, and with the Catholicks. The young Prince decided in favour of Blandrat and Francis Davidis: That the SON and HOLY GHOST were not the ſupreme GOD; that there were not three conſubſtantial perſons in the TRINITY; and that the ſupreme and only GOD was not incarnate.

Upon this, moſt of the Courtiers, who ſeldom underſtand any thing in the myſteries of the Faith, or have any other Religion than ambition, intereſt, the current of the Court, and the will of the Prince, eſpecially where the Roman Faith is not the prevailing one, declared openly for Arianiſm, and began to Socinianize. The Lutheran, and Sacramentarian Miniſters, who had no meaſures to keep with their party in regard to their fortune, declared for that ſide that was uppermoſt, whilſt the reſt retired covered with ſhame, for not having anſwered the expectations which their brethren had entertained of their Learning. And the Unitarians, who prided themſelves in the victory they had gained over their Adverſaries, had the memorials of the Conference printed, together with two Treatiſes againſt the TRINITY, and ſent them all into Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and other parts, where there were any of the Reformed, and thereby very much advanced their Sect.

Spond. ad ann. 1566.

And ſtill more, by the verſions and corrections of the Bible, which Blandrat and his Aſſociates made. The Miniſters of Tranſilvania made a verſion into the Hungarian Tongue: James Paleologus tranſlated it into Greek, James Somerus aſſiſted him in that work, and Mathias Glirius, a Pole, well verſed in the Oriental Languages, and who publickly profeſſed Arianiſm, made one into Hebrew. All the verſions were full of falſe interpretations, and turns agreeable to the prejudices of thoſe Unitarians, of Arian, Samoſatian, and Sabellian Notes, and moſt of the Hungarians, and Tranſilvanians, who read the Hungarian verſion, and who had neither Capacity, nor Books, nor Orthodox Learned Men, to examine whether the text, notes, and explanations, given to ſome paſſages relating to the TRINITY, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, Original Sin, &c. were conformable to the Original, were ſo unhappy as to adhere to what they read, and thereby, often without perceiving it, became Arians, or Samoſatians, that is Unitarians and Socinians.

But farther, Blandrat, always intent upon the progreſs of his Sect, by his credit with people of the firſt quality, inſinuated to them the neceſ-

neceſſity of ſending their Children to ſtudy at the Univerſities of Venice, Padua, &c. and of converſing often with the Jews there, upon pretence they would make a much greater progreſs in the *belles Lettres* there, than they would do in the Colleges of the Province: And that the Jews, who had far other lights into the bottom of Religion, than the Catholicks, Lutherans, or Sacramentarians, might thereby perfectly inſtruct them in the myſteries of their Belief. Spond.

Blandrat's deſign in this advice was only to put the Youth into a way of blaſpheming againſt one GOD in three perſons, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, and of maintaining their blaſphemies and impieties when they ſhould be more advanced in years. His advice had many followers, and thoſe children came up to his expectations. Spond.

The Reformed, alarmed at ſuch progreſſes, tried new ways of accommodating matters. They demanded a freſh Conference in preſence of the Prince, which was granted, and held at Alba Julia, the 18th of March 1568, and laſted ten days. Blandrat, Francis Davidis, Baſil, a Miniſter of Clauſenburg, Demetrius Hunniades, Paul Julius, John Sinning, Moroſini, Martin Albani, Benedict Ovart, Gregory Vagnerus, all of them having ſome title in the Reformed Churches, aſſiſted at it. Blandrat therein diſputed againſt the TRINITY, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the two natures in CHRIST, and maintained his Theſes with ſo much warmth againſt the Reformed, that the Prince and the Great men gave him great applauſes, and he had the ſame ſucceſs in another Conference, held at Alba Julia in 1570, by conſent of the Prince. B.A. p. 31

After theſe happy ſucceſſes, the face of affairs was near a change, in regard to the Sect in 1571. Sigiſmund, who grew uneaſy at paying the annual tribute to Selim, Emperor of the Turks, and had a mind to marry a Princeſs of the Houſe of Auſtria, ſent Embaſſadors to Maximilian to demand his Friendſhip, Protection, and the Princeſs: Which were all granted, on condition he did not take the title of King of Hungary (a title which the Turk had left him, and he had always inſerted among his titles) but only that of Moſt Serene Prince of Tranſilvania. Spond. 1571. Iſthuanſt. Hiſt. Hung. l. 24.

Theſe Conventions being agreed upon, that Prince had not the happineſs of enjoying them: For he died the 16th of March 1571, aged 31 years. Blandrat, as his chief Phyſician, and ſome others of the Unitarians, ſo cloſely beſet him during his indiſpoſition, which N. II. p. 11.

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is reported to have been extremely violent, that it was impoſſible for the Catholicks, or Reformed, to get at him. As he died an Arian, he was buried in their way, in the Temple, under a Marble Tomb. He left no Children, but a Will, whereby he declared the Emperor Maximilian, Heir to his Eſtates.

This was a conjuncture which had like to have thrown Tranſilvania into freſh confuſions and wars. On Maximilian's ſide, in order to come at his patrimony, and have the Will of the deceaſed executed; on Selim's, to preſerve his yearly tribute; and on that of the Tranſilvanians, Catholicks, Lutherans, Calviniſts, Arians, and Anabaptiſts. The firſt being for a Catholick Prince, and the reſt for one of their own Religion, or at leaſt not ſo powerful as Maximilian; which ſhall be the ſubject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. XV.

SOCINIANISM *in Tranſilvania during the Reign of the Batoris.*

UPON Sigiſmund's death, the Barons of Tranſilvania aſſembled to oppoſe the execution of the Will, and agree upon the election of a Prince. Among all the Competitors, at the recommendation of the Emperor Selim, they elected Stephen Batori, in excluſion of Jaſper Bekeſſe an Arian. Stephen was a good Catholick, firſt Baron of Tranſilvania, and the moſt accompliſhed of any who were then in a condition of governing the Principality. He wanted neither zeal for the Roman Catholick Religion, nor bravery to make head againſt his enemies, nor policy to gain the friendſhip of foreign Princes, nor prudence to unite all his people in the intereſt of their Country, however divided they were in point of Religion.

As ſoon as he was elected and recognized, he ſent Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople and Vienna, in order to notify his Election. Selim confirm'd it, upon condition of his paying to the Port the annual tribute his predeceſſor had paid, and of making no alliances with any Chriſtian Prince without giving him notice of it. Maximilian likewiſe confirmed it, upon condition of his taking only the Title of Moſt Serene Prince of Tranſilvania, and of his commanding there only as a Prince who was a Vaſſal to the Empire.

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Having taken theſe meaſures in order to keep out of foreign Wars, he applied himſelf to gain the friendſhip and confidence of all the Innovators of his Principality, and which certainly was the predominant party in regard to the Catholicks: Wherein he ſucceeded by the means of Blandrat his Confident, his Counſellor, and his Phyſician; but however, without any way prejudicing what he owed to his own Religion: On the contrary, he ſeems to have gone ſo far, only to unite them all to the Catholick Religion, wherein the Jeſuits were very ſerviceable, whom he ſettled at Clauſemberg (a town in which the Unitarian party prevailed) with power to inſtruct the youth, to preach, and perform all the other Functions of their Miniſtry, which they did: And one of the firſt things to which they applied themſelves, was a tranſlation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, wherein they behaved with all the fidelity requiſite in ſuch a work, and whereby they plainly made appear, to all who had the curioſity or piety to read it, how much that of the Unitarians was defective, unfaithful, and corrupted: And whilſt ſome were labouring at ſo painful a work, the others preached, and diſputed in the cities, and in the country, and brought back to the Faith many of all conditions, who had ſwerved from it, either thro' force, ſurprize, or licentiouſneſs; which drew upon them what the Saviour of the World had foretold, cruel perſecutions, and in the end baniſhment.

Whilſt Batori was employed in theſe glorious actions, in order to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Faith in his Principality, the Poles elected him for their King; and Chriſtopher Batori ſucceeded him in the Principality of Tranſilvania. This new Prince, in the beginning, gave freſh proofs of his zeal for the Catholick Religion, and of his reſpect for the Jeſuits. Far from confining his care to the education of Youth only, as the Lutherans, Calviniſts, and Unitarians had deſired of him at a meeting of the States at Torda (not to raiſe, as they ſaid, new troubles in the country, in matters of Religion) he obliged them with a ſecond eſtabliſhment at Alba Julia, and another at great Waradin, with full power to teach and preach there. Whilſt thoſe Fathers were anſwering their Prince's expectations, and ſucceſsfully maintaining the eſteem the Catholicks had of their Zeal for the Salvation of Souls, Blandrat turned himſelf into a great many ſhapes, and gave himſelf a great deal of trouble: Theſe are ſome of them.

Francis Davidis did not confine himſelf within thoſe paradoxes which Blandrat had inſpired him with upon the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. He went ſo far into Philoſophy, as not only to deny a TRINITY in GOD, and a Divinity in JESUS CHRIST, but to maintain, that we neither ought nor could call upon JESUS CHRIST, nor pay him any religious worſhip. Theſe novelties raiſed great conteſts amongſt the Trinitarians, which made way for a Synod held at Torda in 1578, where three hundred and twenty-two Unitarian Miniſters met. F. Davidis, as Miniſter of Clauſenburg, with all poſſible boldneſs, capacity, and obſtinacy, maintained his impiety, and abſolutely denied any invocation upon JESUS, or that mankind could call upon him; the neceſſity of Infant-Baptiſm was likewiſe therein oppoſed. Blandrat ſpared nothing to bring F. Davidis back to his firſt opinion; but he was too opiniative to be confined within the limits of a diſciple, in regard to Blandrat, and was reſolved to be his maſter in this matter, and hereby became ſuch. Blandrat, after finding that all his arguments, and even thoſe of Fauſtus Socinus, whom he had called in to his aſſiſtance againſt F. Davidis, had not been able to undeceive him, quitted his own ſentiments, and eſpouſed thoſe of F. Davidis as clearer, better connected, and leſs confuſed than his own. And by this ſtep, from Chief of the Unitarians in Tranſilvania, he fell to a member of them only; and of a real Tritheiſt, became a Samoſatian. He looked upon JESUS CHRIST not as an excellent man, whoſe prerogatives raiſed him above the reſt of mankind, and gained him a particular reſpect, but as a man upon the foot of others, to whom nothing more was owing than that which is due to all mankind: And this opinion found Followers and Miniſters to ſupport it.

Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

During theſe ſquabbles which divided the Churches of the Unitarians, the Jeſuits gained freſh ſucceſſes over Hereſy, which engaged the Innovators, who were met at the States of Clauſenburg in 1582, to complain of them to Chriſtopher Batori, and they took the liberty of writing to him, to preſs him to turn the Jeſuits out of Alba Julia. They alledged, as their reaſon, that there were ſo few Catholicks, that it was neither neceſſary nor convenient to diſturb the State, under pretence of giving them Paſtors. The Prince gave no heed to theſe letters; and in order to ſhew them his contempt, and at the ſame time his regard for the Jeſuits, ſent them his ſon Sigiſmund Batori, to be brought up in the Catholick piety and learning, wherein

wherein they ſucceeded ſo well, and particularly Father Leleſius, that Sigiſmund had ſcarce ſucceeded his Father, when following the maxims that Jeſuit had inſtilled into him, he broke the alliance with the Turk, and made a new one with the Emperor Rodolphus, determined to defend himſelf againſt Amurath, Selim's ſucceſſor.

This proceeding alarmed the Innovators; they ſaw plainly this rupture with the Port, this alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, the great power the Jeſuits had with the young Prince, and the ardour Sigiſmund ſhewed for the Roman Church, could not but turn to their deſtruction. To ward againſt this blow, at the inſtigation of Demetrius, Superintendant of the Unitarian Churches, and who never ceaſed exclaiming againſt the Jeſuits, as introducing Idolatry into the Province, and pretending to ſet up the Kingdom of Antichriſt or the Pope, they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner in 1588, at Megiez, near Clauſenburg. There they were the ſtrongeſt, and under the unjuſt pretence of repreſenting the States, made a decree, baniſhing all the Jeſuits out of the State. Sigiſmund did not fail to complain of this Encroachment upon his Authority, but was neglected. The Catholicks endeavoured to oppoſe it, but the great number of the Innovators made their oppoſition ineffectual. The Jeſuits attempted to anſwer the Complaints made againſt them, and the injuſtice of driving them out of the Province; they inſiſted on their innocence, their ſettlement under the Prince's Letters Patents, and the Edict of Toleration for the Catholick Religion, as well as for Lutheraniſm, Calviniſm, and the new Arianiſm: But they were anſwered, they muſt obey; they did ſo, and all they could obtain, was that Father Alphonſo Carillus might remain with Sigiſmund, in compliance with that Prince's requeſt.

Theſe actions of the Innovators had ſtrange conſequences. The Unitarians grew uppermoſt in Alba Julia, in Clauſenburg, in Torda, and many places: They formed and kept up more than two hundred Churches in the Province, and the reſt of the Innovators enjoyed the benefit of the Edict, which allowed them liberty of Conſcience. But ſoon after things took a new turn, which we ſhall ſee when we come to mention the decline of the Sect in Tranſilvania: But we muſt now caſt an eye upon the progreſs it made, or attempted to make in other Provinces. *Vindic. Unitar. B. A. p. 268.*

CHAP. XVI.

The too great Complaiſance of the Houſe of Auſtria for Hereticks, put them upon attempts to introduce SOCINIANISM *into Auſtria, and other Territories belonging to them.*

The Author of a ſmall treatiſe of the motives of the War with Germany.

TO give light into what I here advance, it muſt be taken for granted, with a modern Writer, that all the world knows, that it was eaſy for the Emperor Charles the Fifth to have ſtifled Luther's Hereſy in its birth, and that he would not do ſo, in hopes that this difference in Religion, would ſpread itſelf amongſt the Princes and States of Germany, and engage them in a civil war, which might facilitate to him and his ſucceſſors, the means of changing the form of the Empire, and arriving at univerſal Monarchy. But as great alterations proceed but by degrees, he contented himſelf with ſettling the liberty of the Proteſtants, by that religious peace which cauſed ſo much joy to all the party, and gave them room to hope, and to ſay, that the Emperor was on their ſide by inclination.

Ferdinand his brother, and ſucceſſor in the Empire, had ſtill more complaiſance for the Hereticks in his dominions. John Crato his Phyſician, tells us, that he not only favoured them openly, but boaſted of it, and before his death thanked GOD for the toleration he had granted them.

Some will have it that not only matters went ſo far as to a toleration, but that he adhered to ſome of their erroneous opinions. Some of his letters on this ſubject to the Elector of Saxony are to be ſeen, wherein it appears, they were pretty well agreed upon points of Religion. And the inſtances he made by his Embaſſador at the Council of Trent, for the marriage of Prieſts, the Communion under both kinds, &c. ſhew plain enough what his ſentiments were as to the Reformation: And indeed, his ſollicitations gave the Pope more pain than all the other buſineſs of the Council.

N. 11. p. 11.

One Writer informs us, that Ferdinand being then only King of the Romans, fearing a general revolt in Moravia, from the Anabaptiſts or Hutterites, diſciples of the famous Hutter, allowed them the exerciſe of their Religion, and conſented to their eſtabliſhment in that Province, after obliging them to do nothing contrary to good manners, the tranquillity of the State, and the Chriſtian Religion. Notwithſtanding

withſtanding which thoſe Hutterites laid the Foundations of Socinianiſm; they minded not in the leaſt the myſteries of the TRINITY, nor of the incarnation of the Word, nor gave JESUS CHRIST any other name than that of LORD of HOSTS, and tolerated the practices of all the Sects of Anabaptiſm amongſt them, in which (Sects) there are ſome not to be thought of without bluſhing.

Maximilian II. who not content with the Archdutchy of Auſtria, the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Roman Empire, and all the advantages inſeparable from them, had a mind for thoſe of Hungary and Poland; in order to ſupport his pretenſions, made it a duty and neceſſity to hold correſpondences with the Innovators, as well thoſe of his own, as of the neighbouring States. It is even ſaid they were the prevailing party in his Court, that all that was wanting was his open profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, and that all Germany never doubted of his belief in this point. It was he who adjuſted that Conſtitution in 1577, ſo favourable to the Proteſtants, therein diſpoſing with a high hand, of all the Effects of the Clergy in favour of thoſe who had embraced Lutheraniſm, notwithſtanding the Clergy's oppoſition.

This correſpondence with the Hereticks had begun from the time of his being King of Bohemia, and before he was Emperor: For Father Paul ſays, that from that time he held intelligence with the Electors and other Proteſtant Princes, which had made Pope Paul IV. ſuſpect him ſo far, as that he could not help ſaying of him in a private audience, he gave to Martin Guſman, that the Emperor's Son was a favourer of hereſy. The ſame ſuſpicion continuing after Paul's death, Pope Pius IV. in 1560, ordered the Count d'Arcos to tell him, that if he did not perſevere in the Catholick Faith, far from confirming him King of the Romans, he would deprive him of all his Dominions. All theſe reſentments, which indeed it did not belong to the Pope to ſhew, did not hinder that Prince from afterwards chooſing for his Preacher, a man who had introduced the Communion under both kinds into ſeveral Churches; and went ſo far as to ſay, he could not receive it otherwiſe, tho' he did not venture to put it in execution. Doubtleſs it was upon account of this complaiſance in Maximilian II. for the Proteſtants, that John Leti, a ſtanch Lutheran, gives him the Character of a prudent, pious, pacifick Prince; and ſays, he preſerved peace in Religion, and that he often uſed to ſay, that it was impious to condemn, or conſtrain men's conſciences.

The

The Innovators of Auſtria, upon ſo great a complaiſance in their Sovereign for the Reformation, ventured ſo far as to demand liberty of conſcience, as an acknowledgment for the great Services they had done him during his wars in Hungary, and for the Sums of money which the Proteſtant States had furniſhed him with for the payment of the debts he had contracted in thoſe wars. The Emperor promiſed it, upon condition that two Elders for his Majeſty, two for the States, and two for the Confeſſion of Ausburg, ſhould agree upon the articles of Faith, the allowance of which was required.

Spond. ad ann. 1588.

This project was not ſo ſecretly managed but the Pope had intimation of it, and to put a ſtop to it ſent Cardinal Commendon to the Emperor, to tell him from him, not to grant that liberty of conſcience; and if it was already granted, to revoke it; and if he did not, that he would excommunicate him, and deprive him of the Empire. He did not ſtop there, he ſent an expreſs to the King of Spain, to exhort this King to preſs his Couſin, not to grant to Hereticks a thing ſo hurtful to Religion. Theſe ſteps of the Pope had their effect, the Emperor came to no determination upon the demand of liberty of conſcience; but on the other ſide his complaiſance for the Sectaries gave them the liberty of exerciſing their Religion without any oppoſition.

Amongſt thoſe Sectaries who inſiſted upon liberty of conſcience, there was one Sect of Libertins (it is thus the Annaliſt calls them) who believed as an article of faith, that JESUS CHRIST had nothing above other Saints; that he was a meer Man; that he neither could nor ought to have given him the title of LORD; and that our prayers to GOD ought to be concluded, not in theſe terms, which the Catholicks uſe; *Through our* LORD JESUS CHRIST *thy* SON, but thus; *Thro'* JESUS CHRIST *thy true and faithful Servant.*

Theſe Arianiſers or Samoſatians, took the freedom of reducing their profeſſion of Faith into writing, preſented it to the Emperor, and requeſted the liberty of publiſhing it; but in vain. For before any concluſion, it was put into Doctor Hizingrin's hands, who refuted it with great ſolidity, and made ſo much noiſe at the Court of Vienna upon the complaiſance, or rather eaſineſs ſhewn thoſe impious wretches, who were introducing Mahometaniſm into Auſtria, and thereby giving the Turk an opportunity of conquering them without blows, that the Emperor treated them very ill.

I find

I find but three German Writers who declared for the Sect during the Reigns of Ferdinand, and Maximilian II. who are Wicerius, Neumerus, and Silvanus.

CHAP. XVII.

Peter Richer's design of introducing the new ARIANISM *into America, under protection of Governor Villegagnon.*

I Should not enter into the particulars of this project, it having been very unsuccessful, had I not promised a full account of whatever has come to my knowledge upon the subject of Socinianism.

Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of Maltha, and considerable for several military employments both by sea and land, in the time of Calvin himself, declared for the Reformation; and to avoid the Severities with which Henry II. punished the followers of new doctrines, put himself under the Admiral Coligni's protection, who was a stanch Calvinist in his heart, and gave him to understand it would be proper to settle a Colony in South America, as well for the Kingdom's advantage and glory, as that the Reformed might have a sure retreat under the Persecutions carrying on against them in France. The Admiral approved the design, and mentioned it to the King. The King, whom care was taken to persuade, that in this project their only aim was his glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the good of his people, consented to it, ordered a Fleet to be fitted out at his own charge, and gave the command of it to the Chevalier Villegagnon. These Vessels being freighted, and manned with Catholick and Calvinist Soldiers, happily arrived in the River Janeiro, on the coasts of Brazil, towards the end of November 1555. Villegagnon disembarked his Men on an Island, which some say was Florida, made himself master of it, built a Fort there, which he named Coligni, sent back two Vessels laden with rich Cargoes to France, and by the same way demanded fresh succours from the Admiral, as well to defend himself against the Islanders, as the Portuguese, who were masters of almost all the coast, and desired him to send him some able Calvinist Ministers, in order to be in a condition

Spond. ad ann. 1555. N. 16, 17, 18.

of executing their firſt deſign, namely, of eſtabliſhing the Reformation in his Colony.

Coligny, pleaſed with the Succeſs of the firſt voyage, laboured to ſend him all he required; and before he ſuffered the ſupply of Ships and Men to ſail, addreſſed himſelf to Calvin himſelf, to ſend him miniſters of his recommendation; Calvin ſent him two noted ones, William Chartier, and Peter Richer.

P. Richer. Richer had been a Carmelite, and under that habit had acquired a reputation by his preaching. He made ſome figure at Annonai, a ſmall city of the Vivarés, and gained friends, credit, and followers. Having thus got a name, he firſt privately, and afterwards publickly preached up the hereſies then in faſhion, particularly thoſe againſt Conſubſtantiality. The Magiſtrate of the town, a good Catholick, would have proſecuted him for it; but to avoid that he went to Geneva; where Calvin received him kindly, for the happy talent he had at preaching, and to forward his advancement made a preſent of him to Coligni.

Theſe Miniſters embarked on three Veſſels belonging to the King, together with a great number of Calviniſts, and arrived in 1557 at the Iſland, where Villegagnon was waiting for them. Upon their arrival they celebrated the Euchariſt after the Calviniſt manner, and the Miniſters ſet themſelves to inſtruct the people, but could not agree in their principles. Chartier maintained the Doctrines of Calvin, but Richer added Arianiſm, and ſome other antient hereſies to it. Which motly opinions of the latter, with which he had perplexed and confounded Calvin's Doctrine, raiſed great commotions in the new Colony: And Villegagnon ſent Chartier into France, to make a report of them to Calvin, and ask his advice. However, he came to a reſolution without waiting for his return: He had good ſenſe, judgment, wit, and capacity, which he has ſhewn in ſeveral printed works of his, and of which du Verdier and de Vauprivas give us a Catalogue in their Bibliotheca. He conſidered the different Sentiments of thoſe two miniſters, and the confuſions Richer ſtill went on to create; from thence he concluded there was nothing fixed or conſtant in Calvin's Reformation, and quitted it for the Roman Church, which he had renounced either out of lightneſs or worldly conſiderations. Some of the Sectaries followed his example, and with theſe new Converts he drove Richer and the reſt of the Calviniſts out of the Iſland. Thus Richer's deſign failed. Calvin was

ſo

so offended at Villegagnon for recanting, as to write several scandalous libels against him, one of which is entitled, *Le Suffisance de Maitre Colas Durand*; and another, *Epoussettes de ses Armoiries, & autres.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Several Provinces of the upper and lower Rhine infected with the new ARIANISM *by the Anabaptists, wherein are seen the Errors, Authors, and Attempts of these Hereticks: And how they have maintained themselves in the free Exercise of their Sect by the Edicts for Toleration, which Holland has granted to the Mennonites.*

THE Socinians of Holland, or the seven united Provinces have joined Communion with the Mennonites and other Anabaptists, who live under the Authority of the States of Holland; it will not therefore be impertinent to the clearing up of my history, to give the Reader an account of the Anabaptists, their Tenets, Writers, Attempts, the prosecutions against them, the variety of their Sects, and in short how they have maintained themselves by the Toleration that has been granted them. I am here undertaking a matter that will surprise not only by the oddness of the errors to be met with in it, but for the monstrous designs of the first Anabaptists, tending to no less than the dethroning of Kings, and erecting a new temporal Kingdom, where, as they gave out, the Elect were to live in all manner of plenty. But as this is a matter already fully handled by several Writers, I shall endeavour to say nothing but what strictly affects my subject.

By the name of Anabaptists is generally understood a Sect who make it a fundamental point not to baptize children till they are grown up, and instructed in matters of religion, and till they believe them; and to rebaptize all such as have been baptized in their Infancy, under pretence, that they had not faith; that their baptism has been of no service to them, and even that they have acted, or been forced to act against the precept of JESUS CHRIST, which says, that to be saved we must believe, and be baptized. And from this practice they are called Anabaptists, or Rebaptizers.

Their Opinions To this error which the Anabaptiſts all receive to a man, and which is common to them with many of the new Arianiſers (as we have ſeen in the Chapters concerning the Synods of Poland) they added others which the Socinians have adopted, or which have ſerved as a foundation for their new Paradoxes. Such as theſe.

That the SON of GOD did not take upon him the fleſh in the womb of the Virgin Mary. That there is no TRINITY of perſons in GOD. That JESUS CHRIST was the SON of GOD by Grace and adoption only. By the conſequences of their principles they have introduced three Gods. Some of them denied original Sin; and ſuch as have acknowledged it, ſaid, that Adam's fault was repaired by the SAVIOUR of the World, and that he has reſtored them to their primitive ſtate of original innocence. It is in conſequence of this opinion, that in order to imitate the nakedneſs of the firſt man in original juſtice, they remain naked in their Temples, which they called Paradiſes. They have pretended that a Chriſtian could not bear arms in his own defence, nor exerciſe any civil office, nor make, nor require Oaths in any Judicial proceedings. That the Salvation of man was in his ſtrength. That the torments of the Devils, and of the damned, would have an end, and the apoſtate Angels be reinſtated in their firſt condition at the creation. All theſe Paradoxes, except that of nakedneſs, are in common to them with the modern Arians and Socinians. There are others particular to them. That the Souls of men were created before their bodies, and had committed Sin in heaven. That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Waters above the Firmament are endued with Souls; and that at the reſurrection, bodies ſhall aſſume a round Shape. They imagined themſelves incapable of ſinning after baptiſm, becauſe, according to them, it is the fleſh only that ſins; and indeed they called themſelves men deified, and who were really the children of Iſrael, come to exterminate the Canaanites. They generally preached the laſt judgment, that it was at hand, and that men were to prepare for it by eating and drinking. They eſtabliſhed Polygamy, called marriages contracted between brother and ſiſter ſpiritual, made all their women common to each other, condemned lawful marriages, and inſiſted that a woman was obliged to yield to the paſſion of the firſt man who ſhould ſollicite her. They threw off the yoke of Magiſtrates and Soveraigns; they called themſelves the only body of the true Church. They condemned the uſe of ſeveral Meats. They rejected prayer, upon pretence

tence of an imaginary liberty, and maintained it was not neceſſary to confeſs JESUS CHRIST, or ſuffer martyrdom for him. They ſaid that the word of GOD written in the old and new Teſtament was not to be believed, but that it ought to be accommodated to the Faith within us, and not the Faith to it. They pretended there would be a new reign of JESUS CHRIST upon earth, and they alone ſhould ſet it up, after rooting out all the Temporal powers. They called themſelves prophets, and made their extravagancies paſs for divine revelations. Some of them boaſted they were Elias, the true Meſſiah, the third David, the Grandſon of GOD, and even the SON of the Moſt high.

Theſe Errors, and they who firſt broached them, have procured them different names, which it would be to no purpoſe to mention here.

Their Authors.

All are not agreed who was, or were the firſt who laid the foundations of this Sect. Some are of opinion it took it's riſe from the Vaudois, or Albigeois; but this is going too high. Others pretend it began in 1503, among the Bohemians, becauſe theſe rebaptized all ſuch as came in to them; in order to ſeparate them from the Catholicks, as themſelves were, the Catholicks being, as they ſay, plunged in Idolatry, and Impiety, becauſe, upon their ſuppoſition that the Church of Rome erred in the points eſſential to Salvation, they believed, with the Biſhops of Africa, that the repetition of Baptiſm was neceſſary for ſuch as left that Church to go over to their communion; and likewiſe becauſe they debated among themſelves, whether a Chriſtian was allowed to exerciſe any office of magiſtrature, make uſe of the ſword, or take, or exact oaths.

If the Bohemians or Huſſites have ever held theſe opinions, it is not likely they have held all the reſt we have related: Since Luther about the Year 1521, writ to them for their Confeſſion of Faith, and to exhort them to an union with his new Reformation. They ſent it to him, and he examined it; and having condemned their opinion upon the Sacrament, which was, that it ought not to be adored, he owned to them, that it was better that children were not baptized, than to be without faith, and approved the reſt of their Confeſſion. This is what has given many room to ſay, that he was the firſt Architect of that Sect of Anabaptiſts that appeared in Germany. I fancy this is attributing too much to him, and making him the Author of infinite diſorders which he never thought of: Yet may we

be perſuaded that it was out of his School that proceeded thoſe who firſt infected Germany with theſe Errors, namely, Nicolas Storck, and Thomas Muntzer.

N. Storck. Storck, called alſo Pelergus, was a native of the borough of Cignea in Sileſia, or as others ſay, of Zwickau upon the Mulda, capital of the Country of Voitland, in the Marquiſate of Miſnia, part of Saxony, and in the circle of the upper Saxony: Some ſay he had not the leaſt tincture of learning, and others with more probability, that he had wit, capacity, and ſtill more ambition.

An. 1521. He grew out of conceit with Luther's opinions, would not confine himſelf to his firſt principles, and flattered himſelf with being able to make himſelf Head of a Party, as well as his Maſter. And he became ſo during the nine months which Luther continued hidden in the Caſtle of Werpurg in Turinge. He ſet up for a Prophet, broached his counterfeit Predictions, and played his Game ſo well, as to debauch Melancthon, Carloſtrat, Dedimus, Veritemburg, Thomas Muntzer, and ſome other Doctors of Wittenberg, from the doctrine of their common maſter, as too remiſs.

Luther, upon his return to Wittenberg in 1522, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed thoſe Innovators who were for troubling his new Reformation, and who had already made a great progreſs. He went about it with lenity, and ſucceeded with ſome of them, who returned to his ſentiments: But Storck and Muntzer remained obſtinate, ſo that he drove them out of Wittenberg.

Storck, baniſhed from Wittenberg, went all over the German Provinces, and ſtopt at Turinge, where by an appearance of piety he gained over a troop of peaſants, whom he perſuaded to renounce all ſorts of doctrine, and even that of Luther, more troubleſome and tyrannical than that of the Pope, and adhere wholly to his, with which, as he ſaid, he had been inſpired by the Archangel Michael.

Muntzer. His truſty companion was Thomas Muntzer, a native of Stolberg, formerly a Catholick Prieſt, and turned Lutheran, learned in the School of Wittenberg, and a Preacher at Alſat and Turinge. This man was of a very violent temper, held the ſame ſentiments as Storck, every where preached up ſedition, and to authorize it, ſaid that the Angel Michael inſpired him with whatever he preached; that GOD had allotted him to found a new Kingdom to JESUS CHRIST with the Sword of Gideon, and played the Enthuſiaſt ſo well, that he has always been looked upon as the Head of Enthuſiaſts. As ſoon as he

was

was gone from Wittenberg, he writ againſt Luther with great rancour, and called him impoſtor, and inconſiderate.

Zwickaw was the firſt town where he reſolved to ſhew his Fanaticiſm: He was driven out thence, and retired to Alſtat, a free town of Turinge, though it acknowledges the Elector of Saxony as Soveraign. He there preached that men ought to be as much upon their guard againſt the Lutherans, as the Roman Catholicks, who had equally run into contrary extremes, and that the true faith conſiſted in a medium. His ſermons made an impreſſion, his partiſans grew numerous, and the whole tended to nothing but a general revolt, in order to drive the Catholicks and Lutherans out of the City; when the Elector of Saxony had him turned out of Alſtad in the beginning of the year 1523. Whilſt he was at Alſtad, he ſent out his Emiſſaries into all the different parts of Germany, whoſe inſtructions were to prepare the peaſants for a revolt, and to take arms againſt their Soveraigns, and they ſucceeded. *Hiſt. of the Anabapt. printed in 1700, at Amſterdam.*

Munſter, baniſhed from Alſtad, travelled over Swiſſerland, Suabia, and the greateſt part of upper Germany, and gained Proſelytes every where. He ſtayed ſometime at Nuremberg, and had not the Magiſtrate been firm, he had made the common people riſe. However he printed a ſeditious Book, copies of which he diſperſed every where, which cauſed great commotions in ſeveral places.

From Nuremburg he took refuge at Mulhauſen, where he had gained a great number of Partiſans during the time he reſided at Alſtad. There he ſo much encreaſed his party, that he thought himſelf in a condition of making any attempt to forward the ſucceſs of his deſign of univerſal Monarchy, upon the ruins of all the Powers. He then declared boldly by his letters, and ſpeeches, that GOD would no longer bear the oppreſſions of the Princes then reigning, and the acts of injuſtice of the Magiſtrates: That the time was come when the great GOD had commanded him to cut them off, to ſet up men of probity in their places; and to ſucceed in his project, he gained over a prodigious number of peaſants, and profligate people, out of which he formed an army, that ſtruck a terror into Germany, and committed horrible ravages. *The Peaſants war.*

All who entred into this revolt were not animated by the ſame motive, nor had the ſame ſentiments. There were in it ſome Anabaptiſts, who only propoſed to themſelves the new Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, with which Muntzer flattered them. There were ſome libertines

libertines without any Religion, who were againſt all Law, and Magiſtrates; there were ſome too who only wanted to be freed from all charges and taxes, without deſiring to have the Magiſtrates laid aſide; but all in general made the Goſpel freedom their pretence.

Borland. *Chron. of* Braban. c. 182. Coddus Act. Luth.

Things were carried to ſuch a height on their ſide, that in 1525, they drew up a Memorial conſiſting of twelve Articles, wherein they demanded freedom of electing or turning out the Miniſters of the Church: That the tithes of Wheat only ſhould be given for the Miniſters, the poor, and the publick; that they ſhould be ſo free, as to be ſubject only to the commands of GOD; that the inhabitants ſhould be treated according to GOD's ordinances, and not oppreſſed by taxes, and other heavy charges; that every one ſhould have the liberty of hunting and fiſhing; that the woods and foreſts ſhould be in common: That puniſhments ſhould be inflicted according to antient ordinances; that certain unjuſt and vexatious cuſtoms which were againſt the divine laws, ſhould be aboliſhed.

This writing was handed about all over Germany, and approved by crouds of people. They preſented it to Luther, whom they had taken for their Judge in this matter. Luther cauſed it to be made publick, with an addition of his own, wherein he reproaches the Princes and Biſhops, with giving occaſion for that commotion, by refuſing to come into his Reformation, and wherein he in ſome things approved the Memorial, and condemned it in others, but ſtill exhorting the peaſants not to take up arms, and the ſoveraigns not to take revenge, and threatned them with damnation if they died in the fight.

The Peaſants preſented their Memorial to the Powers, with an aſſurance which plainly ſhewed, that if their demands were not granted, they would not want methods to obtain them. And to make appear that their menaces would have their full effect, they took the field, accompanied by a great number of profligate people, and formed an army of about 40,000 men, which marched over the Danube, Suabia, Franconia, Lorrain, the Lake of Conſtance, and other places, put all to fire and ſword, plundered the Monaſtries, Churches, Caſtles, and ſpared neither Prieſts, Monks, Barons, Earls, nor Princes.

Muntzer did not remain idle upon the noiſe of this inſurrection: He writ letters to the Rebels, exhorting them to fight bravely, to deſtroy the Infidels, and to ſet up the new Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and at the bottom ſubſcribed *Thomas Muntzer, ſervant of God againſt the wicked.*

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Not ſatisfied with writing to them, and beſides informed they were making terms with their Princes, he went and put himſelf at their head, with one named Pfiffer, an Apoſtate Monk, of the Order of the Canons of St Norbert; and, as an encouragement to continue the war, aſſured them, that not one of them ſhould be wounded, but that himſelf alone would receive all the Musket-balls in his Sleeves.

It was then that Germany ſaw herſelf upon the brink of ruin. To prevent it, Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe, and Henry, Duke of Saxony, joined their troops, marcheed againſt the Revolters, carried Fulda, which they had made themſelves maſters of, and beat them: Many remained dead upon the ſpot, the reſt were taken priſoners, and three hundred were ſtarved to death in places under ground, where they had hid themſelves. *Hiſt. of Anabapt.*

This defeat, very far from humbling them, ſerved only to encreaſe their inſolence: their number, inſtead of falling off, grew ſtronger; and flattered by the deluſive promiſes of Muntzer, they haughtily rejected the conditions of peace and amneſty offered them by the Princes; which made thoſe Princes continue the war. They joined their forces to thoſe of the Duke of Brunſwick and of Count Mansfeld, and with that reinforcement, came to that famous and bloody battle of Frankuſa the 15th of May 1525, in which the victory, after remaining doubtful for ſome time, at laſt declared on the ſide of the Princes; and 7423 of the rebels died in it. Such as eſcaped to Frankuſa were taken priſoners. All the other Anabaptiſts were confounded, they were every where defeated where they ventured at a battle, and the number of thoſe that thus periſhed, is reckoned to amount to above 100,000 men.

Amongſt the priſoners taken at Frankuſa, Muntzer is reckoned, found in bed, and pretending himſelf ſick, and likewiſe Pfiffer. They were condemned to be beheaded, and the ſentence was executed at Mulhauſen towards the end of the ſame year. Pfiffer died obſtinate in his Anabaptiſm, without the leaſt ſign of repentance; but Muntzer, according to the relation of ſeveral Writers, abjured his errors, confeſſed, received the Holy Sacrament under one kind, gave ſigns of a ſincere Repentance, and adviſed the Princes to uſe more clemency towards the poor Peaſants. In order to excite them to it, he told them they might read the books of the Kings of Juda, and thoſe of Solomon, and follow their example. Nicolas Storck did not long ſurvive them; having had the addreſs to retreat out of the battle of Frankuſa, he wandered over all Glogovia and Moravia, where he *Spond.*

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raiſed commotions againſt the Clergy and Magiſtracy, and at laſt died in an hoſpital in Bavaria, without making himſelf known to any body.

N. 1. p. 12. During theſe troubles which laid all Germany waſte, the Swiſs Cantons were not without uneaſineſs. The Anabaptiſts multiplied ſo faſt, and grew ſo ſtrong there, particularly at Zurich, that they had like to have eſtabliſhed their Sect upon the ruins of the Reformation, which it had embraced.

They who had the conducting that affair, wanted neither wit, boldneſs, nor obſtinacy. The moſt famous were Balthaſar Hubmeier, Felix Manzius, Conrade Grebelius, George Blawrok, and ſome others, and Hubmeier was at their head.

B. Hubmeier. *Hiſt. of the* Anabapt. Spond.

He was of Frideberg, a town of the country of Heſſe, and Doctor of Divinity. Spond, ſays he, excelled in learning and piety. He for ſome time exerciſed the Miniſtry at Waldſhut, a town in Suabia, and there preached the purity of the Goſpel, and carried on a correſpondence with Zuinglius by letters, whoſe friendſhip he had acquired. In 1524, he changed his opinions. Muntzer, who was come from Bale to Waldſhut, found the ſecret of inſinuating into him the paradoxes of his Anabaptiſm; and after he had approved and filled his head with them, he preached them to the people of Waldſhut with as much violence and obſtinacy as Muntzer, or the moſt bigotted Anabaptiſts had done. His Sermons were generally againſt the neceſſity of Infant-Baptiſm, and the authority of the Magiſtrates; and he carried his point ſo well, that in a little time the greateſt part of the Inhabitants of Waldſhut declared in favour of Anabaptiſm. As they grew ſtronger, they drove out the Catholicks, and ſeized upon their effects: And theſe ſhortly after ſerved them the ſame turn. During all theſe commotions, Hubmeier writ a treatiſe in maintenance of his opinions, but without any ſucceſs, at leaſt in Switzerland: For Zuinglius immediately anſwered it.

Theſe Anabaptiſts of Waldſhut, turned out of their houſes, and deprived of their effects, took refuge where they could, and every where gained over proſelytes. Hubmeier, who had made an acquaintance with an Anabaptiſt Widow at Zurich, and was beloved by her, retired to her. The Magiſtrate being informed of it, had him ſecured; and ſoon after carried him to the Town-houſe, ſent for Zuinglius, and ſome other Divines thither, and told them, that while his priſoner was at Waldſhut, he had written to him, deſiring the liberty

of

of diſputing with Zuinglius againſt Infant-Baptiſm, and that ſince they were then preſent, he deſired them to give him that ſatisfaction, in order to endeavour to undeceive this poor miſled man. They complied. The diſpute laſted a long time; Zuinglius played his part ſo well, that Dr. Hubmeier was confounded, ſo as not to be able to anſwer the arguments brought againſt him; confeſſed he was in an error, and voluntarily promiſed, to make a publick recantation.

Whilſt they were waiting for that day, the Emperor, who had information that Hubmeier was ſecured, ſent and demanded him, that he might himſelf do juſtice upon him, and ſentence him to death. The Magiſtrate refuſed, and alledged a law, which ordains, that whoever is impriſoned for any one crime of which he is accuſed, is held guilty of that crime only.

He drew up his recantation according as he thought beſt, and read it in the Temple of the Abbey: After which Zuinglius preached, and Hubmeier, having heard him (upon I know not what whim) diſavowed what he had juſt read, ſpoke in ſtrong terms againſt Infant-Baptiſm, and maintained ſome other Tenèts of his Anabaptiſm. He was carried back to priſon, and then, being ſhut up between four walls, he changed his tone, asked pardon of GOD and the Magiſtrate, and confeſſed, that if he had ſaid any thing againſt his recantation, he muſt have been urged to it by the devil. The Magiſtrate, too indulgent, demanded a recantation, pardoned him, and turned him out of the Canton. Zuinglius, who thought that was dangerous for the priſoner, becauſe the Emperor's officers, who were thereabouts, would infallibly have carried him off, made intereſt with the Magiſtrate for him, and obtained leave for his ſtay at Zurich, till means could be found to convey him away, without expoſing him to the Emperor's officers: They found an opportunity, and laid hold on it. From Zurich he went to Conſtance in Suabia, and was no ſooner arrived, than he began to diſplay his Anabaptiſm, ran out againſt the Magiſtrate of Zurich, and boaſted of holding conferences with Zuinglius and his Divines, and confounding them.

He left Conſtance deſpiſed by all the world, and reduced to an extreme poverty, even to the begging his bread: And having long wandered about, retired to Moravia, where he ſeduced *Hubler*, another Anabaptiſt Chief, and was at laſt ſeized by the Emperor's order, and condemned to die, both he and his Wife. She was drowned, and he burnt in 1527, but according to Spond in 1528.

Zurich and it's Canton were not the quieter for this. The other Anabaptiſts who had ſtayed behind, were perpetually making confuſions. The Magiſtrate, in order either to quiet, or undeceive them, engaged Zuinglius, and the reſt of the Divines, to diſpute againſt *Grebelius*, *Manzius*, *and Blawrok*.

The diſpute laſted ſome time, and only ſerved to exaſperate, and fix the Anabaptiſts more obſtinately in their opinions. This determined the Magiſtrate, in order to prevent the ſeditions, with which the Canton was threatened, to make ſevere ordinances againſt them, and to have them put in execution againſt ſuch as ſhould break them; of the number of which were our three Chiefs. After much diſturbance they left Zurich, and retired to a village, from whence the Magiſtrate drove them: From thence they went and cantoned themſelves in Groningen, where they were ſtill fomenting their ſeditions. The Magiſtrate proſecuted Manzius, and had him drowned the 5th of January 1527, not only for his doctrine, but likewiſe for other enormous crimes, of which he was convicted. The ſame day he cauſed Blawrok to be whipped by the publick Executioner, baniſhed him, and would have had him ſwear he would never return into the territories of the Canton. But he refuſed to ſwear, and was ſent back to priſon. At laſt he ſwore what they would have had him, went away, and retired to the County of Tirol, where he died miſerably.

The number of people ſeduced in 1525, by theſe heads of the Anabaptiſt party, cannot be too much exaggerated. Zurich, Bale, Saint Gal, Schaffhouſen, and ſeveral other places were crouded with Anabaptiſts; but at length they got rid of them by the ſeverity of their ordinances, and by their zeal in putting them in execution. Great numbers of thoſe people quitted the Cantons, to avoid the puniſhments in them, and moſt of theſe baniſhed people, from the year 1525, ſpread themſelves all over the lower Germany, eſpecially in Weſtphalia, Friſeland, Holland, and the neighbouring Provinces; as will appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Continuation of the ſame ſubject. The Provinces of the lower Rhine infected with the new ARIANISM *by the Anabaptiſts, Mennonites.*

I Say that the Anabaptiſts driven out of the upper Germany, fell into the low Countries, and infected the greateſt part of thoſe Provinces with their Errors. At that time, ſays an Author whom I here make uſe of, nothing was to be heard but viſions and revelations, each man ſet up for a Prophet, and dealt out his ravings to the people as ſo many great evangelical Truths: And thoſe people who could ſcarce read, believed them as men ſent from GOD. When the Orthodox alledged to them the holy Scriptures, to convince them of their error, they had recourſe to their dreams, and inſiſted it was the Spirit of GOD which inſpired them. *Hiſt. of the Anabapt. 1700.*

Their party being ſtrengthened by a great number of perſons of all conditions, they publiſhed a Book entitled, *The Work of the Re-eſtabliſhment*, wherein they laid down as certain, that before the day of Judgment there would be a temporal Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST upon Earth, wherein the Saints, that is, their own Sect, ſhould reign after having exterminated the Powers, and the impious; with ſeveral Arian and other Doctrines, full of impiety and extravagance. This Book the Landgrave of Heſſe refuted in 1534.

But before this refutation, that book, together with the diſcourſes of thoſe pretended Prophets, made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions upon the party, that at length they undertook to put in execution the deſign they had of ſetting up a new Kingdom. To that end, they held private aſſemblies, appointed a Biſhop in every city where the Sect was numerous, created officers, diſtributed charges and employments, conſtituted tribunals in the houſes of particular perſons; and went ſo far as to ſentence and execute ſuch of their ſect as they found guilty. In ſuch places where they were the ſtrongeſt, they plundered the Churches, and thought they did a meritorious action, becauſe formerly the people of Iſrael, by GOD's command, plundered the Egyptians, when Moſes led them out of Egypt. They thought it criminal for them to go into the Churches, or be preſent at the Aſſemblies of thoſe who had not been rebaptized, and looked on them

as impious. To debauch a man's wife was meritorious; and what we call adultery, they called a ſpiritual marriage. Such was the behaviour of the Anabaptiſts of the Low Countries.

Theſe attempts, ſupported by the moſt deteſtable doctrine that was ever heard amongſt Chriſtians turned hereticks, forced the Magiſtrates upon the ſevereſt methods, to ſtop the courſe of them. Amſterdam was the moſt crouded with Anabaptiſts, ſo that the ſevereſt ſearches were made in this great city, and all the Anabaptiſts that could be found were executed. I ſhould be tedious were I to enter into particulars of the purſuits and enterprizes of the Anabaptiſts, in order to get ſeveral cities into their hands, but without ſucceſs, as will appear by a detail of the actions of their leading men.

Theſe were *David George*, *Melchior Hoffman*, *John Matthew*, *John Becold*, *John de Geelen*, *and Jacob de Campen.*

Whilſt theſe people were ſtriking terror into the Magiſtrates and all the Powers of Germany and the Low Countries, two brothers, the one named Ubbo, and the other Theodore-Philip, natives of Friſeland, ſons of a Paſtor of Leuwarde, and Biſhops amongſt the Anabaptiſts of Hoffman's party, gave a new turn to their Sect, and made the followers of it leſs odious. They retrenched that turbulent Tenet, which tended to nothing but the ruin of all Powers temporal and eccleſiaſtical, in order to eſtabliſh an imaginary kingdom, to which they gave the name of the kingdom of CHRIST, and his Saints; and refuſed to admit the Enthuſiaſms of thoſe fanatick Prophets. *Simonis Menno* aſſiſted them with all his Induſtry and Skill in this deſign, and had ſo great a ſhare in it, that ſuch as have taken up this new Reform have called themſelves Mennonites.

Simonis Menno.

Simonis Menno, or *Mennon*, was born in 1496, in a village of Friſeland, and was educated in the Roman Religion. When arrived at an age of chooſing for himſelf, he entred into a Monaſtry, took orders, and was Curate of Witſmarts, near Bohvers in Friſeland. The doctrine of Luther, which then began to make a noiſe on the lower Rhine, as well as upper Germany, was to his taſte. Having often argued upon the principles of the Wittenberg Reformation, he, after the example of ſeveral others, gave into the fanaticiſm of Hoffman's party, but without quitting his Gown, or Curacy. Ubbo and Philip, who thought him a man for their purpoſe, gained his confidence, and about the year 1535 they all laid the deſign of giving a new turn to their Sect. The better to ſucceed, they perſuaded him

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of the neceſſity of his leaving his Gown and his Curacy, and in return declared him Biſhop of the Sect.

Menno, a Lutheran, and now Biſhop of the Anabaptiſts, employed all his talents in reforming what was moſt exorbitant in the opinions of Hoffman: He ſucceeded in it, and gave ſo beautiful an outſide to the new Reform, that many of Weſtphalia, Geldres, Brabant, Holland, and other Provinces, embraced it, and came over to him: Indeed not without great alarms from the Magiſtrates of the Provinces, and great contradictions from the reſt of the Anabaptiſts.

Theſe Contradictions obliged the moſt zealous Partiſans of all thoſe Sects to aſſemble in 1538, at a village in Weſtphalia, there to deliberate upon the means of their all joining in the ſame ſentiments: But this Aſſembly only contributed to irritate the minds of thoſe who were preſent at it, and to divide them more than they were before.

In the mean while, Menno endeavoured to make advantage of them: And he did ſo upon certain points which they had determined, and ſent a good many of his adherents to Lamgou, Munſter, Oſnabrug, and other places, to encourage the Anabaptiſts there, and to inform them that every thing paſſed in the aſſembly to the advantage of his doctrine; but thoſe miſſionaries had no great ſucceſs, at leaſt it was interrupted in 1540.

On the 20th of September this year, the Emperor publiſhed at Bruſſels, and in other places, a ſevere Edict againſt the Proteſtants and Anabaptiſts, whom the Roman Catholicks confounded with the Lutherans, and to whom they gave the ſame name. By this Edict it was forbidden, under pain of death, for any one to hold any Aſſembly, either publick or private, or to publiſh any book containing the points of their Religion, or their Confeſſion of Faith. Menno's Emiſſaries fell into the hands of Juſtice, and paſſed through the Executioners hands, in order to be made examples of.

Menno was not at all the more alarmed at it; on the contrary, this pretended Martyrdom which his Emiſſaries ſuffered, only encreaſed the itch he had to ſee his Sect proſper. In 1541 and 1542, he ſent new Preachers all about the country, and conferred on ſome of them the title of Biſhops to govern the flocks of Friſeland, and the neighbouring places, and they had ſucceſs enough to give uneaſineſs to the Magiſtrates of Holland, who being always under apprehenſions leſt theſe new Anabaptiſts ſhould play them the ſame trick they had ſo often done already, publiſhed new Edicts againſt the

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Mennonites in 1543, which were executed more ſtrictly than the former, though to very little purpoſe. This Severity did not hinder their number from growing every day, eſpecially at Embden, and all thereabouts. To put ſome ſtop to it, they altered their way of proceeding, and took that of mildneſs, and of Conferences.

John de Cuſco, or de Lask, a Poliſh Gentleman, of whom we have ſpoken, oppoſed Menno at Embden in 1544 and 1545, and attacked him ſmartly as well by his writings as ſpeeches. But John de Lask's diſputes and Menno's explanations produc'd no good: On the contrary, the Confuſions and Misfortunes of the Low Countries grew to a greater heighth, as well from the difference of ſentiments, and abominable and over licentious doctrine of David George's Sect, then ſpreading into many places, as the Emperor's proſecutions of the Proteſtants. This diverſity of ſentiments at that time multiplied, but afterwards ſo prodigiouſly, that people of the ſame Sect were entirely divided, and oppoſite on divers points of their doctrine. Thoſe whom Menno had ſent to preach up his Tenets, and take care of them who had already embraced them, differed both with their maſter, and amongſt themſelves, ſo that ſeveral parties were formed among the Mennonites, which kept, and to this day ſtill keep them very much divided.

After ſeveral Broils and Diſputes with Micronius and others, and ſeveral times changing his opinions upon the point of excommunication, whether married perſons ought to ſeparate on excommunication of one of the parties, Menno died in 1561, aged 61 years, in a ſmall town between Lubeck and Hamburg All Hiſtorians do him the honour of ſtiling him the Head of the Anabaptiſts who now reſide in the Low Countries, who upon account of the variations of their maſter as to excommunication, are divided into two bodies, which bear the name of the antient and the modern, or the rigid and the moderate Mennonites. And theſe two bodies are again divided into ſeveral other bodies, for very ſlight cauſes, and the Syſtem of their belief may be reduced to the believing Menno's paradoxes, except excommunication, to which they have added the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON and HOLY GHOST, and toleration in Religion, wherein they are ſtanch Arians, Unitarians, and Socinians.

Opinions of the preſent Mennonites. *Hiſt. of the* Anabapt. p. 9.

They who hold for the Preheminence of the FATHER, are in Holland called *Collegians*, becauſe they meet in private, and each man has

has a liberty of ſpeaking, explaining the Scripture, praying, and ſinging, in the Aſſembly They never receive the communion in their College; but aſſemble twice a year from all parts of Holland at *Rhynsburg*, a village two leagues from Leiden, where they receive it. The firſt comer, who ſits down at the table, may give it to the reſt. All Sects are received at it, and they believe they ought not to turn any away from their Aſſemblies, who live piouſly, and acknowledge the Scripture for the word of GOD. It is upon this principle that the Socinians are well received amongſt them.

CHAP. XX.

Continuation of the ſame ſubject. The Toleration granted to the Mennonites in the Low Countries.

TO take the thing from its firſt riſe, I am to tell my Reader, that in 1572, William I. Prince of Orange, and Commander of the Forces in the Low Countries againſt the King of Spain, finding himſelf ſhort of money to ſupport his Undertakings, and ſupply the vaſt expences of the wars againſt the Spaniards, addreſſed himſelf to the Mennonites in Holland and the other Provinces to furniſh him. They, who only wanted an opportunity of ſeeing the end of the perſecutions they ſuffered, and to have it in their power to live at eaſe under the protection of ſome powerful man, who might free them from the yoke of the Spaniard, who gave them no reſt, did not fail ſending him a ſum of money by Theodore Jankz, Cortenboſch, and Peter Willemz Bogaert, all ſtanch Mennonites. William, pleaſed with the money, gave them a ſecurity, and asked them wherein he could be ſerviceable to them. *We deſire nothing*, anſwered Bogaert, *unleſs that when Your Highneſs ſhall have one day received from God the Government of the Low Countries, you will be ſo good as to treat us with lenity and clemency.* The Prince replied that he took up arms for no other end but to reſcue the people from oppreſſion, and to ſet them at liberty, and that his deſign was to procure the ſame bleſſing for the Anabaptiſts, who were as much perſecuted and oppreſſed as the reſt. This was the perſecution of the Spaniards, which was then beginning in Flanders, as well againſt the Anabaptiſts, as all the Proteſtants. *Hiſt. of the Anabapt.*

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John Earl of Friſeland did ſomething more in their favour; in 1578, he allowed them to hold publick Conferences at Embden, and in thoſe conferences which were held without any oppoſition, they diſapproved the conduct of the other Anabaptiſts, that is, of thoſe extravagant Anabaptiſts who were for ſetting up a temporal Kingdom upon the ruin of Magiſtrates, and rebaptized ſuch of their Sect who had already received baptiſm by thoſe of upper Germany.

Prince Maurice of Naſſau was willing to confirm the promiſes his Father had made to the Mennonites, who had lent him money. In 1588, he writ to the Magiſtrate of Zeland in favour of thoſe who were in that Province, and deſired him not to put them upon the diſcharge of any office which might be againſt their conſciences, and in 1593, continued his complaiſance for that ſort of people: He writ to the Magiſtrate of Middleburg, who at that time would not tolerate the Anabaptiſts, telling him, *That although the declaration of the Lords the States, and of the late Prince our Father of immortal memory, concerning the Anabaptiſts, might ſuffice to regulate his conduct in regard to that people, yet we have thought proper to write to you thereupon, becauſe that it is of conſeqnence, not only to the town of Middleburg, but alſo to all the united Provinces, that according to their ordinances you leave the Anabaptiſts in liberty and repoſe, until the Lords the States ſhall have otherwiſe ordered.* This is a manifeſt proof of the Toleration granted them by the States.

It was a little interrupted in 1598. An Edict was publiſhed in Friſeland againſt the Anabaptiſts and their Biſhops, to put a ſtop to their frequent Aſſemblies, and even to forbid them: And the year following, the Churches of the united Provinces thought fit to publiſh a Book of controverſy upon the doctrine of the Anabaptiſts; and it was Arminius, Miniſter of Amſterdam, who undertook the work; but having finiſhed a part, he gave it over, upon pretence, that being called to Leiden, he could not go through with it. But it was really becauſe he had no mind to diſcover the ſentiments he then was of on the points of religion, which were widely different from thoſe of ſtrict Calviniſts.

Theſe attempts againſt them had no effect. In 1615, the States of Flanders aſſembled at Ardenburg, ordered, that in purſuance of the general Conſtitution, the Anabaptiſts ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their worſhip, without moleſtation, and that therein they ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty as the other Provinces.

It

It was doubtleſs in conſequence of that reſolution, that they held a Synod at Amſterdam, where they laboured to bring about an union amongſt them, and declared, that as to the ſalvation and damnation of men, it was of no importance to know how CHRIST came in the fleſh. In 1632, they aſſembled at Dort on the ſame ſubject of uniting, and ſucceded therein by a Treaty of peace ſigned by one hundred and fifty one Mennonites. They enjoyed the ſame liberty in 1637. Thoſe of Holland and Friſeland held a general Aſſembly at Groninghen, on account of Ukowalles, a new Schiſmatick, and powerful among them; and indeed he preſided at this Aſſembly, and advanced ſuch paradoxes as till then had been unheard of amongſt them, viz. That all they who had a hand in the Death of JESUS CHRIST were ſaved, as they fulfilled the eternal Decree of GOD: That the two Thieves had obtained pardon, having ſuffered in this world: And that all ſinners from the beginning of the world, who had received the reward of their crimes according to law, were ſaved in JESUS CHRIST.

This Ukowalles lived at Noor-Hroek, and was cunning, ſharp, adroit, well verſed in the Scriptures, and Head of a Mennonite party, called from his name Ukowalliſts. *Jurian Toemas*, another Anabaptiſt Head, oppoſed him in his blaſphemies, and having declared him excommunicated at the breaking up of the Synod, went and accuſed him to the Magiſtrate. He appeared, and loudly denied he had ſpoken any ſuch blaſphemy. The Magiſtrate who ſaw his cunning, ordered him to be ſeized, and ſearch to be made for his papers, which was done, and he thereby convicted of his blaſphemy, owned it, and would have defended it. The Magiſtrate baniſhed him, and publiſhed an Edict, forbidding all his followers, or any who approved ſuch abominable doctrine, to hold any Aſſembly publick or private, under pain of fine, and corporal puniſhment. This Edict, which forbad the Aſſemblies of the Ukowalliſts, authorized thoſe of the other Mennonites.

It is thus, that after ſo many attempts, croſſes, and proſecutions, the Anabaptiſts, under the name of Mennonites, have maintained themſelves in the ſeven Provinces of the Low Countries, under the laws of Toleration, the authority of the State's Edicts, and the protection of their High and Mightineſſes. What has induced the powers to allow them the free exerciſe of their opinions, is their frequent declarations that they had no deſigns againſt Magiſtrates or the tem-

poral Powers, that they renounced Polygamy, and all the other exceſſes of the old Anabaptiſts, and of thoſe of the upper Germany.

Such was the beginning and progreſs of Socinianiſm; and it is prodigious, as we may ſee by the Quality of the Cities, Provinces and Kingdoms, where it has eſtabliſhed itſelf, as well as by the number, dignity, eloquence, capacity, boldneſs, and impiety of thoſe who firſt embraced, defended, preached, and ſpread it.

But ſtill all this is nothing, or very little in regard to the condition it is arrived at in Holland, England, and particularly in Poland, from the death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, to the Reign of Uladiſlaus: Which allows me to fix the Epocha of its elevation during the Reigns of Stephen Batori, and of Sigiſmund III. that is, from 1570 to 1632. We will therefore take a view of the State of Poland, during the Reigns of Batori and Sigiſmund III.

CHAP. XXI.

State of POLAND *during the Reign of Henry of Valois.*

WE have already ſeen that King Sigiſmund Auguſtus had all imaginable complaiſance for the new Sectaries, and even for the Pinczowians, yet without making any law to countenance their belief, and that thoſe Sectaries never dared to ask of him liberty of conſcience by any publick act; but at his death affairs took a new turn. As he left no other heir than one Siſter, the Government fell into the hands of two men of very different Characters, *viz. James Vehanius* Archbiſhop of Gneſna, Primate of the Kingdom, a weak man, and of very little reſolution, and *Firlai* Palatin of Cracow, Grand Marſhal of the Crown, an ambitious, enterprizing man, who had fallen in with the Innovators, made advantage of the Primate's weakneſs, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the interregnum, and of the Election of the future King. From men of ſuch a different genius, the Catholicks could promiſe themſelves nothing but diſagreeable reſolutions in the firſt Diets to be held for chooſing a King.

But GOD raiſed up two men, one from the boſom of his Church, and the other from the midſt of the Kingdom, to diſſipate all faction, and preſerve his Religion. Theſe were the Cardinal Commendon, the

the Pope's Legate, a man above all praiſe, and Karnkovius, Biſhop of Uladiſlaw, the moſt accompliſhed Prelate then in Poland. The former had the addreſs to gain over Andrew Sborouski, the only Catholick of his family, and by that means brought off all the Sborouski from Firlai's party; and Karnkovius had the prudence and good fortune to unite a good part of the Sectaries to the French faction, which thereby became ſo ſtrong, as to elect Henry de Valois Duke of Anjou, King of Poland, but ſtill not till they had had the precaution to enter into a *Pacta Conventa*, in order to force the new King to allow liberty of Conſcience to all the Sectaries throughout the Kingdom. The Convention was ſigned by Monluc Biſhop of Valence, and Embaſſador for the King of France to the Diet of Poland, and which, Henry alſo ſigned in the Parliament of Paris, after a circumſtance which plain enough ſhewed the Reſolution of the Sectaries to preſerve their liberty in Religion. For Monluc bluſhing, before ſo auguſt an Aſſembly as that of the Parliament of Paris, at having engaged a Catholick King to protect thoſe Sectaries, warmly maintained to the Poliſh Embaſſadors, moſt of which were of that kind, that the King was not obliged to ſwear to preſerve the Article of liberty of Conſcience, ſince it was not authoriſed by any law of the Realm. John Sborouski, no leſs warm than Monluc, maintained the contrary againſt him. The King, who perceived they were diſputing, asked them the occaſion of it. Whereupon Sborouski ſaid, Sire, I was ſaying to your Majeſty's Embaſſador, that had he not engaged that your Majeſty ſhould approve the Article for our liberty as to Religion, you would never have been elected King of Poland in ſpight of us, and that if you do not now approve it, you ſhall never be ſo. The King aſtoniſhed at ſo bold an Anſwer, yet without being out of countenance, told him he was in the right.

The Palatin Firlai revived the ſame conteſts when the King was to be crowned. He put himſelf at the head of ſuch as oppoſed the King's election, and cried out aloud, that all thoſe preparations were needleſs if the King did not conſent to maintain all the Articles of the *Pacta Conventa*; and that if he did not then upon the ſpot, give ſome legal inſtrument to that effect, he and his collegues oppoſed the coronation, and explained himſelf upon that matter, in ſuch a way as to let people know that he and all the Sectaries of his party would immediately fall upon all the Catholicks that were at the King's Coronation. However, his proteſt and menaces had no ill conſequences

by the prudence and conſtancy of Pibrac, who having asked the King leave to ſpeak, bid the Primate go on with the ceremony, which he did, without any of the Malecontents daring to ſpeak.

But that was not all: The Arians who did not care to truſt to the Goodneſs of their cauſe, and feared that the hatred of the Calviniſts and Lutherans, as well as of the Catholicks, might exclude them the *Pacta Conventa*, and particularly the article for ſecuring the liberty of conſcience, took the freedom of waiting on the King, of preſenting their confeſſion of Faith to him, of aſſuring him, by producing ſome books, that their doctrine was conformable to that of the primitive Church, of telling him that their religion was the pureſt and moſt perfect of any in his Kingdom, and laſtly, of beſeeching him to honour them with his protection, to cauſe them to enjoy the liberty he had ſworn to them, and to maintain them in the peace he had promiſed them by thoſe words which he had pronounced with an oath: *Inter diſſidentes in Religione pacem manu tenebimus.* The King reſolved to keep within the bounds of his oath, granted them their requeſt; which ceremonies and requeſts the new Arians and Socinians have never failed renewing at the coronations of the Kings ſince that time.

So that by Virtue of thoſe *Pacta Conventa*, and of the Oath the King took to obſerve them, the Poles are allowed to be Huſſites, Lutherans, Sacramentarians, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, Arians, Pinczowians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Tritheiſts, and Socinians.

CHAP. XXII.

The State of POLAND, *in regard to* SOCINIANISM, *during the Reign of Stephen Batori.*

HENRY's Abdication of the Crown of Poland for that of France, which of right belonged to him, did not remedy any of the Evils wherein Poland ſaw it ſelf plunged. On the contrary, things ſtill grew worſe: Which will eaſily be comprehended, if we in the leaſt conſider the number of Sects wherewith Poland was infected, the freſh intrigues to be formed for the election of a new King, and the quality of the Candidates or Pretenders to the Crown.

Maxi-

Maximilian II. aſpired to it, either for himſelf, or Erneſt his Son, and to this end M. de Roſemberg, and Andrew Duditz, his Collegue in the Embaſſy, ſet the family of the Sborouski, and all the Engines which ambition, politicks, and hereſy could inſpire them with to work.

Stephen Batori Prince of Tranſilvania aſpired to it, and in order to ſucceed, ſent his Phyſician George Blandrat into Poland, and this man, of whom we have already ſaid ſo much, having ſo great an intereſt with the Grandees who had embraced Arianiſm, boded no good to the Catholick Religion.

John de Koſtka Palatin of Sandomir, a bigot to the new Sects, likewiſe aſpired to it, ſupported and invited by a great party of the Nobility.

Count Andrew Teneſinius, Palatin of Bresk, reſolved not to yield to Koſtka, ſupported as he was by a ſtrong party.

John, King of Sweden on one ſide, and John Baſilius, Grand Duke of Muſcovy, on the other, made ſtill a greater noiſe than the others for the Crown, and threatened no leſs than to ſet the Kingdom in a flame, if it was refuſed them.

Laſtly, Alphonſo II. Duke of Ferrara, found himſelf invited to it by the greateſt part of the Catholicks, who had Karnkovius Biſhop of Uladiſlaw at their head, a great and preſſing motive to have hopes of the Crown.

It is not to be doubted but all theſe factions created great diſorders in the Kingdom, and countenanced the progreſs of the new Sects; but at length it being impoſſible for them all to ſucceed in their deſigns, the ſeveral factions fell into that of the Emperor, and of Stephen Batori. That for the Emperor, reſolved to carry things with a high hand, and in a tumultuous manner proclaimed Maxmilian II. Proclamation being made, they who were the authors of it went to the Church where the Princeſs Anne, Sigiſmund Auguſtus's Siſter was, in order to ſing the *Te Deum*, and ſo much the more boldly, as they found themſelves countenanced by Chriſtopher Sborouski the Palatin of Cracow, by the Primate, and by Karnkovius.

Batori's faction, who ſaw a King proclaimed againſt the laws of their liberty, and without the Concurrence of the Nobility, proteſted againſt Maximilian's being proclaimed, and at the ſame time proclaimed the Princeſs Anne as Queen of Poland, and Stephen Batori as her husband, King with her. This Step being taken, they ſent perſons

perſons of diſtinction to aſſure her of the fidelity of all the Nobility, and to tell her that from that moment their lives and fortunes were devoted to the maintaining her, and her intended Conſort on the Throne.

During theſe motions and meſſages to and fro, meetings were held on each ſide; the Batoris held one at Andrecovia, and Philippovius: One of thoſe who had been ſent in Embaſſy to Batori, brought back word, that that Prince conſented to his Election, that he had ſigned the *Pacta Conventa*, or conditions on which he had been choſen; that he promiſed an entire liberty of conſcience; and that he would immediately ſet out for Poland with a body of Hungarians. Upon this meſſage, his election was confirmed, the Proteſtation againſt Maximilian's election renewed, and an Embaſſy diſpatched to him to give him advice of it, that he might undertake nothing againſt the Republick.

At the ſame time the Archbiſhop Vehanius appointed another meeting, wherein ſuch meaſures as were proper for the conjuncture were to be taken. Karnkovius, always intent upon the good of the Republick, and the Intereſt of Religion, appeared at it, and moved for ſending Solikovius, a man of the greateſt addreſs of his time in the management of an affair, to the Prince of Tranſilvania, who was advancing by long journies towards Poland, in order to be ſure of him as to his Religion, fully reſolved to exclude him from the Crown, in caſe he was not a Catholick.

Character of Stephen Batori.

There was reaſon to ſuſpect Batori's Catholicity. Indeed he was poſſeſſed of all the great and ſhining qualities requiſite in a King. He loved war, managed in it with all the experience of a great Captain, and was ever ſucceſsful: He was eaſy, liberal, brave, intrepid, eloquent; but neither did he ſhew any ſigns of being a Catholick. He made no publick profeſſion or practice of the Catholick Religion, affected ſhewing himſelf a firm friend and protector to the Sectaries of Hungary and Tranſilvania, and ſuffered himſelf to be managed by Blandrat's advice, having made him his firſt Phyſician, his Favourite, and one of his Privy Counſellors. He entertained conſtant and intimate correſpondences and friendſhips at the Ottoman Port, and favoured that Court at the Emperor's expence. They even ſay, that to oblige Amurath, he had cauſed the Embaſſadors which the Emperor was ſending to the Sophi of Perſia, in order to engage him to make a diverſion againſt the Port, to be ſeized and put to death, a proceeding highly unworthy of a Catholick Prince.

There

There is no doubt but it was this proceeding, ſo contrary to the Catholick Religion, which engaged the Sectaries of Poland to give him their votes (for hardly any other concurred in his election) and which made Karnkovius ſend Solikovius to him to ſound him as to his Faith.

He came up with him juſt as he was entring Podolia, and found it difficult enough to get at the ſpeech of him. The Poliſh Ambaſſadors who accompanied him, and were almoſt all Unitarians, Calviniſts, and Lutherans, were afraid that Solikovius might by his remonſtrances turn him from thoſe favourable Sentiments he might entertain for them: So that they watched him ſo narrowly, that it was not eaſy for a Catholick and an Imperialiſt to get at him.

However, Solikovius ſpoke to him, even in publick, and had addreſs enough to let him know, that it was for his intereſt to grant him a private audience, which he did, and it was in this private conference, held very late at night, that Solikovius was convinced of this Prince's Catholicity. It will be proper to give an account of what paſſed in that Conference, ſince it was what began to break the meaſures of all the Sectaries.

After Solikovius had given a ſhort deſcription of the then State of the Republick, he with a liberty worthy of a noble Pole, laid before him the Counſels he was to follow, what he was to avoid, and what reſolution to take; by what Spirit he ought to conduct himſelf; for what religion he ought to declare; with what management he muſt govern the Poles, extremely jealous of their liberties and privileges, what intelligence he muſt have with the Prelates, his affection for the Clergy, and diſtruſt of the Hereticks; and added, that if he would be happy, and make his ſubjects ſo, he muſt reſolve upon publickly profeſſing the Roman Catholick Religion, hear Maſs every day, follow the maxims of the old Kings his predeceſſors, honour the Prelates as his Fathers, acknowledge the Pope as JESUS CHRIST's Vicar upon earth, and preſerve the privileges of the Clergy: That he ought to put his confidence in the Nobility, love the Senate, ſuſpect the advice of the Hereticks, and conſider that his election was not yet ſure: That he had a powerful Competitor for his neighbour; that the Lithuanians were not yet come to a determination; that the Pruſſians ſtill held many Forts and Caſtles for the houſe of Auſtria; but on the other hand, that he need be under no fears upon any of thoſe diſadvantages, if he approved the advice he took the liberty

liberty to give him; and that he aſſured him on the part of the Princeſs Anne, of Karnkovius, the Prelates, the Great Officers of the Crown, and the Palatin of Cracow, that they were all devoted to his ſervice.

Theſe things, pronounced with Solikovius's good grace and eloquence, brought tears into the new King's eyes, and gave him an opportunity of explaining himſelf as to his Religion, and the good deſigns his heart was then full of.

Having dried up his tears, he told him he had been always a Catholick, and never profeſſed any other religion; that indeed he had never ventured to bear up againſt the Hereticks, and openly profeſs the Roman Faith, being always ſurrounded by Innovators, in a State where the Sectaries were the prevailing party, and having ſucceeded a Prince, who by his ill example had as it were extinguiſhed the Faith among his ſubjects, and ſuffered Hereſy to triumph; but that neither could they be ignorant of the Affection and Confidence he had always ſhewed the Jeſuits; that he had often frequented the Sacraments of Pennance and the Euchariſt; that to that end, under pretence of hunting, he went to Alba Julia to a devout Monk, who confeſſed him in private, and gave him the Communion; that he owned that he was not very learned in matters of religion, and that he knew no more of it than a Prince deſtined to war could know; but that he was ready to be inſtructed in it, to take the moſt proper meaſures for the good of the State, and to purſue every part of the advice he had given him. He added, as a proof of his Catholicity, that he would hear Maſs that very day, if he could facilitate the means of doing it. Solikovius did ſo, having with him a Prieſt, Clerks, and proper Ornaments for it. The ſame day Maſs was celebrated before the King, and the Prieſt, Clerks, and Ornaments left with him, in order to celebrate it during the reſt of the Voyage. This diſconcerted the Heretick Lords who were with him, and encouraged Karnkovius, and all the Catholicks, who tranſported to hear this good news at Solikovius's return, had neither heart nor mouth but to wiſh for their new King, and talk in his praiſe.

At laſt he arrived at Cracow, about Eaſter 1576, and was there crowned by Karnkovius, Biſhop of Ladiſlau, which gained him the Primacy upon the Primate's death, who refuſed to aſſiſt at the Ceremony from his attachment to the houſe of Auſtria. The Hereticks, who only wanted an opportunity of making ſome confuſion, were very

very clamorous upon that circumſtance, upon pretence that the right of the Primate might thereby be prejudiced, or the King's oath want ſome circumſtance neceſſary to the ſolemnity of it. To ſatisfy them, in the Coronation Act this Clauſe was inſerted; *Saving the Right of all Parties.* Theſe Precautions being taken, the King ſwore to the *Pacta Conventa*, confirmed the liberty of Conſcience; and the new Arians did not omit doing the ſame thing at this Coronation, as they had done at that of Henry of Valois; ſo that the King granted them the liberty of exerciſing their Religion.

This Toleration granted upon neceſſity, together with the wars the King undertook againſt the Muſcovites, the broils he had with the Sborouski (for he beheaded Samuel, and baniſhed the Palatin of Cracow) and his too great complaiſance for ſome of the Innovators, occaſioned the new Arians to encreaſe every day; to continue their Aſſemblies: To Fauſtus Socinus to be welcome in Poland: That great numbers of noblemen and men of diſtinction declared for, profeſſed and protected the new Arianiſm: But things went ſtill farther after Stephen Batori's death, which happened on the 12th of December 1586, by the ignorance or malice of Nicolas Bucelle his Phyſician, who was infected with Arianiſm.

CHAP. XXIII.

The State of POLAND, *as to the* SOCINIANS, *during the Reign of Sigiſmund* III. *The diviſions among them, and Socinus's manner of uniting them all under his Syſtem.*

THE death of Stephen Batori threw the Republick into freſh troubles. Many of the Palatins, Officers of the Crown, and other Noblemen divided, and even without any appearance of uniting again. The Lithuanians and Pruſſians were not at all, or ill-diſpoſed towards the Election.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diviſions, there was a neceſſity of coming to an Election. To this end Karnkovius, now Primate, appointed the preliminary Diet at Warſaw in 1587. The Lithuanians thought time too ſhort to get thither, and refuſed to be at it. The Palatin of Sandomir, the Nobility, the Grand Marſhal, and the Chancellor, followed their example, plainly foreſeeing, that the Sborouski would make the prevailing party.

And indeed Andrew Sborouski, Marſhal of the Crown, deſpiſed the Decree of baniſhment made againſt him, went boldly into the Senate, complained of the pretended injuſtice and vexations againſt himſelf and all his family, demanded to be heard in his own defence, took his uſual ſeat, received his Marſhal's Staff from one of his Servants, and taking advantage of the cowardice and coolneſs of the Prelates and Senators that appeared there, and of the Chancellor's abſence, himſelf, his family, and party, propoſed to the Senate a Convention, which Authors call *Receſſus*, wherein they required, that the Chancellor's Authority might be limited; that Religion might be free, and that they ſhould labour to make a ſolid peace between the divided parties. They only propoſed theſe conditions, becauſe it ſuppoſed others, namely, that they ſhould do what they pleaſed, or whatever they could againſt ſuch as oppoſed them; that nothing might be required of them, and even that it might be allowed them to ſhare ſuch effects of the Crown amongſt them as ſhould be to their liking, and gratify thoſe with them as ſhould be agreeable to them, which they did.

However violent ſuch a proceeding might be, the Temporal Peers, unwilling to draw upon themſelves the Reſentment of the Sborouski, who were perpetually crying out againſt ſuch as oppoſed their deſigns, as men who embroiled the State, were enemies to peace, and of Batori's faction, whoſe memory they endeavoured to blaſt, did not once dare to oppoſe them.

Such Senators as were Eccleſiaſticks, for example, the Biſhops of Plok, of Preniſtria, and Uladiſlau, having ſhewed their horror at the attempts of the Sborouski, retired, and in excuſe ſaid they were not free, that the laws of their country were encroached upon, that Religion was injured, and that matters, very foreign from ſuch for which they were called together, were treated of at the Diet.

The Secular Senators complained of this retreat, and proteſted to Solikovius, now become Archbiſhop of Leopold, and to Goſlieki, Biſhop of Caminieck, that if they deſerted them in this extremity, they looked upon them as guilty, both before GOD and man, of all the Evils that were inſeparable from the rupture of the Diet, and that from that moment they would retire if they did not ſign the *Receſſus*.

The Archbiſhop, one of the moſt accompliſhed gentlemen of his age, was not at all ſurprized at theſe threats; he firſt complained of the conduct of the Eccleſiaſtical Senators, who by retiring left the Catho-

Catholicks in danger of being oppreſſed by the Sectaries. After theſe complaints, with his natural eloquence, and engaging air, he bid them take away his Archbiſhoprick, and even his life, rather than ſign the *Receſſus*; that it was a trick, which violated Religion, the publick good, and the antient laws of the Republick. At the ſame time he ſaid this, he took off his Camail, and opened his breaſt, to let them ſee by that action that he was prepared to die rather than do any thing againſt his conſcience, his honour, and his Duty.

The Biſhop of Caminieck, inſpired by this action, did the ſame, which ſo confounded the Sborouski and the Sectaries, that they did not think fit any more to threaten the Prelates; on the contrary, they endeavoured to ſoften them by fair words, and drew up a freſh Memorial.

The Biſhop of Caminieck did not long continue ſo ſteady. The new memorial or convention of the Sborouski was conceived in ambiguous terms, encroaching upon the purity of the law. Solikovius, who foreſaw he ſhould never break this Confederacy which the Hereticks had formed, and carried on to the deſtruction of the Catholick Religion, and who beſides knew, that if neither he, nor the Biſhop of Caminieck ſigned the new Convention, it would not have the force of a law; in order to find a pretence for not ſigning, required time to examine it. Goſlieki's and another Biſhop's conduct were different. They went out of the Diet, being perſuaded this Step was leſs prejudicial to the State, and to Religion, than their ſigning, which they could never have refuſed thoſe mad men.

The Sborouski, who thereby ſaw all their meaſures broken, reſolved to ſummon the Archbiſhop to appear again amongſt them; but one of the company having repreſented to them that it would be to no purpoſe, and that Solikovius was not a man to be prevailed upon to change Sentiments, they let him alone, and ſent to Goſlieki, to deſire him to return, to have pity on his Country, not to let the Diet be without one Prelate, the Primate being dead, or incapable of coming, or concluding any thing in it, and added, that he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with them. Goſlieki, moved with theſe remonſtrances, returned to the Diet; they ſaluted him with the title of Father of his Country, and during theſe acclamations, preſented the *Receſſus* to him, which he ſigned indeed with regret, after adding this ridiculous clauſe, *propter bonum pacis*; for the ſake of peace; a clauſe which he boaſted of, but for which the factious made a jeſt of him: From that time they

took all manner of liberty, declared every thing done againſt the Sborouski void, and forbad the Chancellor to have any troops.

Theſe ill conſequences drew upon Goſlieki very ſmart reproaches from the Primate, and the reſt of the Prelates; none but Solikovius, who was a witneſs of the uneaſineſs that had been given to Goſlieki, excuſed him: But the Pope was not ſo indulgent, he refuſed him the Bulls for changing his Biſhoprick for a more profitable one.

Such was the end of the Preliminary Diet, which gave room for great commotions in the Diet for the Election. Samoſiski irritated at the Sborouski's behaviour to himſelf, and without regarding (as indeed he had no reaſon) his forbidding him to have any troops, appeared at the Diet with an army not to be deſpiſed, and which he drew up in battle array two miles from Warſaw. The Sborouski appeared at it too, and Chriſtopher baniſhed as he was, appeared accompanied with 500 Men, French, Germans, Bohemians, Italians, and Poles; and Gorska joined him with ten thouſand men. Thus Warſaw ſaw it ſelf as it were beſieged by two hoſtile armies.

The Senate affrighted at this diſpoſition of affairs, endeavoured to form a third party, in order to bring the other two to an union, or to oppoſe ſuch who ſhould ſhew themſelves averſe to peace. The Sborouski, who declared all ſuch as did not declare for them, enemies to their Country, deſpiſed the Senate, and gave their party the name of the *black Aſſembly*, and aſſumed the name of the general Aſſembly; declared Samoſiski an Enemy to his Country, and as ſuch deprived him of all his effects.

The Primate, who foreſaw that theſe diſſentions would never be quieted but by the ſpeedy choice of a King, entered upon meaſures for it until then unknown in the Kingdom. By the means of the Grand Marſhal he aſſembled a Council at Samoſiski's houſe, and they there agreed to pitch upon a Man who ſhould alone elect the King. Scarce was this deſign divulged in the Camp of the Sborouski, when they proteſted againſt it, and appointed an Aſſembly in the plains of Roholz, that they might there have the liberty of ſpeaking their Sentiments. Theſe meaſures being taken, Gorska, the Sborouski, and all their whole Army beſieged the Senate almoſt in the ſame manner as if they were endeavouring to take the ſtrongeſt place in Europe, or fight an Army of an hundred thouſand Tartars; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Senators, that they thought of nothing but retiring. Samoſiski remained not motionleſs at ſuch a ſight, he

marched out of his lines, drew his army up in order of battle, and only waited for orders to charge the troops of Goska. The Primate very much perplexed to know how to diſpoſe of himſelf, and what meaſures he ſhould take, ran firſt to one ſide, then to the other, begged, ſighed, and poſted his troops ſo as to be a check upon either party. Upon this, the Sborouski loſe all reſpect, fire upon the other ſide, and retire in diſorder, after proteſting againſt whatever they ſhould do. In this raſh and brutal action there was but one killed, but a man too conſiderable not to be regretted; it was M. Brzezinius, Canon of Uladiſlaw, and Chancellor to the Biſhop.

Their proteſting was to no purpoſe; the Primate entered Samoſiski's Camp, followed by moſt of the Nobility, Officers of the Crown, Senate, and Clergy, and cauſed the Maſs of the HOLY GHOST to be ſung. When the Maſs was over, they proceeded to the Election, which fell upon Sigiſmund, Son of John, King of Sweden, and Nephew to Sigiſmund Auguſtus by his mother, who was Daughter to Sigiſmund I. King of Poland.

The Sborouski and all their party, exaſperated at ſuch an Election, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and on their ſide elected as King of Poland, Maximilian, Arch Duke of Auſtria, Brother to the Emperor Rodolf. Theſe two elections put all Poland under arms; but Samoſiski played his part ſo well as to open a ſure way for Sigiſmund III. even as far as Sileſia: He there found Maximilian his Competitor, at the head of an army, attacked, defeated, took him priſoner, and ſhut him up in the Caſtle of Craſnatovia in Ruſſia; and thereby ſecured the Crown to Sigiſmund, and reſtored peace to the Kingdom.

This Samoſiski makes too glorious a figure here, to ſuffer us to go any farther without drawing his Character.

John Samoſiski, Zamoyeski, or Zamoiski, in latin Joannes Sarius Samoſcius. The Name of *Sarius* was given him from the Dutchy of Zharaz, which belonged to the Family of the Zamoſiski, a Dutchy which now bears the title of a Principality. This John was the Son of Staniſlaüs Zamoſiski, Senatour and Lord of Chelm. Having began his Studies at Craſnoſlaw, he went to France to finiſh them. Turnebus and Lambin taught him School Learning, and Carpentier Philoſophy. From France he went to Padua; Sigonius pleaſed him, and he preferred him to all the other Profeſſors: Sigonius on his part had ſo great an affection for him, as to publiſh a treatiſe

Samoſiski Baillet Jugem. des Savans. To. 12. p. 172.

treatiſe in two books under his name, which he had written upon the Roman Senate.

Upon his return into Poland, he had very conſiderable Employments given him. In the time of Sigiſmund Auguſtus he was Secretary of State, Vice-chancellor, and held ſome Governments, as that of Belz, and Zamochia. He was ſent from the States to France in 1573, in the quality of Embaſſador, to requeſt Henry of Valois to accept the Crown of Poland. Henry, upon his arrival in Poland, gave him the Government of Geſna. After the departure of Henry, he ſided with Stephen Batori, and endeavoured to get him elected; and indeed he was well rewarded. Batori then King, made him his Confidant, his Counſel, and his Nephew, by the marriage he made for him with his Neece, daughter of Chriſtopher Batori, Prince of Tranſilvania; and ſoon after High Chancellor, and Great General of the Kingdom. It was under theſe two titles he ſhewed himſelf a man of a fine head, learned in the belles lettres, and ſtill more in the arts of War, of Council, and of State; brave, intrepid, wiſe, always above the menaces and intrigues of his enemies, and not unworthy of the Employments that he had been entruſted with, nor of the reputation he had gained, viz. of being one of the greateſt Politicians and Captains of his age.

His paſſion for learning engaged him, in 1594, to ſet up an Univerſity in the City of Zamoiski, and he ſpared nothing in order to cauſe Arts and Learning to flouriſh. At laſt he grew tired with the diſorders of the Court and Army, and reſolved to retire, in order to apply himſelf wholly to his Studies and his Salvation: He died ſuddenly in his retirement in 1605, his climacteric year, and was found dead of an Apoplexy ſitting in his eaſy chair, his ſervants thinking him employed on ſerious meditations.

But I muſt return to my ſubject. The Sectaries did not omit getting their privileges confirmed, as to the free exerciſe of their Religion, as well in the *Pacta Conventa*, as at the King's Coronation. And indeed the Socinians, the Pinczowians, and new Arians, take great care to inform us in their *Vindiciæ Unitariorum*, that their liberty was authorized by publick Acts.

B. A. p. 271.

Sigiſmund was not ſatisfied with making good the Articles of his oath, he added condeſcenſions for the Socinians and other Sectaries, which his predeceſſors had never ſhewed to them. He gave many Poſts in his Court, in the Law, and in his Armies, and ſeveral Governments

vernments to Socinians. The Socinians, countenanced by theſe Conſtitutions, Oaths, and Condeſcenſions, puſhed themſelves as forward as they could, and if they were not the prevailing party in Poland, at leaſt they had put themſelves into a condition of giving jealouſy, not only to the reſt of the Sectaries, but to the Roman Catholicks themſelves, as well by the many perſons of quality and learning amongſt them, as by the multitude of Colleges and Churches they had erected.

It is not to be doubted but all this contributed much to the ſupport of their Sect; it is even aſſerted, that it was then at a pitch of glory, it never ſaw ſince that time, and from which it fell by little and little, as thoſe men, who by their quality and learning were the ſupports of it, fell off.

Socinus arrived in Poland, unites the Sects which agreed in nothing but denying the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST.

But notwithſtanding the multitude of Churches they had erected, they were not uniform in their Belief. In 1579, the time of Fauſtus Socinus's arrival in Poland, we are told, that all thoſe Churches of the Pinczowians, Unitarians, and Arians, were horribly divided by the diverſity of opinions therein maintained, and of the new Sects grown up amongſt them. There were reckoned thirty, or thirty two different opinions, all which however agreed in this point of denying JESUS CHRIST to be the true and only GOD. And whilſt they were tearing each other to pieces by a principle of Religion, Socinus arrived in Poland.

The firſt thing he did was thoroughly to inform himſelf of the cauſes of their diviſion, and thus inſtructed, in 1580, he in the Synod of Racovia, demanded to be admitted into the Church of ſuch who acknowledged only the great and one GOD as the eternal FATHER. They who were in the direction of it, being advertiſed that F. Socinus was of a ſtirring, reſtleſs, domineering temper, always in readineſs to write againſt, or oppoſe ſuch as did not think in his way, and that he was of a contrary opinion to them, upon the attonement for Sins made by JESUS CHRIST, upon Juſtification, good Works, Predeſtination, Baptiſm, Free-will, &c. would not hear talk of it, and refuſed him the Communion. This proceeding was matter of great confuſion to him, and accordingly he highly reſented it.

But being an Italian, and having been inſtructed at the Court of Florence, that one muſt diſſemble when one cannot take revenge, he ſhewed no diſſatisfaction outwardly, but altered his deſign. He refuſed joining with any of the Communions then in Poland, and affected

fected being the good friend of them all, more to bring them to an union in his notions, than for the ſake of any temporal Advantage. Very different from his friend Blandrat, he had nothing leſs at heart than Intereſt.

Being in this confidence with all the Sectaries, he often told them, that indeed Luther and Calvin had done conſiderable ſervice to Religion, and taken tolerable meaſures for overturning the Temple of the Antichriſt of Rome, and diſſipating the errors he there taught; but that it muſt be agreed, that neither they, nor any of thoſe who confined themſelves to their Syſtems, had done any thing towards rebuilding the true Temple of GOD, upon the ruins of that of Rome, and paying unto GOD the true worſhip due unto him: That if they would follow his meaſures, he would draw them up a Plan of Religion worthy of their hopes, which would unite them all, and repair the injury for ſo many ages done to the true GOD.

He did ſo, and to that end, like Servetus, was for allowing but one perſon in GOD. Like Gentilis, he maintained, that that perſon was the ſole FATHER, and only GOD. Like Arius, he inſiſted, that the SON had not been from all Eternity, nor even before all time. Like Paul of Samoſata, Cerinthus, Budneus, F. Davidis, &c. he maintained that JESUS CHRIST had not begun to exiſt till the moment of his conception: And with ſeveral others taught, that the Word and the HOLY GHOST were no more than the Wiſdom and Power of GOD: That that GOD had no SON by nature, but only by adoption: That JESUS CHRIST was the SON of GOD only by Grace, and the Prerogatives granted to him by GOD: That he was but a man as we are, who by the gifts conferred on him from heaven, was our Mediator, Pontif, Hero, and Prieſt. That we ought to worſhip but one GOD without diſtinction of perſons, not to perplex ourſelves with explaining what the Word was, how he proceeded from the FATHER before all ages, nor in what manner he was made man: And that we ought to look upon the real preſence of the humanity and divinity of JESUS CHRIST in the Euchariſt, the efficacy of Baptiſm to blot out original Sin, &c. as the fables and forgeries of man's imagination.

Theſe and many other paradoxes gained him a particular veneration among ſuch as did not believe the ſupreme Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. As there was nothing in them but what might agree with every man's errors, nothing but what was agreeable to ſenſe; as by

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ſuch a ſyſtem they were freed from the perplexity of the antient Arians, when they came to explain the myſtery of the Incarnation: And as it was capable of uniting all ſuch as were divided upon the ſame ſubject; every one careſſed him, and the Unitarians, who were the ſtrongeſt party amongſt the enemies of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, received him into their Church, followed his opinions, and ſeveral other Churches imitated them.

Fauſtus thus grown the head of the Sectaries, gave them quite another luſtre than they had appeared in before, by his agreeable manner, frequent diſputes, and treatiſes. But the Reformed, in order to ruin him, laid crimes againſt the State to his charge, which for ſome time put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of his diſputes, but without leſſening the number of his diſciples. But having ſuffered ſome other perſecutions, affairs turned to his advantage. He retired to Leuclavia, to Abraham Blanski, a man of quality and wit: There he took ſo much pains by his books, letters, and diſputes, that he gained the friendſhip of his greateſt enemies; after which he had the melancholy conſolation he had ſo much ſought after, viz. of being the head of a ſect: He ſaw all the Churches of Poland and Lithuania, ſo different in their practiſes, morals, and doctrines, and which only agreed in the ſingle opinion of denying CHRIST to be the ſupreme GOD conſubſtantial with the Eternal FATHER, united into one only Church, to which was, and is ſtill given to this day the name of Socinian, from having embraced Socinus's ſyſtem; and this name has ſo far prevailed, that the Arians, Samoſatians, Photinians, Pinczowians, Racovians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Tritheiſts, are now no more talked of, but only the Socinians.

This Sect, far from dying, or being weakened by the death of its Author, exceedingly multiplied by the great number of perſons of Quality, and learned Miniſters who ſupported it, and ſtill encreaſed in Poland till the year 1658; but yet not without frequent oppoſitions: Which ſhall be the ſubject of the following Chapters.

CHAP. XXIV.

The beginning of the decay of SOCINIANISM *in Poland and Lithuania, during the Reigns of Uladiſlaüs and Caſimir.*

THE ſame thing almoſt happened at the Elections of Uladiſlaüs and Caſimir his brother, who ſucceeded him in the Crown of Poland, as at the Elections of the other Kings we have already ſpoken of: All the Sectaries took the freedom of getting their Laws confirmed which gave them liberty of Conſcience; and it may be ſaid that there was no oppoſition made to it, in the Diets aſſembled for thoſe Elections, and ſo much the more as they were compoſed of a great number of Innovators, and even of Socinians.

However, notwithſtanding thoſe laws ſo many times confirmed by the neceſſities of the times, and thoſe perſons of diſtinction, who gave ſo publick and bare-faced a protection to the Sect, it has had ſtrange and terrible Shocks, which have ended in their utter ruin in Poland; of which I ſhall give the reader ſome particulars.

John Tiſcovicius, a rich Citizen of Biesk in Podolia, whom the Socinians ſay the Catholicks envied for his great riches, having exerciſed the Charge of Queſtor or Syndic of his town, was called upon at the end of the year to make up his accompts. His adverſaries refuſed to believe him upon his bare word, and did him the honour to require his oath, intending to ſtand by it. He ſubmitted to give it, upon condition he ſhould only ſwear by Almighty GOD. This form of an oath appeared new to them, they thought it ſuſpicious, and reſolved to conſtrain him to ſwear by a GOD in three perſons, and JESUS CHRIST crucified, and at the ſame time preſented a Crucifix to him. He, tranſported with paſſion, either upon his fidelity being diſtruſted, or becauſe of their deſign thereby to ſound his religion, or that they intended him ſome trick, ſnatched the Crucifix, trod it under his feet, and pronounced ſome blaſphemies againſt a GOD in three perſons, ſaying he knew of no ſuch GOD, nor whether he was male or female. Theſe impieties revived the Religion of the Magiſtrates and Citizens: They loaded him with reproaches and blows; after which they decreed he ſhould be taken up. To avoid the proſecutions and puniſhments ordained againſt the impious, and blaſphemers, he appealed to the Soveraign Tribunal, where he hoped

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to find more favourable Judges: And indeed he found ſuch as abſolved him, and fined the Magiſtrate; but the Magiſtrate being a man of another ſort than to ſuffer himſelf to be unjuſtly oppreſſed, appealed from the Sentence of the Soveraign Tribunal to the Queen herſelf, as his natural Judge, of whom the Prefecture of Bieck held. The Queen received his Appeal, ſet aſide the Sentence of the Soveraign Tribunal, ſent back the criminal to the firſt judge, and laboured ſo effectually with the King, as to obtain a Decree, that Tiſcovicius ſhould have his tongue bored through for blaſpheming againſt the TRINITY; his head cut off for contumacy and rebellion againſt his natural Judge, having appealed from the Queen to the Soveraign Tribunal; his hands and feet cut off for throwing down and trampling upon the Crucifix; and laſtly be burnt as a Heretick.

This Sentence was ſhortly after executed. The unhappy man went to Warſaw, in hopes of finding ſome protection from the Soveraign Tribunal; but ſcarce was he arrived, when he was arreſted, and his Sentence ſignified to him, and on the 16th of November 1611, that Sentence was executed in all points.

But the Socinians ſtill held ſeveral Synods at Lublin till the year 1627, when they were driven thence on the following occaſion. In the year 1618, during the time that the Marſhal Sborouski was holding the grand Seſſions, the Socinians and Evangeliſts aſſembled at Lublin for the intereſts of their Sect; one of them preached againſt the myſtery of a GOD in three perſons, and at the ſame time the thunder fell on a ball upon the top of the Church belonging to the Caſtle, dedicated to the Holy TRINITY. The Church being all in a flame, cauſed a general alarm in the city which was full of Catholicks, come thither to obtain the indulgences granted upon the dedication of it. Upon this the Sectaries inſulted them, telling them that Heaven itſelf declared for them, and would itſelf deſtroy even the very places that bore the name of the TRINITY. The Catholicks, provoked at theſe blaſphemies, reſolved to drive them out of the town, and began by deſtroying their Temples and Places of Worſhip, and obtained a Decree from the Soveraign Tribunal, forbidding all the Sectaries ever to meet at Lublin for their annual Synods, and ordering their Church and College there to be ſhut up, with an injunction never more to allow of any of their exerciſes in them.

The Socinians, notwithſtanding theſe prohibitions, ſtill continued to hold frequent Aſſemblies, Conferences, and publick Diſputes;

which together with an intercepted Letter written from Stoinski, a Socinian, then ſick at Leuclavia, to young Chriſtopher Lubienieski, wherein he tells him, that ſpeedy relief was promiſed to Chriſtopher Batori, Prince of Tranſilvania, againſt the Emperor and Catholicks; engaged the latter to demand juſtice againſt him, and all the Socinians, as incendiaries, and enemies of the State; but the Socinians had the addreſs to make it appear that the Letter was counterfeit, and thus the accuſation had no effect.

All theſe blows were only preludes to what befel them in 1638. Some Scholars of Racovia had beat down a wooden croſs, by throwing Stones at it, and broken the Crucifix to pieces with ſuch ſcandalous circumſtances, that the Catholicks talked loudly of it, and complained to ſome of the Courts of Juſtice. The Parents of thoſe Scholars, to prevent the conſequences of that fact, chaſtized their children, and thought that enough: But the Catholicks went on with their proſecution, and brought all the Socinians who were leading men in the Church and College of Racovia, to a formal trial, as authors of the outrage of the Scholars to the Crucifix. They began with Sieninski, and accuſed him of no leſs a crime than treaſon againſt GOD and man; after which they ſummoned the Miniſters of the Church, and Regents of the College, and charged them with conſpiring, commanding, and authorizing the proceeding of their Scholars.

The accuſed endeavoured to juſtify themſelves, and did not fail laying a great ſtreſs upon Sieninski's merit, his great age (for he was above ſeventy) the rank he held in the City, the ſervices he had done the State, the riches he had laviſhed in favour of his Country, the praiſes the Diets had beſtowed upon him, having often ſtiled him the Father of his Country, and the oath he was ready to make that he had no hand in the fact in queſtion; but all this was in vain. However, the affair was in 1638, laid before the general Diet. A great number of all perſuaſions, as well Catholicks as Hereticks, intereſted themſelves in this affair, and loudly condemned the Catholicks as endeavouring to ruin the Socinians, for a fact committed by children and diſapproved, and proteſted againſt any condemnation of them in the Diet. But notwithſtanding, the Diet decreed, that all the Churches of the Socinians in Racovia ſhould be ſhut up, their College raſed to the ground, their Printing-houſe ſeized, their Miniſters, Preachers, and Regents, have a mark of infamy ſet upon them,

and

and proſcribed; all which was executed with all imaginable diligence.

Cocceius tells us, this puniſhment was inflicted, not only for the outrage of the Scholars, but upon account of a ſcandalous book againſt the TRINITY, entitled, *Tormentum throno Trinitatem deturbans*, found actually working off at their Printing-houſe. But Lubienieski aſſerts this to be falſe.

Though the Socinians complained loudly againſt this proceeding, as an infringement upon their privileges, the Catholicks ſtill went on in their deſigns againſt them, and began a proſecution againſt George Czaplicius, Patron of the Socinian Church at Kiſſelin, before the Soveraign Tribunal at Lublin, and accuſed him with harbouring the proſcribed Miniſters and Regents, and thereby bringing Arians and blaſphemers in upon his eſtate. Czaplicius ſaid in his own Juſtification, that thoſe people had performed none of the Functions of their religion upon his eſtate; but his reaſons were not regarded, and he was fined a thouſand crowns in gold, and ordered to be ready to deliver thoſe Miniſters and Regents into the hands of juſtice; but they, upon private information given them, retired elſewhere, and Czaplicius was condemned to pay a thouſand Florins more. Nor was this all, the Judges ſentenced the Socinian Churches of Kiſſelin and Bereſa to be ſhut up, and no religious duties to be performed in them. They went ſtill farther, they purſued the dead, after proſecuting the living. *Twardochlebius*, who had exerciſed the miniſtry for thirty years in the Church of Kiſſelin, was called to account, as well as his doctrine, though he had been dead ſome years. People were found who accuſed him of teaching Arianiſm, and he was thereupon declared infamous.

Rupnovius, dead alſo ſome time, and who had exerciſed the miniſtry in the Church of Bereſa, had the ſame fate; and the Judges, who could not fine the dead, fined their Churches. It coſt Czaplicius, the Proprietor of it, at leaſt twenty thouſand florins, and Andrew and Alexander Czaplicius, were forbidden to allow the exerciſe of Socinianiſm upon their Eſtates.

But theſe croſſes were nothing to what the whole party ſuffered by the wars the Coſacks and Peaſants of Poland made upon them, which were not ended till towards the year 1655. To hear them talk, one would believe the Catholicks blew up thoſe wars againſt them, and that there was no ſort of extortions, plunderings, perſecutions, baniſhments,

niſhments, and murthers, which they did not ſuffer; and indeed they were extremely harraſſed by Chmielnieski.

Chmielnieski *Hiſt. of the Diets of* Poland.

Chmielnieski was originally of Lithuania; both he and his father were made Captives in Tartary, from whence his mother delivered him, leaving her husband in it; and was Secretary to a Poliſh Regiment at the time he was taken by the Tartars. He was brave, reſolute, adroit, a diſſembler, revengeful, capable of commanding Rebels, and ſomething more. He ſpoke the Turkiſh, Tartarian, Coſack, Poliſh, and Latin tongues. The Coſacks made him one of their Deputies to the Diet in 1638, and thereby furniſhed him with an opportunity of learning both the ſtrength and weakneſs of the Court of Poland, which was very uſeful, in the Revolt of which this was the motive.

Upon his return from Slavery, ſeeing all Ukrania deſolate and deſerted by the incurſions of the Turks and Tartars, he ſeized on a ſmall eſtate which his father had formerly enjoyed near the town of Czehrin in Ukrania, and ſeveral other eſtates that ſuited him, but kept them but a very little while. Czaphliuski the King's Lieutenant at Czehrin, took thoſe eſtates from him: A ſuit was thereupon commenced, and King Uladiſlaüs, in favour of his Lieutenant, adjudged to him all the lands of that Palatinate that ſuited him, and ordered Chmielnieski fifty florins, a ſmall ſum to ſatisfy a man that was covetous and ambitious, who ſuffered conſiderably, by loſing not only his paternal eſtate, but the reſt which he looked upon as his right; ſo that he was loud in his complaints, nor kept any meaſures in them. The King's Lieutenant had him taken up and beaten in the publick ſtreet as an inconſiderable fellow. This affront, together with the injuſtice he thought was done him, made him reſolve to retire to the Zaporovian Coſacks, who diſguſted with the King and Republick, had taken arms. They received him with open arms upon learning that he was a man of abilities, and a Malecontent: They made him their General, and under his command ravaged Podolia, Volhinia, Ruſſia, and other Provinces, and brought the Kingdom to the brink of ruin, as well by their Victories over the army of the Republick, as by the deſtruction of moſt of the Nobility, of whom they who eſcaped death or captivity, were forced to lead a wretched vagabond life, being plundered of their effects. Duke Jeremy Wieſmowiski alone, of the antient family of the Jagelons, who was deſcended in a right line from Karybuth, Uncle of the antient Uladiſlaüs Jagelon,

Jagelon, and who came to the crown after Caſimir: This ſingle Duke, I ſay, loſt above ſix hundred thouſand livres a year.

Theſe Rebels exerciſed unheard of cruelties upon the Socinians; for they hated them in a ſignal manner; not content with plundering, they killed them wherever they met with them, without ſparing age, ſex, or condition.

The war in 1655, was not of leſs prejudice to them. Three or four thouſand peaſants ran to arms at the ſollicitations of the Catholicks, took the town of Sandrecia by aſſault, and upon the Socinians therein refuſing to abjure their hereſy, put moſt of them to the ſword, without any reſiſtance. Such as eſcaped, paſſed the Viſtula, retired to Cracow, to the number of about thirty families, where they formed a Church under the protection of the Swediſh Governor, but all their effects were loſt, and with ſuch cruel circumſtances, that it is with horror that they mention them. But all this was but the preparation for that great blow given them in 1658, which we ſhall relate in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXV.

The deſtruction of SOCINIANISM *in Poland, by the Edict of* 1658, *confirmed by others to the year* 1660.

THE Poliſh Catholicks, in order to rid themſelves of the Socinians, as of a plague that had occaſioned all the misfortunes the Republick had been afflicted with, and who by their blaſphemies againſt the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, would not fail drawing down upon them the curſes of GOD, coloured over their deſign with this pretence, that the Socinians were declared enemies to the State. In order to perſuade the Diet held at Warſaw in 1658, that they were ſo, they accuſed them not only of putting themſelves under the protection of Guſtavus King of Sweden, whilſt he was invading the kingdom, but that they had aſſiſted him with money, and that by a more flagrant crime they had held private intelligence with Ragotski Prince of Tranſilvania, whilſt he, making advantage of the wars that laid Poland waſte, had attacked it with his troops. Upon theſe accuſations, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and good Catholicks, with great warmth required the Diet to drive the Arians and

Anabaptiſts (ſo they called the Socinians) out of the Kingdom. The Lutheran, Sacramentarian, and Calviniſt Deputies, not ſo ſtrong in number as the Catholicks, and fearing the reſolutions to be taken againſt the Socinians might fall upon them, did all they could to ward off any reſolution that might be prejudicial to the Socinians. The Catholicks gueſſing at the motives which thoſe Deputies might have to oppoſe the execution of their deſign, agreed to allow them that liberty of conſcience they had ſo long enjoyed. The Convention being agreed, the whole Diet concluded upon extinguiſhing the Sect; and by the decree therein made, they were obliged to leave the Kingdom, or to renounce their hereſies, or to fall into the Communions which were tolerated; and to allow them time for conſidering upon it, it was reſolved the execution of the Decree ſhould not take effect till three years after.

This Decree was confirmed in three following Diets, and the whole tenor of it, except ſome few points, executed. But the clauſe, allowing the Socinians three years time to conſider, was broke through, and upon this occaſion.

The time granted by the law drew near; ſuch Socinians as were noble, had employments, great Eſtates, a numerous family, good friends, and were lovers of their country, with difficulty thought of loſing them, to lead a wretched vagabond life. To find ſome remedy to theſe inconveniencies, they deſired that there might be a Conference held between their miniſters and the Catholicks and Reformed, to explain themſelves in a manner that might be agreeable to both parties, or to find ſome way of accomodating matters, which was granted. The Socinian miniſters did not think fit to appear at it, either fearing ſome Vexations, or foreſeeing the diſputes would have no good iſſue, ſeeing the Decree of baniſhment had been publiſhed and confirmed. Andrew Wiſſowats alone, who was reſolved it ſhould never be ſaid he was aſhamed of openly maintaining what he believed, and who apprehended that if none of the party appeared in ſupport of the common intereſt, thoſe of his ſect, whom intereſt or conſcience began to ſtagger, might fall off from the party into the tolerated communions, thought it his duty and honour to appear at it with ſome few of his friends. Wiclopoloski, Captain of Voinia, Satrape of Verſovia, and Palatin of Cracow, received him with marks of honour, and made him dine every day with him during the conference.

It

It was opened the 11th of March 1660, and laſted till the 16th. Wiſſowats therein ſignalized himſelf by his capacity, eloquence, and genteel way of talking: It may even be ſaid that his adverſaries did not gain all the glory which their cauſe deſerved. He propoſed to them an argument drawn from the viiith Chapter of 1 Cor. to prove againſt them that the Eternal FATHER was the ſupreme and only GOD, and carried it ſo far, according to the words of his Hiſtorian, that the Catholicks, who probably were not ſo well practiſed in matters of controverſy as himſelf, anſwered it ſo weakly that Wiclopolski did not ſleep the whole night after, and father Cichovius, as expert as he was in the diſpute with that ſort of people, was as unſucceſsful as the reſt. Wiſſowatz, to prove that JESUS CHRIST was not the ſupreme GOD, ſaid, that according to his own Confeſſion, he knew neither the day nor hour of the laſt Judgment. All the anſwer Cichovius could make to it was, that the proof was not concluſive, and that JESUS CHRIST would ſtill be the ſupreme and only GOD, tho' he were even ignorant of the day of Judgment, and of other things. This gave Wiſſowatz occaſion to cry out againſt JESUS CHRIST, that he was for no GOD who knew not the hour of the laſt Judgment. They add, that the Warden of the Convent of Cordeliers, advancing forward, as if going to ſay ſomething new, Wicloposki asked him what he thought of the diſpute? What I think, anſwered he, why? that if all the Devils in Hell were here to maintain it, they would not have done it ſo well as this Miniſter. How then would it have been, repliedhe, if all the Socinians had been at the Conference? For I aſſure you there are many as formidable as Wiſſowats. If it be ſo, concluded the Cordelier, I do not ſee how any defence can be made againſt theſe people.

Theſe are the advantages the Catholick Divines ſometimes reap from conferences they condeſcend to grant to Hereticks before Magiſtrates, and other Laymen, who generally underſtand affairs of War, Court-intrigues, and Politicks, better than matters of Faith and Piety. It is always dangerous, for the Grandees who are thereby ſtaggered, for the Catholick Divines who are thereby ſometimes confounded, at leaſt in regard to their adverſaries; and for the Hereticks who therein find occaſions of encreaſing their pride, and growing to a greater obſtinacy in their errors, and for the ſimple and well-meaning who are ſcandalized at them. All theſe inconveniencies reſulted from the Conference we have been ſpeaking of, which ſerved to no end but ſtill more to the

exaſperating the Catholicks againſt the Socinians. The latter prevailed and made the moſt of their diſputes, and the former, to humble them effectually, made freſh inſtances that the Decree might have its full effect, and that even before the time appointed: They ſucceeded, and an Order of Council was granted them, dated the 20th of July 1660, purporting that it was now no longer a time for trifling, and that the new Arians muſt either reſolve to enter into ſome of the tolerated Communions, or retire out of the Territories depending upon the Crown of Poland, and that if they did not come to one of theſe two reſolutions, the people was allowed to fall upon them, maſſacre, or proſecute them, in order to their being put to an infamous death. Some, to avoid theſe ſeverities, went over to the Roman Church; ſome to the Reformed, at which the Catholicks clamoured exceedingly: But moſt of the wives of ſuch as abjured, continued firm to the Sect; to bring them over, their husbands were condemned in large Fines. Such as refuſed going over to any of the tolerated Communions, left their country; the number was great, and they went to find out their brethren in Tranſilvania, Hungary, the Ducal Pruſſia, Moravia, Sileſia, and the Marches of Brandenburg; ſome paſſed on to the Palatinate, Holland, England, and other Provinces where they were willing to receive them.

Thus was Poland delivered from this Sect, after having born with it more than an hundred years; but was the occaſion too of it's ſtrange encreaſe in the States, infected with Luther's and Calvin's hereſies, if not openly, and ſo as to become the predominating, at leaſt imperceptibly; and there are none who obſerve what paſſes in the learned world, who do not perceive that this Sect grows every day more numerous, as will appear by the ſequel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The State of SOCINIANISM *in Tranſilvania during the Reigns of young Sigiſmund Batori, of his Couſin the Cardinal, of Moſes Szekeli, of Stephen Botkai, of Sigiſmund Ragotski, of Gabriel Batori, and of Bethlehem Gabor.*

AFTER the death of Chriſtopher Batori Prince of Tranſilvania, Socinianiſm underwent ſeveral revolutions in this Province, by the weakneſs of young Sigiſmund his Son, by the death of Cardinal Batori his couſin, by the wars there, as well on the ſide of the Emperor, as of the Tranſilvanians, of Michael Vaivod of Walachia, and of ſome others, as from the heat and capacity of ſome Miniſters.

I ſhall here repeat what is to be found in almoſt all the Hiſtorians who have ſpoken of the troubles in Hungary and Tranſilvania towards the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth Century; but only ſo far as may give ſome light into my Hiſtory.

John Sigiſmund Batori began to ſignalize his reign by the contempt he ſhewed for the reſolutions taken in the States of Magiéz, whereof we have ſpoken, and by his rigorous puniſhing all ſuch as had conſpired againſt him after the aſſembly of Magiéz. He would not pardon even his Couſin german Balthaſar Batori, whom the Sectaries had choſen Head of their Conſpiracy. After this, he with conſummate prudence and ſignal courage ſupported a cruel war which the Grand Signor had raiſed and fomented againſt him, for courting the Emperor's friendſhip in contempt of his, and concluded it ſucceſsfully by the victory he gained over Sinan Bacha, at the head of a hundred thouſand Turks, in which that General fell. In 1588 Sigiſmund reverſed the Decree made againſt the Jeſuits, which baniſhed them the Principality, and in 1595 recalled them by a new Decree, which gave them entire liberty to preach, inſtruct, and do that for which they are members of the Roman Church.

After ſuch glorious beginnings he married Mary Chriſtina, daughter of the Arch Duke Charles, Uncle of the Emperor Rodolf, the fatal Source of all his misfortunes, and of innumerable calamities

and diſquiets which never ended till his death. Too weak to bear up againſt them, and the different wars which ravaged his Territories, he ſurrendered his Principality into the Emperor's hands for a Dukedom in Sileſia, but ſoon repented it: For ſcarce had he ſeen his new Dukedom, when hearing that Rodolf was drawing near to Tranſilvania, in order to take poſſeſſion of it, he returned back; and his antient Subjects, who had already taken their oath of fidelity to the Emperor, acknowledged him for their Soveraign. But being fully perſuaded of his own incapacity to govern, he recalled his Couſin Cardinal Andrew Batori from Poland, and propoſed him as his Succeſſor to the States, who approved of him. Upon their accepting him, Sigiſmund retired to Poland to his brother in law Sancoſiski; but upon the news that the Cardinal had loſt a battle againſt Michael Vaivod of Walachia, and Baſta General of the Imperial troops, and that he had been maſſacred by the Shepherds, or according to the opinion of ſome, by Aſſaſſins hired by the Houſe of Auſtria, he returned into Tranſilvania, and again reſumed the reins of Government. But he was as unſucceſsful as before, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of Moſes Szekeli Prince of the Siculi, a people of Tranſilvania. His misfortunes, and the disquiets they gave him, made him at laſt determine to quit his Principality, never more to return to it: He retired to the Emperor, who gave him the Caſtle of Zobecovia in Bohemia, where he lived as a private Man till the Year 1613, when he retired to Prague, and there died of an Apoplexy.

The different revolutions this Prince went through, gave the Unitarians a fine opportunity of fortifying and multiplying themſelves in Tranſilvania. Nothing oppoſed their deſigns; and being maſters of the art of fiſhing in troubled waters, they made uſe of all theſe circumſtances to ſpread themſelves. This will appear more manifeſtly in what follows.

Moſes Szekeli did not act like Sigiſmund; he ſupported the party againſt Michael and Baſta. In order to ſucceed therein, he implored aid of the Turks, who did not refuſe it. With this aſſiſtance he laid ſiege to Clauſenburg, which was ſurrendered to him by the Magiſtrates, who were ſtrong Unitarians, upon condition he would ſuffer them to treat the Jeſuits as they ſhould judge proper, which he granted them with pleaſure, and they exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon them.

But

But this progreſs of the Unitarians did not laſt. Baſta attacked Szekeli, defeated him, and drove him out of the places he had ſeized upon; and Moſes, yet unwilling to abandon the party, raiſed all the Grandees of the Principality againſt the Emperor; but to his own misfortune and theirs. Baſta beat his army, killed him, and moſt of thoſe Chiefs; retook Clauſenburg, cauſed the Arian who had ſurrendered the City to Moſes, and who had made the Treaty, ſtipulating the ruin of the Jeſuits, to be hanged, and ſettled affairs upon the ſame foot as they had been before, and obliged the inhabitants to give the Jeſuits a Houſe, a College, and a Church, to make up the loſs of theirs; and the next year, 1604, treated all the Sectaries of Tranſilvania ſo ill, and cauſed thoſe in Hungary to be ſo ill treated by the Count de Beljoieuſe, that at laſt, in order to redeem themſelves from thoſe vexations, juſt or unjuſt, they made a freſh war upon the Emperor, and choſe Stephen Boſtkay, one of the principal Hungarian Lords, and Uncle to Sigiſmund Batori for their General.

This new Chief, in order to his Succeſs againſt the Imperial forces, made a friendſhip with Gabriel Bethlehem, a Zuinglian, one of Moſes Szekeli's generals, and implored the Turks aſſiſtance, which was granted him, and with this relief had ſuch ſucceſs againſt the Imperial Army, that in 1605 he made himſelf maſter of a good part of Tranſilvania. After theſe ſucceſſes he called an aſſembly of the States, and all the Chief men who came to it conferred the Soveraignty of the Province upon him; and the Grand Signor, in order to give him certain ſigns that he approved the election, and to win him over to his intereſt, conferred on him the title of King of Hungary, and ſent him the Crown and royal Veſtments of Uladiſlaüs, antient King of Hungary.

Theſe inſtances of complaiſance in the Turk did not laſt long, Boſtkay broke with Achmet, and Achmet made a cruel war upon him, always beat him, and mortified him all ways; which forced him upon courting the Emperor Rodolf's friendſhip, which was granted him, upon condition that Boſtkay and his male children ſhould enjoy Tranſilvania, and that part of the Kingdom of Hungary which Sigiſmund had enjoyed; and that the whole ſhould revert to the Emperor after Boſtkay's death, in caſe he died without male heirs; a condition which was never executed: For upon Boſtkay's death without male heirs, the Tranſilvanians met, and choſe for their Soveraign Sigiſ-

mund Ragotski, one of the principal Noblemen of the Country, and a Calviniſt.

This Prince preferred his repoſe to Empire, and therefore renounced the Soveraignty in 1608, and *Gabriel Batori*, who a great while had longed for ſo delicious a morſel, quitted the Roman Faith to gain it: But Bethlehem Gabor, a Calviniſt, and favourer of the Greek Schiſm, ſupported by the Protection of the Port, and at the head of a large body of Ottoman troops, cauſed ſo great a revolt in the Principality, as to be in a condition to give Gabriel Batori battle, which he won by his death, and thereby gained the Soveraignty of Tranſilvania.

By this time it is eaſy to imagine, that this Principality ſtill ſinking from one degree of misfortune to another, and being governed by none but Arian or Calviniſt Princes, the Catholicks and Jeſuits had much to ſuffer: But neither did the Arians find themſelves in a better caſe, and eſpecially after it was ſeen that they made but one Church and Communion with the Socinians of Poland. They were content to tolerate them, after ſeveral Edicts to ſupport the liberty of conſcience of the Catholicks, Calviniſt, and Proteſtant Evangeliſts.

It was under theſe Edicts for Toleration that the Poliſh exiles took refuge in Tranſilvania, to the number of above 500 perſons, flattering themſelves that they might live there ſecurely, and enjoy liberty of conſcience under the toleration granted by the Laws, and ſafe from the Wars there made upon the Emperor; but it was not without difficulty, and ſuffering many unlucky accidents. Scarce were they got within the County of Moramoraſia, when they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded and attacked by a body of Soldiers of the Imperial army, to whom ſome zealous Poles had given notice of their march. They came to blows, and that they might eſcape with their lives, they were forced to ſurrender to the Germans their money, cloaths, goods, and the proviſions they had with them; an unfortunate ſituation for ſuch as had no habitation. However they purſued their journey, and there were ſome of them who ſignalized themſelves in a manner ſufficient to qualify themſelves for a place in Sandius's Bibliotheca of Socinian Authors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

SOCINIANISM *in England, and how it eſtabliſhed itſelf there, notwithſtanding the oppoſitions made againſt it.*

WHATEVER precautions have been taken in England to prevent the growth of modern Arianiſm, it muſt nevertheleſs be owned, that ſince a liberty of diſputing on matters of religion, according to every man's fancy, has been introduced, Socinianiſm has crept in with too much ſucceſs.

One may ſay, that what introduced it here, was an exceſſive complaiſance ſhewn in 1535, to ſome Dutch Anabaptiſts who took refuge there, after the death of John Geelen, and the ruin of the Anabaptiſt party of Amſterdam. Scarce were theſe refugees arrived when they ſpread themſelves into different Counties of the Kingdom, and took care to publiſh their pernicious doctrine, which in the general was like that of the Anabaptiſts of Germany.

They encreaſed enough to make a conſiderable party, and to venture at forming pernicious deſigns againſt the Government, upon the maxims of the Anabaptiſts of the upper and lower Rhine, and which they would have executed upon the firſt opportunity.

It was about this time, that is, about 1547, that Bernardin Okinus came over to England, and preached up a refined Arianiſm, which awakened the curioſity of ſuch as were fond of novelty, and who were very numerous. There were ſome bold enough to make publick profeſſion of it, and indeed were proſecuted for ſo doing.

Sandius tells us, that in 1551, a German of the country of Cleve was burnt at London, for profeſſing Arianiſm, having taught it at Wittenburg, and there denied the Eternity of the HOLY GHOST. Probably he was that *George* condemned to the Stake by Archbiſhop Cranmer. Nucleus *Hiſt. Eccl.*

The 29th of Auguſt 1555, Patrick Patingham ſuffered the ſame kind of death at Uxbridge, being accuſed of Arianiſm. *Ibid.*

In the reign of Queen Mary, Chriſtopher Viret diſtinguiſhed himſelf at London by his Arianiſm, and in ſo conſpicuous a manner, as to have deſerved to be placed in the number of illuſtrious men by the Miniſters of Tranſilvania and Poland. Chriſtoph. Viret.

Henry

Henry Nicholas, *Author of the family of love.*

Henry Nicholas, head of the Sectaries of the family of love, joined in with him. This Nicholas was of Munſter, but ſettled at Amſterdam, and there broached his new paradoxes, though an ignorant fellow, and without any tincture of learning: But he was cunning, deſigning, and full of hypocriſy. He boaſted of revelations from the Angel Gabriel, and ſet himſelf above Moſes and JESUS CHRIST, ſaying they had only entred into the holy place, but that he himſelf had penetrated into the moſt holy place. Having preached his Doctrine ſometime in Holland, he croſſed into England about the year 1556, where he ſeduced many of the common people. He writ ſeveral Letters and Treatiſes, to which he gave pompous titles, ſuch as, *The Goſpel of the Kingdom of God*, *the Exhortation*, *the Correction*, &c.

Pagittus.

However, all this was but a ſpark to the flame that afterwards broke out in Queen Elizabeth's reign with ſo much violence, as to put the Queen upon apprehenſions and complaints, to thoſe who might and ought to have put ſome ſtop to it: Which ſhe did herſelf in 1560; for ſhe, by Proclamation, baniſhed all the Anabaptiſts the Kingdom, ſtrictly forbidding her ſubjects to admit any more of them, who were then flocking in great numbers. In 1580, ſhe iſſued a Proclamation againſt Libertines and Enthuſiaſts, that is, againſt the Anabaptiſts and other Arians, upon account of the encreaſe of the Sect of Brownifts, of which *Robert Baltanus* was the Head. This Robert had ſeparated from the Church of England, and formed an Aſſembly apart: He was proſecuted, convicted of error, and forced to make a publick recantation: But being troubled in conſcience, and aſhamed of the affront, hanged himſelf. Robert Brown, who ſucceeded him, in 1530, went with his flock to Middleburg in Zealand: But there being a diviſion grown amongſt them, part of them joined with the Anabaptiſts, and Brown came back into England, abjured his errors, and obtained a Benefice from ſome of the Biſhops; but being afterwards convicted of enormous crimes, was ſeized, and remained a long while in priſon.

Hiſt. of the Anabapt. p. 238.

R. Baltanus.

Rob. Brown.

R Ritter.

Toward the year 1575, Raphaël Ritter, born at London, publiſhed a treatiſe, wherein he endeavoured to prove to a demonſtration, that JESUS CHRIST was not the ſupreme GOD. This treatiſe was anſwered by Wigand, Biſhop of Pomerania, who ſhews, by the 51ſt and 52d pages of that treatiſe, that Ritter thought, ſpoke, and reaſoned upon the matter in queſtion, in the ſame manner as Fauſtus Socinus.

King

King James I. who ſucceeded Queen Elizabeth, went ſtill farther than ſhe had done. He thought it his duty to ſhew his horror of them, and had a great number of them executed, and did not ſpare even perſons of quality. *Bartholomew*, who had been an Embaſſador abroad, *Edward Wightman* and *Paul Caſaubon* were of that number. *Hiſt. Ref. Eccl.* Pol.

But ſtill the Sectaries did not yet make a ſeparate body by themſelves. They did not begin till Cromwel's tyranny, by the exceſſive liberty which the misfortunes of the times gave them. During which, a Catechiſm was printed at London, wherein were inſerted all the erroneous ſentiments of Fauſtus Socinus. It was compoſed by *John Biddel.* B'ddel.

This man was an Engliſhman, and a Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford. His Attachment to Socinus, and ſome odd opinions of his own, raiſed him to the honour of being a leading man, and he had his followers, called *Biddellians*. But Cromwell, notwithſtanding the toleration he had granted thoſe people, had him thrown into priſon, where he died.

Stuckey, his diſciple, born in 1649, took care of his Church after his death, and tranſlated two Catechiſms of his maſter into Latin, being then but fifteen years old; to which he added a ſhort diſcourſe on the death and paſſion of JESUS CHRIST, and Jeremy Felbingerus's letters to Biddel. Nath. Stuckey.

It is upon the impreſſion of theſe two Catechiſms, that the Miniſter Demarets complains of the toleration Cromwel had granted to Hereticks, and bewails with tears of blood (thoſe are his words) the confuſions in England, then become the Metropolis of the Socinians by the impreſſion of thoſe two Catechiſms. Mr. Baillet likewiſe ſays enough of them, to let us know England is full of bad Chriſtians, and that the Socinians enjoy complete liberty of conſcience. He tells us, that not only thoſe people are countenanced and protected by the Laws, but likewiſe the Independants, the Familiſts, the Anabaptiſts of a new kind, the Quakers, the Sabbatarians, the Antiſabbatarians, the Hetheringtonians, the Browniſts, the Separatiſts, the Nonconformiſts, the Robinſonians, the Barowiſts, the Fanaticks, the Seekers and Waiters, the Eraſtians; to which we may add the Arminians, the Tolerants, the Hobbiſts, the Spinoſiſts, &c. Jugem. des Savans. I 10. p. 239.

But this will ſtill farther appear by the liberty allowed, or at leaſt winked at, of writing againſt the myſteries of Religion; and I ſhall begin with Bury's Book.

Bury. **Bury, a Doctor of Divinity, and Head of Exeter College at Oxford, recommended himſelf to the Socinians by a Book entitled, *The naked Goſpel*, publiſhed in 1690, to facilitate the deſign which the Prince of Orange, at his coming to the crown of England had formed, of uniting all the Sects in the Kingdom.**

Bibl. Univerſ. Tom. 19. p. 391. The deſign of this Book is to ſhew, 1. What the Goſpel was at the time of CHRIST and his Apoſtles preaching it. 2. What additions or alterations have been made in it in ſucceeding ages. 3. What advantages or diſadvantages have ariſen from the changes made in it. 4. That it is not clear from the lights of the Scripture, which of the two have moſt corrupted the Goſpel, the Mahometans, or Chriſtian Doctors; and that it is certain the latter have given the former a handle of ſeducing nations in the manner they have done.

The Arian and Socinian notions almoſt throughout every page of this Book, ſufficiently demonſtrate Bury to be a favourer of thoſe Sects, and he thereby gained many Partiſans and Admirers, as well in Holland as England. But the Univerſity of Oxford thought in a different way; they were ſo offended with the Book, as to make a Decree the 19th of Auguſt 1690, condemning it as containing capital Hereſies againſt the holy Scripture, the Council of Nice, Creed of St. Athanaſius, &c. forbidding all the Scholars to read it, and ſentencing it to be burnt by the hangman, exhorting thoſe, to whom the education of Youth was committed, ſincerely to believe thoſe Doctrines which Bury had attacked.

Both before and ſince that Book ſeveral others have appeared, and been in vogue in England, and which are not leſs favourable to the Socinians.

As a Treatiſe of Mr. *Whiſton*, who to authorize Socinianiſm, backs it with the Authority of Novatian, who was the fartheſt in the world from an Arian.

A Philoſophical and Theological Treatiſe upon the word *Trinity* by *Clendon* a Lawyer, who was in 1710 proſecuted for it by the Parliament.

A Treatiſe entitled *the Rights of the Chriſtian Church*.

A Book of *Toland*'s, which bears the title of *Adeiſidaimon*, and *Origo Judaica*. This Book ſeems deſigned to overturn all Chriſtian Communions, and admit no other GOD but Nature, and to prove that the only Religion to be followed, is the Law of Nature.

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I know very well the Socinians do not go far, but it is not to be doubted, but this Book countenances them extremely in ſome of their tenets. To conclude, this Book, as well as that of *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, proves there is great liberty allowed in England to write againſt the firſt principles of the Chriſtian Religion, and that all manner of Beliefs, however monſtrous, are well received there.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SOCINIANISM *in Holland, and the efforts of the united Provinces to hinder its Introduction amongſt them.*

WE have already mentioned the Attempts of the Anabaptiſts, and even of ſome Socinians, to gain admittance into Holland, and the other United Provinces, who thereby left the ſeeds of their errors behind them; which multiplied ſo well, that it has been impoſſible for the States General to extirpate them, whatever Edicts they have made to that purpoſe.

In the year 1585, they began to make war upon the Socinians, upon account of *Eraſmus John*, Rector of the College of Antwerp. Scarce had he publiſhed a work to which he did not put his name, entitled, *Antitheſis doctrinæ Chriſti, & Antichriſti de uno vero Deo*, when he was forced to leave the country: The year following Zanchius confuted it.

Their ſecond proceeding againſt the Socinians, was that of the Magiſtrates of Utrecht againſt *Cornelius Daems*, a Lawyer of Mecklin. They had no ſooner heard that this man was come from Targou, the place of his reſidence, in order to diſperſe ſome Manuſcript Treatiſes of F. Socinus in their City, but they reſolved to have him ſeized, and they had done ſo had he not made off, leaving his papers behind, which were reſtored to him by the Complaiſance of the new Magiſtrates.

The third was that of the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, who being informed that *Oſtorode* and *Vaidove*, were in 1598 come thither from Poland, with ſeveral manuſcript and printed Socinian books, which they began to tranſlate into Flemiſh, ſeized them all, ſent them to

Extr. from Gisb. Diſp. T. 3. p. 811. the Academy of Leiden, and from thence to the States General. The Academy ſharply cenſured the two Socinians, and ordered them to retire. The States General went farther; upon the judgment given by the Divines of Leiden, that thoſe writings did not in the leaſt differ from Mahometaniſm, and contained blaſphemies at no rate to be tolerated amongſt Chriſtians, without extreme impiety. The States, I ſay, ordered that all thoſe writings ſhould be burnt in the preſence of Oſtorode and Vaidove, and that they both ſhould retire out of the United Provinces in ten days.

Hoornburk Apparat. ad Tra. Socin. p. 98 Voët. Pol. Eccl. T. 1. l. 4. p 553. The fourth proceeding was that of 1627, in regard to *Adolphus Venator*, Miniſter of Almaer; he was baniſhed to an iſland for compoſing a work which ſmelt ſtrong of the Socinian, *Quod portenta Sarmatica ſaperet.*

The fifth procedure againſt the Socinians in Holland, may be ſaid to be that of the Synods of the ſeven Provinces. In 1628, they preſented a petition to the Eſtates of the Province of Holland, wherein they urged them by many reaſons not to tolerate them, and amongſt other things laid before them, that the tolerating them made the Republick odious to all Chriſtendom. This Remonſtrance was printed and confuted, and as to that particular reaſon urged, it was anſwered, that Poland then muſt have been extremely odious, ſince ſhe granted the Socinians liberty in Religion. Voëtius anſwered the refutation, and denied that Poland ever granted ſuch a liberty, but ſhewed the contrary, by her ill treatment of them.

Voetius.

Hoornb. All theſe precautions did not hinder the Evil from growing to an exceſſive height, as appears by a letter, which the Prince of Tranſilvania intercepted in 1638, wherein *John Sartorius*, a Socinian of Amſterdam, tells *Adam Francus*, Miniſter of Clauſenburg, that there was a great number of their party in Holland. *Magnam in his terris Socinianorum meſſem eſſe.*

It was with deſign to put a ſtop to this licence, that the Magiſtrate of Amſterdam in 1642, condemned ſome of *Volkelius's* writings to be burnt.

The Synods renewed their Zeal in 1653, and reſolved to make uſe of other remedies againſt the Socinians than they had hitherto done. They ſent their Deputies to the States of Holland to lay before them, 1. That the followers of Socinus, a people who overturned all Chriſtianity, the reſurrection of the dead, the hopes of eternal life, &c. had been ſo bold as to come into the United Provinces, and particularly into Holland, there to pervert the Faithful, and tear the Church

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in pieces. That the Zeal which the Ragotski's had ſhewn againſt them in Tranſilvania was well known; what had been decreed againſt them in Poland in 1638 and 1647. 2. That they had been driven out of Poland, and their Temple, Library, and Printing-houſe deſtroyed, for printing a ſcandalous Treatiſe againſt the TRINITY, entitled, *Tormentum Throno Trinitatem deturbans:* Of this affair I have already ſpoken. 3. That the States General proceeded vigorouſly againſt them in 1598. 4 That in 1639, by the ſuggeſtion of the Engliſh Embaſſador, all the Provinces were advertiſed of the arrival of ſome Socinians, and exhorted in good earneſt to prevent the Evil by their Decrees. 5. That in 1640, the States of Holland had notified to the Synod of Amſterdam their reſolution, purporting, that as to proſcribing the Socinians and their books, they would iſſue out neceſſary orders as ſoon as they ſhould be more exactly informed of the ſtate of the matter. 6. That the States General had on the 17th of July 1651, in purſuance of the information of the States of the Province of Holland, given them on the 12th of April preceding, ordered that the inſolence of the Sectaries ſhould be effectually repreſſed, and Edicts publiſhed againſt the Books of the Socinians. Cocceius reſp. ad equitis Pol. Apologium.

The Deputies added, that it was manifeſt that theſe Hereticks went up and down the country, uſing all their endeavours to gain followers, and diſperſed ſeveral Books of ill principles; that they were the moſt dangerous enemies the Church could have, becauſe beſides their cunning and pretended devotion, they taught a doctrine which went not beyond the reach of reaſon. They concluded with beſeeching the States early to put a ſtop to the Evil, to proceed againſt the Socinians, and to prohibit their Conventicles and Books, and that *Præla & Typographiæ iſto ſtercore non contaminentur, & officinæ tàm damnoſâ merce vacuentur.* Cocceius.

The States of Holland communicated this petition of the Synod to the Divines of Leiden, and deſired their opinion upon it. Their anſwer was, that there could be nothing more horrid or abominable than the Sect of the Socinians, that it differed very little from Paganiſm, that it was certain it was gaining ground in the Country, and that they ought to pray to GOD that he would inſpire them with a ſteadfaſt and holy reſolution to remove all thoſe blaſphemies, and deſtroy ſuch wicked books.

There needed no more to engage the States to iſſue out an Edict, forbidding all perſons of what condition or degree ſoever, to introduce

duce any of the Socinian Hereſies into the country, or to communicate them to others, or to hold any Aſſembly to that end; declaring that all Delinquents ſhould for the firſt offence be baniſhed, as Blaſphemers of the Name of GOD, and diſturbers of the publick peace; and for any ſecond offence, ſhould be puniſhed as ſhould be thought proper: Forbidding likewiſe, under heavy pains, the printing or ſelling any Socinian Books. This Decree bears date the 19th of September 1653. In 1655, the Senate of Utrecht did the ſame. But theſe Edicts were to no purpoſe, Socinianiſm held its courſe, and is grown powerful in Holland for reaſons which ſhall be the ſubject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXIX.

The United Provinces infected with SOCINIANISM, *and why?*

ALL thoſe Edicts were judicious, ſalutary, and worthy the Prudence of the States General, of the Magiſtrates who govern the Cities of the ſeven Provinces, and of the Univerſities to whom the States have entruſted ſo precious a depoſit as that of their Faith; but the point was how to put them in execution, and not to depart from them. This they did not do, either becauſe the Socinians replied to whatever had been ſaid or done againſt them, or becauſe GOD, whoſe judgments are juſt and unfathomable, reſolved that a Republick which had aboliſhed his Religion in order to admit all other that were contrary to it, and often only for that very reaſon, becauſe they were contrary to it, ſhould be infected with one, which was, and even appeared to her as the moſt dangerous and abominable; or becauſe ſhe had already by her Laws authorized certain Aſſemblies and Communions whoſe Tenets and Maxims did not much differ from the ſentiments of the Socinians; or in ſhort, becauſe the Evil was already grown to too great a head by the perverſeneſs and corruption of many of the Miniſters and learned men.

1. I ſay thoſe Edicts took no effect, becauſe the Socinians replied to what the Univerſity of Leiden, the Deputies of the Synods, and the Magiſtrates had written, ſaid, or done againſt them. The Chevalier Jonas Slichtingius, one of their beſt Pens, in 1654 compoſed an Apology for his brethren in CHRIST, addreſſed to their High Mighti-

Mightineſſes the States of Holland and Weſtfrieſland, under this Title, *Apologia pro Veritate accuſatâ ad illuſtriſſimos & potentiſſimos Hollandiæ & Weſtfriſiæ Ordines ab Equite Polono.*

This piece is well enough written; all the delicacy and cunning of the Art are obſerved in it, there reigns throughout a great air of moderation, with an artful aſſurance in denying the accuſations againſt them. The Author makes uſe of the ſame general reaſons as Tertullian has employed in his Apology, and Calvin in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Inſtitutions.

There was a great number of facts in the Deputies Remonſtrance that were not certain; and them the Chevalier does not ſuffer to go unanſwered. He therein inſiſts that the Ragotski's had never perſecuted the Socinians, but had even always ſupported them in the free exerciſe of their Religion, and ſtill continued to do ſo; that no advantage ought to be taken from the vexations the Socinians were expoſed to in Poland, nor the ruin of their Temple at Racovia, ſince the Evangeliſts ſuffered the ſame misfortunes there; and that about two years afterwards they received the like treatment, and upon the ſame account, at Vilna; that it was not true that what they had ſuffered at Racovia was grounded upon the impreſſion of a Work whoſe title abuſed the TRINITY, which he proves by the very Decree of the Diet, which does not ſo much as mention that book, and which would not have omitted it, had it been one of their reaſons for puniſhing the Socinians. He adds, that John Leti is the only one who mentions that fact, neither had he ſaid that it was the cauſe of the ruin of their School and Printing-Houſe.

The Chevalier did not ſtop at the refutation of theſe facts: As his brethren had been accuſed of deſtroying the reſurrection of the dead, and the hope of eternal life, and the denying that the Soul lived when ſeparated from the body, he affirmed, that as to theſe points they had not juſtice done them, and even that they were calumniated.

This confeſſion was a great diſappointment to the Deputies of the Synods. Cocceius, who in 1656 thought fit to anſwer this Apology, paſſes over the two firſt facts which the Pole denies; as to the third, he ſays no more than that at the time of their being driven out of Racovia, the report ran, that the Socinians were printing the book in queſtion, and ſays nothing of the Confeſſion the Socinian made as to the reſurrection of the dead, &c. So that this Apology remaining without a good anſwer, it is probable it made impreſſion enough

on ſuch minds as were fond of novelties in Religion, and which were then numerous in Holland, to prevent the cenſures from Leyden, the remonſtrances of the Synods, and the Edicts of the Magiſtrates having a proper effect.

And indeed, we may well be perſuaded, yet without endeavouring to fathom the judgments of GOD, that this hereſy has not ſpread and ſtrengthened it ſelf in Holland, for any other reaſon, than to puniſh it for having given into all ſorts of novelties, even to the baniſhing the Roman Religion preferably to all others.

That this may be underſtood, I muſt here tell my Reader that in 1571, when that form of Religion received at Geneva, in the Palatinate, and in the reformed Churches of France, was eſtabliſhed as the only publick Religion, with this difference, that in Geneva, and the Cantons where the Calviniſts prevail, no other is allowed, nor even ſuch as profeſs any other to dwell within their territories; and that the united Provinces not only allowed the exerciſe of all ſorts of Religions, but alſo rejected, as tyrannical, all laws requiring uniformity of ſentiments therein, and called them by the name of Inquiſition, a name ſo odious among them.

This liberty of conſcience was maintained by the Prince of Orange, and the peace of Ghent, in 1576, by the publick and private agreement made on that ſubject with Matthias Archduke of Auſtria, and by the Union of Utrecht in 1579, when the States aſſembled formed a new Union, which has given them the name of the United Provinces, the 13th Article of which ſays expreſly, that, as to the point of Religion, thoſe of Holland and Zealand ſhall therein act as they ſhall judge proper, and that as to the other Provinces included in that union, they may therein govern themſelves according to the Placart of the Archduke Matthias, Governor General of the low Countries, iſſued by advice of the Council of State, and of the States General, touching liberty in Religion; or elſe they may, whether all together, or ſeparately, make ſuch orders and regulations therein as they ſhall ſee convenient for their own tranquillity, as well as that of the towns, and particular members, as well of the Clergy as Laity, and for the preſervation of their eſtates, rights, and other prerogatives, without interruption, or diſturbance from any other Province therein, every one remaining free as to his Religion, according to the pacification of Ghent; all which has been maintained by ſeveral Treaties ſince made with different Cities of the low Countries to 1583.

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The liberty of Conſcience granted to the Catholicks by the peace of Utrecht in 1579, appeared ſo much the more reaſonable and well grounded, as it was an Union made between the Catholick Provinces and thoſe who had declared for Calvin's Reformation. However, notwithſtanding that declaration, tho' confirmed by the peace of Ghent, and eſtabliſhed upon publick Faith, of which the States ſo much boaſt, it was reſolved in 1583, that the Catholick Religion ſhould be baniſhed out of the united Provinces, and the Reformed only allowed, which was unanimouſly agreed upon by thoſe who compoſed the Aſſembly of the States General.

All theſe Ordinances as well as that of 1583, have had no viſible effect, unleſs in regard to the Roman Catholick Religion, the publick exerciſe of which has been abſolutely forbidden ever ſince that time: For as to the other different Religions of the Reformation of Calvin, the only prevailing one in the united Provinces, they have always ſubſiſted with entire liberty to profeſs their opinions whatever they may be; ſince all the followers of them are welcome there, and are allowed to hold their aſſemblies; as Jews, Turks, Perſians, Lutherans, Browniſts, Independants, Arminians, Anabaptiſts, Mennonites, Enthuſiaſts, Quakers, Botreiſts, Muſcovites, Arminians, or Remonſtrants, Arians, Socinians, Libertins, or Spinoſiſts, *&c.*

It is upon this account that M. Stouppe tells us that the States General charitably received all thoſe Socinians that were baniſhed Poland, and were willing to retire into Holland. That it is ſince that time they have encreaſed exceedingly in Holland, and that the complaiſance of the States themſelves has been ſo great, that by a particular kindneſs, as well as ſcrupulouſneſs of conſcience altogether extraordinary, as well to oblige them as to favour ſuch as had a mind to become Socinians, as to allow them to print the Works of the four Doctors who have the moſt ſignalized themſelves among the Sect at Amſterdam, viz. Fauſtus Socinus, John Crellius, Jonas Slichtingius, and Lewis Wolzogenius. So that we now a-days have for an hundred franks, and even leſs, an entire collection of the Works of the Poliſh Brethren in eight Volumes in Folio, the half of which could not be bought before this Edition for two thouſand livres; thoſe books, tho' printed, being grown extremely ſcarce, becauſe very few copies of them had been printed, and in places at a very great diſtance.

I know very well that M. le Brun, Miniſter at Nimeguen, and ſince at Groninghen, in a Book he writ againſt M. Stouppe's Letters, entitled, *The true Religion of the Dutch, with an Apology for the Religion of the States General of the United Provinces, &c.* does not agree that the Library of the Poliſh brethren was printed by authority of the States, becauſe they do not concern themſelves at all in the Government of Amſterdam, but even ſays that it was ſecretly printed. But this is a diſputed fact, and not eaſily believed. To conclude, tho' that were granted, it is certain that the States General, and the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, cannot be ignorant, that this Collection has been, and ſtill is openly ſold, and that they never have had ſo much Zeal as to ſuppreſs the Edition; and they muſt be leſs ignorant ſtill, that the Socinians live amongſt them with entire liberty of conſcience, under the protection of the ſame laws which countenance the Anabaptiſts, the Mennonites, the Arminians, &c. Which we will now take a View of.

CHAP. XXX.

The publick and private Aſſemblies which the SOCINIANS *hold in the United Provinces.*

THE Socinians authorized by the affected ſilence of the Magiſtrates of the United Provinces, and the complaiſance which they ſhew to all Sectaries who are enemies to the Roman Catholick Religion; and beſides, flattering themſelves that they have a great deal of Religion in them, do not fail to appear on certain days in the Aſſemblies to perform their exerciſes of devotion; of which there are two ſorts, the one publick, the other private.

Let. III. At the private aſſemblies none but Socinians appear. M. Stouppe, who had a pretty exact information of them, ſays, they there make very fervent prayers, accompanying them with ſighs and tears; that every one preſent has the liberty of ſpeaking; that one of them begins a chapter of Scripture; that when he has read a few verſes ſo as to make a compleat Senſe, he that has been reading, or any other, gives his ſentiments upon the ſenſe of them; that tho' moſt of them are Merchants, Artiſans, perſons without ſtudy or learning, yet it ſeems that they have all a particular talent for underſtanding and expounding

pounding the Scripture. He adds, that their converſations are holy, and irreproachable, as far as may be judged by the outſide; that they are formed wholly upon the precepts of JESUS CHRIST, that they little regard the things of this world, that they apply themſelves chiefly to works of piety, charity, the ſalvation of Souls, and the reading of the holy Scripture, wherein they are ſo converſant, that it may be ſaid that moſt of ſuch as can read, have it by heart: That they often complain, that they, living and behaving thus, ſhould be odious to moſt Chriſtians; that they have no other intereſt in maintaining the doctrines they profeſs, than being perſuaded they are in the right, and the zeal of preſerving to the ſupreme GOD, the FATHER of JESUS CHRIST, the glory of his Divinity; that they are confirmed in their belief by the reading of the word of GOD, and of the books written againſt them; and they beg of the great GOD, if they are in error, to diſcover it to them, that they may renounce it, and give glory unto truth.

I know not what reaſons M. Stouppe may have to ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of the piety of the Socinians, without it is that he was a Calviniſt, or that he had not at heart the intereſts of CHRIST's divinity. We have ſeen the Univerſity of Leyden, and the Synods of the United Provinces ſpeaking of the Socinians, their morality, and doctrines, as the moſt impious and abominable; as not in the leaſt differing from Mahometaniſm, or even Paganiſm; as hypocrites and devout only in appearance; as not to be allowed to talk in their manner without extreme impiety: This is talking very differently from M. Stouppe.

The other Aſſemblies in which the Socinians meet for the exerciſes of Religion, are thoſe of the Sects tolerated in the United Provinces, ſuch as thoſe of the Anabaptiſts, the Mennonites, the Arminians, or Remonſtrants. We have ſeen in the foregoing Chapter, that in 1572, the exerciſe of all ſorts of Religions was allowed, and all Laws, for uniformity of ſentiments therein, rejected as tyrannical. That this liberty was maintained by the Prince of Orange, by the peace of Ghent in 1576, by the Conventions made with the Archduke Matthias, and by the Union of Utrecht in 1579. We have beſides ſeen the condeſcenſions in thoſe Provinces in regard to the Anabaptiſts, and Mennonites, after their lending a ſum of money to William Prince of Orange. We may add, that it is under the protection of thoſe laws that theſe Sectaries enjoy a perfect liberty to

hold their religious Aſſemblies, and that as they agree in many circumſtances with the Socinians, they receive them into their Aſſemblies and to their Communion, as their brethren, whenever they think fit to be there. This is certain by the teſtimony of ſuch as have any knowledge of the State of Holland.

However, it is not theſe Aſſemblies the Socinians appear in with the moſt ſatisfaction, it is in thoſe of the Arminians or Remonſtrants. For theſe make it a point of conſcience to conſider as their brethren in CHRIST, all ſuch as agree with them in certain Articles of doctrine, which they reduce into a very narrow compaſs; and as the Socinians agree with them as to thoſe Articles, ſo likewiſe do the Arminians look upon them as brethren, and receive them with joy into their religious Aſſemblies. To give light into this point of Hiſtory, we muſt ſettle the Doctrine of the Arminians.

CHAP. XXXI.

The SOCINIANS *received into the Aſſemblies of the Arminians, wherein is given an Abſtract of the Hiſtory of the Synod of Dort, of the ſentiments of the Arminians, and of the Judgments made by the Catholics and Reformed upon them.*

THE Arminianiſm, now a-days profeſſed, is very different from that which cauſed ſuch confuſions and diſturbance from the year 1609 to the year 1618, in the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries. The antient Arminianiſm conſiſted chiefly only in a few propoſitions, relating to conditional Predeſtination, Univerſal Grace, &c. and of that Jacob Hermans was Promulgator.

Armin'us. *Jacob Hermans*, ſo well known under the name of *Arminius*, was born in 1560, at Oldwater upon the Iſſell, endowed with all the happy talents which nature could beſtow upon a child afterwards deſigned for a man of letters. They who had the care of his education, ſpared no coſt to have him inſtructed in the Sciences. At firſt they ſent him to the Univerſity of Utrecht; he went from thence to that of Marpurg, from thence to Geneva, to ſtudy under Theodore Beza. He left Geneva to continue his ſtudies at Bale; from thence he went to Padua, and heard the Philoſopher James Zaba-

Zabarella, who at that time made a great noiſe by his way of teaching. Having finiſhed his ſtudies, he returned to Holland, and was made Miniſter of Amſterdam, where he laid the foundations of a new ſect amongſt the Calviniſts, by a treatiſe he writ upon conditional Predeſtination againſt *Perkins*, entitled, *Examen Prædeſtinationis Perkinſianæ*, or, *Examen Libelli Gulielmi Perkinſi de Prædeſtinationis modo, & ordine. Analyſis cap.* 9. *ad Romanos. Diſſertatio de vero ſenſu cap.* 7. *ad Romanos.*

This Book gave the opportunity of having a conference on that ſubject with the Profeſſor Junius, which he publiſhed under the title of *Amica Collatio.* Theſe two Books acquired him ſo much reputation as to engage the Curators of the Univerſity of Leiden to make choice of him to fill the place of Divinity Profeſſor, vacant in that Univerſity by the death of the Profeſſor Junius.

The Calviniſt and Simmiſt Miniſters and Divines who maintained abſolute Predeſtination and Reprobation, with all the conſequences of thoſe doctrines, in order to hinder him from the Profeſſorſhip, accuſed him of being a Pelagian, a Socinian, and of want of faith touching the proceſſion of the SON of GOD, Providence, Grace, and free Will. Arminius, in order to clear himſelf of thoſe hereſies, went to the Hague, and ſhewed ſuch authentick teſtimonies to the States, of the purity of his morality and doctrine, which the Church of Amſterdam gave concerning him, that thereupon he was abſolved of thoſe crimes of hereſy, with which his enemies endeavoured to blacken him, and confirmed in his office, which he exerciſed without moleſtation till the 22d of October 1609, at which time he died, being forty years old. Spond. 1609. n. 9.

But the diſputes did not die with him, on the contrary they grew warmer. The diſciples of Arminius fearing to be overpowered by the number of their enemies in 1610, preſented a petition to the States for obtaining their protection; therein ſetting forth the antiquity and innocence of the doctrines they maintained. The oppoſite party anſwered it by a Counter petition, and this circumſtance was the occaſion of naming the former *Remonſtrants*, and the latter *Antiremonſtrants.*

The next year an Aſſembly was held at the Hague before the States of the Province, compoſed of ſix of the Remonſtrant Divines, amongſt which were Epiſcopius, and of ſix of the Antiremonſtrant Divines. The Remonſtrants reduced their diſputes to five Articles, which they thus explained.

I. That

The five Articles of the Remonſtrants.

I. That GOD by an eternal and immutable Decree, has reſolved before the foundation of the world, in JESUS CHRIST, for JESUS CHRIST, and through JESUS CHRIST, to ſave ſuch of the corrupted maſs of mankind, who by his grace and ſpirit believe in his SON, and perſevere in that faith to the end.

II. That in conſequence of ſuch Decree, JESUS CHRIST died for all and every one of mankind, and obtained the remiſſion of ſins for all, but upon this condition, that it ſhould be applied to true believers only.

III. That man hath no ſaving faith of himſelf, or by the powers of his free Will; becauſe in the ſtate of ſin, he by himſelf can neither think, will, nor do any action truly good, ſuch as Faith is. So that it was neceſſary for GOD to regenerate him in JESUS CHRIST, and for the HOLY GHOST to renew his underſtanding, his will, and all the faculties of his Soul, to the end that he might underſtand, will, and act that which is good.

IV. That it is the Grace of GOD that gives beginning, progreſs, and perfection to all good actions; and that it is ſo neceſſary, that the Regenerate themſelves without this grace, which prevents, excites, follows, and accompanies all the motions of piety, cannot think, will, nor do that which is good, nor reſiſt ſin and temptation. So that al lgood works, without any exception, are to be attributed to the Grace of GOD, though the manner whereby it operates be not irreſiſtable.

V. That ſuch as are incorporated into JESUS CHRIST, and partake of his vivifying ſpirit, have ſtrength ſufficient to combat Satan, Sin, the World, and the Fleſh, and gain the Victory over them by the continual aſſiſtance of the Grace of the HOLY GHOST. Farther, JESUS CHRIST aſſiſts them, lends them his hand, and ſupports them under all temptations, provided they keep themſelves in a readineſs for the fight, and implore his aſſiſtance; ſo that the wiles of the Devil cannot ſeduce them, nor his violence force them out of the hands of JESUS CHRIST. But to be reſolved, whether ſuch as have begun to be ſanctified in JESUS CHRIST may not fall from that ſtate by neglect, plunge themſelves again into the pleaſures of the world, and ſwerve from that holy doctrine that has been ſent unto them, renounce a good conſcience, and contemn the inſpirations of Grace; to be reſolved in thoſe points, the holy Scripture muſt be more exactly examined into, before it is poſſible to determine in the affirmative with entire certainty.

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The Antiremonſtrants, who were not agreed as to theſe Articles, and plainly ſaw they had to do with people whom it was not eaſy to reclaim by diſputing, took other methods, and in ſeveral places made uſe of Conſiſtories to force the Remonſtrants to ſilence. This conduct obliged the Remonſtrants to have recourſe to the Soveraign Power for protection. Upon which, the States of Holland in 1614, made a Decree, ordering both parties to treat thoſe controverſies with a ſpirit of moderation, and to uſe each other with lenity, charity and toleration.

Rogerman, Sibrand, Lubbertz, and ſome other Antiremonſtrant Miniſters, writ againſt this Edict, to prove that Magiſtrates had no authority to make any ſuch on Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. Hugo Grotius confuted them, and defended the States by a treatiſe entitled, *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ*. It ſeemed that theſe conjunctures, ſo favourable to the Remonſtrants, who only deſired to be tolerated, muſt have ſtrengthened their party, but it proved quite the contrary. Opera Theol. Tom.

The application they had made to the States, and the reſpect they had ſhewed their orders, together with the diſpleaſure and uneaſineſs they had given Prince Maurice of Naſſau, Governor of Holland, and Captain General of the united Provinces, engaged the Prince to declare loudly againſt them, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction who had declared for them; which created great diſturbance in the Provinces, whom James, King of Great-Britain, endeavoured to appeaſe by his Letters and Embaſſadors, but in vain. The Prince cauſed *John Barnevelt*, Advocate for Holland, by whom the States had reaped great Advantages, *Romulus*, Syndic of Amſterdam, *Hugo Grotius*, Syndic of Leyden, and ſome other Miniſters to be arreſted, upon pretence of a ſedition raiſed at Leyden againſt that Prince and the States, of which they would have it thoſe Gentlemen were guilty, as having themſelves been the cauſe of it. But that was not all.

Maurice, now Prince of Orange in 1618, by the death of his brother Philip, put himſelf at the head of his army, went through all the towns of Holland, changing all the Officers and Magiſtrates whom he ſuſpected to be Remonſtrants; and to make ſure of the Clergy, he put all the Antiremonſtrants he could into the Chairs of the Academies.

All theſe inſtances of violence or precaution could not quiet the apprehenſions of the Antiremonſtrants; they thought that entirely to humble the Remonſtrant Party, it was neceſſary that an Eccleſiaſti-

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cal Authority ſhould interpoſe. To this end they ſollicited their High Mightineſſes for a national Synod, and the States granted the Prince of Orange, that one ſhould be held the 13th of November 1618, at Dort.

Synod of Dort.

This reſolution being taken, and in order to put it in execution, a great number of the Miniſters and Profeſſors of the united Provinces, met at the place appointed, and ſeveral of the Reformed Churches ſent thither their Deputies. But thoſe of Poland, Tranſilvania, Brandenburg, and Sileſia, ſent none, no more than thoſe of France, according to the prohibition of Henry IV. to the Miniſters of his Kingdom, not to be preſent at the Aſſemblies of Foreigners, nor to admit any Foreigner into their own. The States ſent thither Martin Gregory as political Preſident.

Spond.

From the very beginning of the Synod, there were hot debates upon ſome points, not at all to the purpoſe for which they were aſſembled. The firſt point debated, was to which of the two ſentiments, either that of the Supralapſarians, or that of the Infralapſarians, the preference was to be given; the majority inclined to eſtabliſh the latter, which favoured the Remonſtrants. Gomarus, Profeſſor of Groninghen, and Maccovius, Profeſſor at Francker, were for the former. The Deputies of South Holland, to put an end to the diſpute, which was of no uſe, ſaid, that it was of little conſequence which of the two were choſen, provided the decrees of election and reprobation were fully ſettled.

Another diſpute aroſe not ſo eaſy to be put an end to; viz. *Whether God loved the Elect, but through Jeſus Chriſt*; or in other words, *Whether Jeſus Chriſt was the cauſe and foundation of Election, or whether he was only the Head of the Elect*; Martinius, Profeſſor of Breme, maintained the firſt propoſition, and inſiſted, that CHRIST was not ſimply the executor of Election, but was likewiſe the author, and efficient cauſe. Scarce had this Divine done ſpeaking, when Gomarus, a man of a haſty violent temper, and head of the Antiremonſtrant party, threw his glove upon the table, challenged Martinius to diſpute, deſired the Aſſembly to allow the ſingle Combat, and promiſed to ſilence his Adverſary. Martinius was not more lucky in another Propoſition he endeavoured to maintain againſt Librand Lubbert, and which they would not ſpare him in; viz. *Whether God be the natural cauſe of Converſion.* He called on a Philoſopher there preſent for his ſecond, who by many fine arguments drawn from Averroës,

Letters of Mr. Hales of Eaton to my Lord Dudley Carleton, Embaſſador of King James, dated Jan. 25, 1616.

Averroës, Themiſtius, and Alexander of Aphrodiſéa, undertook to prove the truth of this hypotheſis. The Miniſter of Franker anſwered them ſmartly, and the Preſident, who judged ſuch Diſputes were not to be carried too far, very prudently reconciled them.

Some days after, Martinius and Crotius, Divines of Breme, had rougher attacks to bear from Gomarus and the other Miniſters of the united Provinces. Martinius had ſaid, that there were difficulties upon the fourth Article, which neither Calvin, nor any other Divine had as yet perfectly cleared up: For example, by what right GOD can require Faith, which is the work of an infinite Being, from man, whoſe faculties are limited: To whom Gomarus anſwered, that ſuch as talk in that manner were not worthy to untie the ſhoeſtrings of Calvin, and that it was an objection which their Children could reſolve. He went on to deſire the Synod to be upon their guard againſt certain people who harboured monſters in their breaſts, and intended to introduce into the Reformed Churches the language of the Jeſuits in ſpeaking of *Determination*, or *the indifference of the Will*. This accuſation related to Crotius, who did not dare open his mouth: *Gomarus* ſtopt here, and the Preſident thanked him. *Letters of the ſame Balcan quelle to my Lord Carleton.*

The Biſhop of Landaſt ſaid to Rogerman, that the end of the Enquiry for which the Senate was aſſembled, was to edify and improve the people, and not to give them offence, which however was done by handling thoſe controverſies in a paſſionate manner, which diſſolved the bonds of unity, if the ill effects of it were not prevented. This Prelate named no body; but Gomarus, believing that piece of advice glanced at him, immediately replied, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop, that in the Synod the authority of perſons gave no weight to their reaſons, that the being allowed to ſpeak in his turn was his indiſputable right. The Preſident added, that Gomarus had done nothing that deſerved reprehenſion, ſeeing he had not ſpoken againſt perſons, but their ſentiments.

Thiſius's turn came next, and he pronounced his opinion with great moderation, and added, that he was ſorry Martinius had been ſo treated, for an opinion, which according to the explanation he had given of it, was very orthodox. Whilſt this Profeſſor was ſpeaking thus, Gomarus and Sibbrand pulled him by the Sleeve, and before the whole Aſſembly ſhewed their diſpleaſure at him by their geſtures and words, but Thiſius went on with his diſcourſe.

Theſe were the Preludes only of this Synod. And from thence it may be judged what violent ſprings were put in motion by Gomarus and his party to bear down and oppreſs the Remonſtrants.

From the very next day to that on which the Aſſembly was appointed, that is, the 14th of November 1618, the chuſing an Eccleſiaſtical Preſident had been propoſed from amongſt thoſe Provinces wherein theſe controverſies had not been ſtarted, and to join ſome Remonſtrants to the number of the Aſſeſſors and Secretaries. This propoſal was reaſonable, and took away all grounds of complaint from the Remonſtrants; but they regarded them not, and were reſolved to oppreſs them: Wherefore the ſtrongeſt party rejected this advice, and choſe Rogerman, Miniſter of Leuwarde, Preſident.

The ſame day after dinner, the Credentials of the Deputies of the Province of Utrecht were read, and it was a ſurprize to find that they had only a power to accommodate differences, but none to make Canons, and that their power extended no farther than to the five Articles.

The motive of this ſurprize does not appear, the Synod being held only for that purpoſe; and beſides, ſuch Canons as ſhould be there formed, could be of no uſe towards fixing points of faith, or obliging men to believe and ſubmit to them, ſince all they who made up this Synod, did not acknowledge the Canons of the antient general Councils as an infallible rule, to which all men in general and in particular are obliged to ſubmit; though thoſe Councils are more venerable for the piety of thoſe Prelates who compoſed them, than a diſorderly Aſſembly of Miniſters and Regents of Univerſities, who had their intereſts to preſerve with Prince Maurice, in order to continue in their Poſts.

In the following Seſſion, thirteen Remonſtrants were ſummoned to appear before the Synod in fifteen days. The learned *Epiſcopius*, Profeſſor at Leyden, was one of them, though named as a Deputy, and member of the Synod by the States of Holland.

They appeared on the 7th and 8th of December. Epiſcopius made a Speech to the Synod, and a Paper of the Remonſtrants was read, wherein they declared. 1. That they could not acknowledge the Synod as their lawful judge, becauſe moſt of the members of that Aſſembly were their accuſers. The Miniſters of the Provinces were the Authors of the Schiſm, and even they who turned them out of the Churches, as Prophane and Atheiſts. 2. They propoſed twelve conditions,

ditions, upon which it was to be hoped, that diſputes might be terminated, which they ſaid were very equitable, and the ſame as the Proteſtants had propoſed to the Roman Catholick Divines at the Council of Trent, and the Calviniſts had required from the Lutherans, and of which Paerus in his *Irenicon* had ſhewed the equity and neceſſity.

On the 11th and 12th of the ſame month, they backed their paper with a proteſt againſt the Synod, ſaying they were ready, purſuant to the tenor of the letters of citation, freely to propoſe their ſentiments upon the five Articles, and to explain and defend them as far as they ſhould judge neceſſary: Whereupon the Synod ordered that the Diſpute ſhould be carried on in writing, to which the Remonſtrants agreed. The 13th and 14th they put their Reaſons into writing, and preſented them to the Aſſembly: And it was taken amiſs, that not ſatisfied with maintaining their own Hypotheſis, they beſides amuſed themſelves with refuting that of the Antiremonſtrants, and continually fell upon the ſubject of Reprobation.

From the 17th to the 27th, the perſons cited were enjoined to give in their conſiderations upon the Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſm of Heidelburg, which they did: And thereto annexed a paper, ſhewing they had reaſon to treat of Reprobation.

The Eccleſiaſtical Preſident inſiſted, that the liberty granted them by the letters of citation, was only to defend their own doctrine, and not to attack that of the Synod. Upon this pretenſion, a decree was made and read to the Remonſtrants, purporting, that they were firſt to treat of Election, and then of Reprobation, as far as the Synod ſhould think convenient. They were likewiſe ordered to give preciſe anſwers to all the queſtions that ſhould be put to them. The Remonſtrants anſwered, that it was an unheard of thing that people accuſed ſhould have the manner of their defence preſcribed to them, and that no opinion could be proved without confuting that which was contrary to it. However, they conſented that Election ſhould be treated of before Reprobation: But perſiſted in requiring an equal liberty, to explain their own doctrine, and confute that of their Adverſaries; and declared, that after that, they were ready by word of mouth, or by writing, to anſwer all the demands of the Preſident.

The 2d of January 1619, the Synod gave an account of the ſtate of affairs to the States General, who by their anſwer, ſhewed their approbation of the Aſſembly's conduct, threatened the Remonſtrants

with proceeding againſt them, as deſpiſing the publick Authority, in caſe they continued obſtinate in diſobeying the Synod, and at the ſame time ordered them to be judged upon their writings. After reading this letter, the Preſident asked the cited perſons, if they ſtill acknowledged the five Articles of the Conference at the Hague for their real ſentiments? The Remonſtrants perſiſted in their former anſwers, by a writing, wherein they endeavoured to prove how unjuſt it was for one ſide to preſcribe bounds of diſputing to the other, and not to allow them to attack the contrary opinion farther than they ſhould judge proper.

At laſt, on the 11th of January, a full and entire liberty to explain and confute was promiſed to the accuſed; only they were required to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be required of them, and reproached with ſeeking all opportunities of wrangling, by forming conteſts upon the manner of diſputing. Epiſcopius immediately anſwered, that in order no longer to have any diſputes about the manner, they might give in their queſtions in writing, and they would anſwer them. Upon this it was imagined, that the happy moment of a peaceable conference was come.

On the 14th of January, the politick Deputies agreed in private with the perſons cited, that they ſhould have the queſtions given them in writing, that they ſhould anſwer in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time explain their doctrine. All this gave hopes that the debates would ſoon end, and the Remonſtrants be favourably treated; but that hope was vain, the Remonſtrants were ſent away, and condemned upon their books. The diviſions which perplexed and diſturbed moſt of the Miniſters and Profeſſors, made them come to no determination upon Predeſtination: And it may be ſaid, that all the ſucceſs of the Synod, after condemning the Remonſtrants, tended only to two circumſtances. The firſt, the occaſioning John Barnevelt to die upon a Scaffold, a man ſo valuable to Holland, by the great ſervices he had done them. He was beheaded at the Hague the 13th of May 1619, at 73 years of age, upon an accuſation of being the Author of the Arminian Sedition.

Spond. an. 1619.

The ſecond, was the ſtill raiſing the diviſions of the ſeven Provinces into a greater ferment, by the different Sects that endeavoured to make a body by themſelves, the moſt conſiderable of which were the Calvino-papiſts, the Puritans, the Browniſts, the Brochtriniſts, the Gomariſts, or Antiremonſtrants, and the Arminians or Remonſtrants: And theſe

theſe laſt have been ſo induſtrious, notwithſtanding perſecutions, baniſhments, and impriſonment, the death of their Chief, and of moſt of their Miniſters, as to have obtained the free exerciſe of their Religion in ſeveral Provinces, and particularly all over Holland, except Leyden and Harlem.

Lewis de Caſtro *de div. Rel.* Malderus *in antiq. Syn.* Spond, Meurſius, Thuldenus, have ſpoken of this matter, and particularly an Engliſhman, named Peter Heylin, Chaplain to King Charles I. in an Engliſh book tranſlated by his Son Gerard Brandt, entitled, *Hiſtory of the five Articles . . . . . wherein conſiſts that which is called Arminianiſm.* Bibl. Univ. To. 4. p. 323.

CHAP. XXXII.

Continuation of the ſame Subject, wherein are contained ſome of the opinions at this time followed by the Remonſtrants, and particularly that of Toleration, which makes them look upon the SOCINIANS *as brethren in* CHRIST.

SINCE the Remonſtrants have maintained themſelves in England, Holland, and other Provinces, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made againſt them, it may be ſaid that they have very much changed opinions. They have not adhered to the five Articles ſo much conteſted, but have added others, which are of quite another conſequence as to the different ſects that divide the Chriſtian world. The Chief is that of Toleration, in which they pride themſelves, and on which they ſet the higheſt value in their Writings, and in conſequence thereof think themſelves obliged in conſcience to look upon as brethren all Chriſtians who are not Idolaters, whoſe morals are not vitious, who tyrannize over no body, and who believe the fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Religion, upon condition however that none attempt to tyrannize over them. To countenance ſo new a paradox unknown among the Catholicks, and Reformed, they pretend, that ſince diſputes have baniſhed peace from amongſt the Churches, there is no way to bring her back but *a mutual Toleration, whereby we bear with moderation thoſe who are not of our ſentiments in things of leſs importance.* They call it mutual, becauſe every party thinking themſelves to have the truth on their ſide, are obliged

obliged to have the ſame deference for the opinions of their adverſaries, as they require of them for their own.

They pretend that the Scripture recommends this virtue, when it forbids us to judge our neighbour, Matth. c. vii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Cor. c. iv. 5. Rom. c. xiv. 4. when JESUS CHRIST forbids the pulling up of the Tare. Matt. c. xiii. That St. Paul orders us to bear with the infirmities of the weak. Rom. c. xv. 1, 2. That GOD forbids us to curſe thoſe whom he hath not curſed. Num. c. xxiii. 8. and that he commands us to bleſs ſuch as are bleſſed with the faithful Abraham. Now all ſuch (it is their own concluſion) as believe in JESUS CHRIST, who acknowledge his myſteries, and apply themſelves to him as their only SAVIOUR, are true Sons of Abraham, which appears throughout all the New Teſtament. They add the example of our SAVIOUR, and his Apoſtles, who bore with many errors in their diſciples Luke, c. ix. 45. John, c. xx. 9. Act. c. xviii. 25, and c. xxi. 20. There is no reaſon, continue they, for believing that the mind is better purified than the body, or that our ſanctification is more perfect than our knowledge; and as GOD and his Church bear with the weakneſs of their Children, nor cut the Faithful off from Communion with them, for an ordinary ſin, it is abſurd to excommunicate them for errors which do not deſtroy the eſſence of piety.

This Toleration, according to them, conſiſts not only in ſuffering ſuch as differ from them in points not eſſential to the Chriſtian Religion to frequent their Churches, but alſo to allow them the *liberty of propheſying*. And this liberty, according to Voëtius, conſiſts in being able, either by word of mouth, or by writing, either in the Academies, or in the Pulpit, either by the explanation of any particular Text of Scripture, or by expounding the Catechiſm, to be able, I ſay, to propound, explain, or defend our opinion, and confute that of our Adverſaries, with the ſame liberty as they have againſt whom we diſpute.

This liberty, ſay they, is neceſſary. 1. Upon account of the uncertainty of our opinions, and for fear, leaſt under pretence of driving away error, we ſhould ſhut the door againſt truth. 2. Becauſe it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, ſo long as we refuſe to hear the reaſons of others. 3. Becauſe the impoſing ſilence upon people who believe they maintain the truth, who are willing and ready to give the reaſons they have for it, and to receive

any lights we can give them therein, is to make them act againſt their conſcience, which in conſequence of ſuch a conduct muſt accuſe them of cowardice and perfidy. 4. To this they add, that if one ſide be enjoined ſilence, before they have been convinced of error, they are obliged to defend their writings, a thing which ſcandalizes mankind, and renders uſeleſs the talents thoſe people ſo erring might have as to other things. 5. That ſuch a rigorous ſeverity is contrary to the practice of the whole Church, which in all ages has invited the learned to give their opinions freely upon matters of difficulty. That it is fit for no other thing than to introduce tyranny and create Schiſms, as it appears by that which has happened between the Lutherans and Calviniſts, becauſe of the former's refuſing to make any peace with the latter, except the Reformed would hold their tongues, and ſuffer the Lutherans to enjoy all manner of freedom in publiſhing their ſentiments.

It is under the ſhade of this new Tenet ſo firmly eſtabliſhed among the Remonſtrants, that the Socinians are welcome in their Churches, and are looked upon there as true children of Abraham, who maintain no opinion contrary to the fundamental points of the Chriſtian Religion.

Theſe fundamental Articles (another invention of the Arminians to countenance their Toleration, and which they diſtinguiſh from the other which are not neceſſary to ſalvation, and, by way of diſtinction from the others, call non-fundamental or acceſſory, or at beſt) theſe articles, I ſay, are reduced to ſo few things, that there is no Chriſtian ſect, whatever hereſy it may follow, that is at ſo great a diſtance from them, as not to have a right of aſſociating with the Arminians.

Philip Limborch, a Profeſſor of Divinity amongſt the Remonſtrants, who has given us a compleat idea enough of the entire Theology of [illegible] ſect, in a work entitled: *Theologiæ Chriſtianæ, ad praxim pietatis, ac promotionem pacis Chriſtianæ unicè directa*, fixes two rules for diſtinguiſhing ſuch articles as are fundamental, from ſuch as are not ſo, viz. Faith and Sanctification, two things which GOD indiſpenſably requires of us. From thence, ſays he, it follows firſt, that whatever is neceſſary in order to believe in JESUS CHRIST, is abſolutely neceſſary in order to obtain Salvation. Secondly, That all ſuch Tenets, without the belief of which we cannot be ſanctified, in the manner required of us by the GOSPEL, are fundamental.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That whatever is not contained in the Scripture is not neceſſary to Salvation, no more than what is endeavoured to be collected from it by ſubtil and diſtant conſequences; or what is in truth clearly contained in it, but which however the ſame Scripture aſſures us is not neceſſarily connected with the true faith, the not knowing which does not prevent our truly believing in GOD, and obeying his commandments. Fourthly, That all opinions purely ſpeculative are to be ſtruck out of the number of fundamental Articles, and ſuch as do not at all influence either our Faith or Manners. Fifthly, All ſuch Tenets, which though they may contribute to piety, yet are not ſo abſolutely neceſſary to it, but that we may be ſincerely pious without them. Sixthly, All ſuch Doctrines, which though very ſtrictly and intimately united to each other, and to the obſervation of JESUS CHRIST's Precepts, yet do not appear in that light to thoſe who reject them; provided, that without believing in them, they ſincerely attach themſelves to a pious life. Seventhly, and laſtly, and it is his own concluſion, that as we ought to look upon all ſuch as real unbelievers who reject any fundamental Article, ſo ought we to conſider ſuch as true Chriſtians, who receive all the fundamental points, and live conformably to the Precepts which JESUS CHRIST has given us, though otherwiſe they may be miſtaken in many things.

Limborch does his beſt in Chap. xxii. l. 7. to prove theſe maxims, and to ſhew, that they between whom there is no fundamental controverſy, ought mutually to bear with each other; that they, whoſe conduct is different, uſurp upon the the prerogatives of GOD, who alone can impoſe on us the neceſſity of believing and performing certain things, in order to obtain ſalvation, ſo long as they condemn ſuch, whom GOD himſelf condemns not, and exclude ſuch from their Communion, whom he will receive into heaven: That they are guilty of a breach of Charity by their refuſing to bear with the infirmities of their brethren: That they wound Truth, by taking away from Chriſtians the liberty of examining into deciſions not eſtabliſhed upon clear paſſages of the Holy Scripture, and which perhaps are nothing but errors: That they neglect the precepts of the Apoſtles, who command us to bear with the errors of our brethren, and who forbid us to judge thoſe whoſe abſolution or condemnation belongs to GOD alone: In ſhort, that they cauſe an infinite number of Schiſms and Diviſions, inaſmuch, as it is eaſy to agree in fundamental points which are clear of themſelves; ſo is it almoſt impoſſible, in that prodigious

prodigious variety of tempers and underſtandings found in the world, to agree in every thing, and eſpecially in things obſcure and perplexed, ſuch as are the ſubject of thoſe controverſies now reigning amongſt the Proteſtants.

Thus, concludes he, if we are to ſeparate upon queſtions which contain nothing fundamental in them, we ſhall every day ſee new Sects ſpringing up; or, on the other hand, if we conſtrain people to profeſs all the Tenets which Divines ſhall think fit to ſet up, the Chriſtian world will be filled with ignorant or hypocritical perſons.

It would be to no purpoſe to enter into a longer detail of thoſe reaſons which the Remonſtrants bring to authorize their doctrine of Toleration. The difficulty is to know whether the Socinians do not ſwerve from thoſe fundamental Articles: The Remonſtrants ſay they do not, becauſe the Socinians believe there is an Eternal Being all good, all wiſe, all powerful, Creator of Heaven and Earth, &c. that all the Hiſtory of JESUS CHRIST, contained in the Evangeliſts is true; that all that he hath ſaid is true; that in order to be ſaved, we muſt believe in him, obey his commandments, and hope in his promiſes; that he is now reigning in Heaven, and ſhall come to raiſe and judge, to reward and to puniſh all men according to their actions. Such are the fundamental points, and no more is to be believed in order to Salvation, according to the Remonſtrants; and it would, add they, be hard-hearted and running counter to the practice of JESUS CHRIST and his Apoſtles, to exclude from the Communion of the Faithful, or imagine to be damned, ſuch who embrace theſe ſentiments, and beſides, live a good life. To pronounce ſentence of damnation clear formal paſſages are neceſſary, importing that ſuch ſhall be damned, who ſhall not believe ſuch and ſuch truths. Now there are no ſuch in the Scripture, requiring other things than what the Socinians believe. Bibliothoſie. To. 3.

From hence we are to conclude, if we will hold with the Arminian Divinity, that the doctrines of a GOD in three perſons; of a GOD incarnate and made man; of the two natures and wills of this God-man; and all the other myſteries inſeparable from theſe doctrines, are no fundamental Articles, and that we may be ſaved without believing them explicitly or implicitly.

And this is Epiſcopius's opinion, the chief pillar of the Arminian party, and one of the ableſt men of the ſeventeenth Century, who

have appeared in Holland. This Miniſter, in his Theological Inſtitutions ſo boaſted of by Grotius, and even by Father Mabillon, calls in queſtion the Myſteries of the TRINITY, and Incarnation, and does not think the belief of them neceſſary to Salvation: Becauſe, according to him, they are not to be found in the Scripture in a clear plain manner, no more than other opinions, which divide Chriſtians; from whence he concludes, that there is no reaſon for rejecting the Socinians from the Communion.

It is this Toleration, as well as this diſtinction of fundamental, and Nonfundamental points, and the conſequences which the Arminians infer from them, which has made many Catholick and Proteſtant Writers ſay, that the Remonſtrants are real Socinians, and that Epiſcopius had done worſe than Arminius. The latter, ſays M. Boſſuet, has turned Calviniſm into Pelagianiſm, but the former has brought the Calviniſt Remonſtrants over to Toleration, and by degrees into the errors of Socinus; ſo that to be an Arminian and a Socinian, is now-a-days almoſt the ſame thing.

Inſtruct. ſur le N. Teſtam. de Trevoux.

Pag. 1471. The Miniſter Jurieu, in his book upon *the defence of the doctrine of the univerſal Church*, againſt the evidence which Elias Saurin ſays there is of the doctrines of Religion, inſiſts that the Arminians and other Sectaries, whom he calls Latitudinarians, reaſon upon the doctrines commonly received and avowed by other Communions, viz. original Sin, the neceſſity of irreſiſtible Grace, the Eternal Divinity of the SON of GOD and of the HOLY GHOST, their Conſubſtantiality with the FATHER, the TRINITY of perſons in one ſingle Eſſence, the Eternity of Hell-puniſhments, the reſurrection of the ſame fleſh, the Creation of the world made out of nothing, reaſon, ſays he, as upon points of Divinity which are neither decided, nor fundamental; that no Chriſtian is obliged to believe them, neither under eternal nor temporal puniſhments, and pretend that we have entire liberty of conſcience not to believe them, becauſe, according to them, they cannot be demonſtratively enough proved by paſſages of ſcripture alone, to draw an entire and full evidence from them. If Jurieu ſays true in what he relates of the Arminians, there is no doubt to be made but they are real Socinians, and after that there is no longer any room for ſurprize if the Socinians are welcome among them.

Upon

Upon theſe accuſations, M. Le Clerc, another Remonſtrant, cries out ignorance, injuſtice, calumny! he tells M. Boſſuet, that if he had read the inſtitutions of Epiſcopius, and the profeſſion of Faith of the Remonſtrants, he would have obſerved, that upon the Articles of the Trinity and Redemption they talk otherwiſe than the Socinians, and that he would have forborn imitating the Mob of the Clergy, ignorant and opiniative, who brand people with the name of Socinians, for want of better reaſons, and that it is ſhameful to ſcandalize and abuſe people whoſe ſentiments we are ſtrangers to. Bibl. choiſie, To. 5. p. 306.

In a letter the ſame perſon writ by order of his Superiors to the Miniſter Jurieu, upon his having accuſed Epiſcopius with two things, the one, of being a Socinian, and the other, with being an enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, he ſays to that Miniſter, The latter Head is no more than a conſequence of the former, according to your way of reaſoning; ſo that if the firſt be proved to be a groſs calumny, you will be convicted, according to your own principles, of accuſing a man without grounds of the moſt deteſtable hypocriſy, who has always profeſſed to believe in JESUS CHRIST, and has given ſhining proofs of his faith: After which he ſhews him, that as to the TRINITY, and the ſacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, Epiſcopius was very far from the ſentiments of the Socinians. He points out to him ſeveral of his writings, wherein he has in a very clear manner explained his opinion upon thoſe two capital points, and refuted that of the Socinians. The firſt point of accuſation thus confuted, he inſiſts that the laſt falls upon himſelf, being only a conſequence of the firſt, and that the conduct and writings of Epiſcopius plainly demonſtrate that he was a man of virtue, conſcience, and Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion.

To theſe complaints and abuſive words of M. Le Clerc, it may be anſwered, that Epiſcopius might probably believe in JESUS CHRIST without believing him to be the ſupreme GOD, as the Socinians do; or he might believe that JESUS CHRIST was the ſupreme GOD, without believing it to be a fundamental point: In ſhort, that he might think and believe quite otherwiſe than Socinus and his diſciples on the myſteries of the TRINITY, and of the Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, without endeavouring to oblige his Church to believe in them, as points eſſential to Salvation.

That he has no reaſon to tax thoſe with ignorance, who accuſe the Arminians of ſocinianiſing, ſince they are not only particular men, ſuch as Meſſieurs Nicole, Boſſuet, Stouppe, Jurieu, Hubert and others of both Communions; but likewiſe Synods, and particularly that of Rotterdam in the year 1641, compoſed of the Miniſters and Divines of South Holland, who in their letter to the Magiſtrates and Profeſſors of Breme, concerning the diſpute of univerſal Grace, accuſed thoſe Univerſaliſts, or Univerſals (that is, the Arminians) of Sabellianiſm, Photinianiſm, Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm, Sadduceianiſm, and even of Atheiſm.

Stouppe, Lett. 2.

Bibl. Univerſ. To. 17. p. 341

To this Synod we may add the opinion, almoſt unanimous, of the Reformed of the low Countries, whoſe profeſſion of Faith conſiſts of a greater number of Articles than that of the Arminians. They have often reproached theſe with oppoſing the Confeſſions of Faith received amongſt them, thereby to introduce Pyrrhoniſm into Religion, and their Divinity with changing every year, every month, every day, and even every hour in the day: *Theologia annua, menſtrua, diurna, horaria.* It is true, the Arminians have anſwered thoſe reproaches; but how? To the firſt reproach they have anſwered, that they could not do otherwiſe without renouncing the firſt principles of the Reformation, and that it would be raſhneſs and inſolence in them, who thus reproached them, after having themſelves laid aſide the Authority of the Fathers, the Councils, and all Antiquity. Their anſwer to the ſecond reproach is this, that any Syſtem of Divinity is not at all the better for its Antiquity, and that it may happen that ſuch a Syſtem, though of a thouſand years ſtanding, may be worſe than any of the new ones. *Non Theologia vera eſt Theologia, quia conſtanter retinetur, aut diù durat: milleriaria Theologia poteſt eſſe omnium peſſima:* If it be ſo, may we add, and we be obliged, over again, and without end, to examine the belief of the Church, we may ſay with Tertullian, that we ſhall always be ſeeking, and never perfectly believe. Alas! When ſhall we give over our ſearch, and have a fixed and ſettled Faith? *Semper quæremus, nunquam, omnino credemus; ubi enim erit Finis quærendi, ubi credendi?*

Simon. *Anſwer to defen. of Divines of* Holland, p. 65 *and* 68.

To conclude, if the Arminians take the Accuſation of being Socinians ſo much to heart, why do they admit them into their Churches? *Tell me your Company*, ſaid one of the antients, *and I will tell you what you are.* Why do they not act as the Churches of Geneva, of the

the Swiſs Cantons of Germany, Muſcovy, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, &c. who allow of no ſuch people, but have made rigorous Laws againſt them, Laws which thoſe Churches obſerve in the ſtricteſt manner, to hinder their living amongſt them peaceably, and in the exerciſe of their Opinions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Some Societies accuſed of SOCINIANISM *tolerated in Holland, and why?*

The COCCEIANS.

COCCEIUS, after having peſtered the publick with a prodigious number of Books on ſeveral Subjects, and eſpecially upon the Old and New Teſtament; and after many ſharp conteſts with the Miniſters and moſt famous Profeſſors of the ſeven Provinces, was at laſt, he and his diſciples, accuſed with being Socinians, and upon good grounds. To be convinced of it, we need only refer to what a noted Cocceian tells us; it is Bodaan, who takes upon him the title of Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel, in a Book which has in it the principal opinions of the Sect, and is entitled, *The doctrine of truth, according to piety.* This Writer, after giving us Cocceius's imaginations upon the Covenants which the LORD hath made with mankind, ſays, that JESUS CHRIST aboliſhed the old Teſtament to ſet up another, wherein are contained promiſes much more excellent. This is the New Teſtament, which in his language, is *an immutable will to give, by way of addition, to the heirs of the Covenant of Grace, who ſhould be alive after the Aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt to the end of the world, bleſſings and ſpiritual graces, inſtead of the benefits of this world, and of the land of Canaan.* The contracting parties are, one ſide, the Eternal, Amen, the Faithful, the Real; and on the other, the Elect of all Nations, and all ſuch as ſhall believe in CHRIST, as well Jews as Greeks. That the condition annexed to theſe promiſes is no longer a General Faith in the Mercy of GOD, and in the promiſed Redeemer, without knowing him diſtinctly; but a preciſe and determinate Faith in this JESUS the SON of Mary, and of GOD who died, was raiſed again, and who being the true JESUS, the perfect

Bibl. Univ. To. 1. p. 228. *Heb. 8. v. 6.*

fect Saviour, is now the ſole King, Pontif, and Soveraign Doctor of the Church, in excluſion of all Prieſts and Doctors of the antient people, who had only the name of Gods, which are the Principalities and Powers whom he deſpoiled of their authority upon the Croſs.

By this, we ſee he thinks and talks of JESUS CHRIST in the ſame manner as Servetus, Socinus, and all the Socinians, that is, as of a Man, and a Creature much more excellent than all others, to whom he aſcribes the title of SON of GOD, not upon account of his eternal generation, or his eſſence or divine perſon, but upon account of the extraordinary gifts he has received; gifts which make him a GOD more excellent than the Prophets, and great men of the Law, who alſo had the name of Gods given them: He is, I ſay, a greater GOD than they, becauſe they received not the gifts of the HOLY GHOST but in parcels, but he received the fulneſs of them.

Theſe are not ſentiments which I aſcribe to him, nor any falſe interpretation I make of his words. When he explains the third promiſe which he has framed in the Covenant, and which is conceived in theſe terms, *I will be their God, and they ſhall be my People* (that is, according to Bodaan) I will bleſs them, and let them ſee by effects in fulfilling my promiſes, and giving them the truth after types and figures, that I am that GOD who made a Covenant with them, he ſays theſe words muſt be referred to thoſe promiſes made by GOD, Gen. xvii. 8. Lev. xvi. 2. And that it is the ſame in relation to this phraſe, as to that where GOD ſays he had not been known to the Patriarchs under the name of *Jehovah*, becauſe that name includes the Idea of a Being powerful and juſt in keeping his promiſes, and that the promiſe of giving the land of Canaan to their poſterity, had not as yet been fulfilled. Thus, according to Cocceius, GOD takes the name of the GOD of the Chriſtians, and calls them his people in a particular manner, becauſe it is under the New Teſtament that he has verified the promiſes made by the Prophets to ſend the Meſſiah into the world. But he carries his explanation farther, and adds (and here is the Socinianiſm) that the Jews were governed by ſeventy El-
Gal. iv. 2. ders, amongſt whom the ſpirit of Moſes had been divided; that thoſe Elders were the Guardians of the antient people, until the time de-
John x. 35 termined by the FATHER, and that they were called Gods, becauſe the word of GOD was directed to them, and becauſe they pronounced Oracles on the Earth: But that JESUS CHRIST being come,

come, or *God being manifeſted in the fleſh*, the reign of thoſe who bore the name of GOD was at an end; they died like the reſt of mankind, according to the Pſalmiſt made by St. Paul, Heb. i. 6. who ſays, that GOD had commanded the *Elohim*, the Magiſtrates of the Jews to worſhip his Firſt-born; from whence Cocceius concludes, that this Phraſe, *I will be their God*, ſignifies, that under the Goſpel the LORD ſhould reign by himſelf; that JESUS CHRIST, the King of the Church, ſhould have no Companion, and that neither in Heaven nor in Earth ſhould there be *any other God than the Father, nor any other Lord than Jeſus Chriſt.*

Heb. xii. 25. Pſal. lxxxii. 6 *and* 7. Pſa. xcvii. 7. 1 Cor. viii. 5 *and* 6.

The Socinians explain themſelves no otherwiſe in all their writings; they talk in the ſame manner alſo, and go no farther, viz. that there is no other GOD than the FATHER, and no other LORD than JESUS CHRIST. If thoſe Gentlemen would give proofs of their Orthodoxy concerning a GOD in three perſons, and the conſubſtantial Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, why do they not ſay that there is no other GOD than the FATHER, with our LORD JESUS CHRIST and the HOLY GHOST?

Cocceius, upon the fourth Benefit of the Covenant, viz. *That no man ſhall henceforth teach his neighbour, ſaying, know the Eternal, for they all ſhall know me, from the ſmalleſt to the greateſt*, ſays, The Succeſſors of Moſes had the key of knowledge, they ſat in the Chair; 'twas to them that application was to be made for inſtruction as to the ſenſe of the law, and meaning of what was repreſented under ſo many types and figures; but as the Sufferings and Glory of the SON of GOD are the Key of all the Prophecies, the leaſt of the Faithful have this divine Key, ſince they all know that JESUS CHRIST was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, &c. This is that ſpirit which GOD had promiſed to ſend down among his ſervants of all ages, ſexes, and conditions; from whence he concludes, that all the Faithful who have received the Unction of the HOLY GHOST, who know all the truths neceſſary to ſalvation, and who have the word of the Goſpel in their mouth, and at their heart, have no need of the inſtructions of a maſter: And that ſuch who magiſterially and tyrannically obtrude all their deciſions upon men, under the penalty of anathema, bear the marks of Anti-chriſt.

Deut. xviii. 8. Mala. ii. 7. Luke ii 25 *and* 32. Joel ii. 1 John ii. 20 *and* 27. Rom. x. 4 *and* 8.

So that, in the opinion of the *Cocceians*, the whole knowledge of Salvation conſiſts ſingly in knowing, not that JESUS CHRIST is the only

1 Joh. ii. 18 *and* 19.

only SON of GOD, consubstantial and coeternal with the FATHER, the supreme and only GOD, but that he was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, &c. This is the favourite opinion of the Socinians; so that the HOLY GHOST, promised by the Prophets, and given to the Apostles and the Church, is not a soveraign and eternal GOD, but a knowledge which we have of the Sufferings and of the Glory of JESUS CHRIST. Nay, the Socinians go not so far; so that knowing that JESUS CHRIST was conceived of the HOLY GHOST, born of the Virgin Mary, &c. we have no farther occasion for Masters, Synods, &c. to instruct us. With this knowledge we know every thing, we have a right to prophesy and to speak every where, and all Synods and Doctors are so many Tyrants, and bear the Character of Antichrist, if they take upon them to teach us. Just Consequences of the Paradoxes of the *Cocceians*, but perfectly Socinian, and which favour a more dangerous fanaticism than any that ever appeared.

Examinat. and refutat. of the answ. of Irenæus Philalethes *by* Philalethes Eliezer, &c.

To these errors may be added those concerning the knowledge we can have as to GOD and his perfections: They pretend that we come not by them any otherwise than by natural light only, and that all explanation of Scripture passages contrary to this light, is a false explanation; and speaking of Sunday, they say, that we are not obliged under pain of sinning to keep it holy, which is no more than a ceremonial precept which Grace hath abolished, or a figure of the spiritual Sabbath.

All these Paradoxes are Socinian; and indeed most of the Ministers and Professors of the Seven Provinces, and particularly Mr. Demarets and Voëtius, have maintained, that the Sentiments of the Cocceians, 1. Were heterodox, and favourable to the Pelagians and Socinians. 2. That they were dangerous novelties. 3. That their explanations of the Scripture differed from the received version and explanations. 4. That they had certain phrases and thoughts, which they were perpetually repeating in their Books and Sermons. 5. That according to them, the Christian Religion seemed to be nothing more than a distinction of Æconomies, of Covenants, of a Testament, of Laws given before and after the golden Ass, of Ordinances good and bad; than *Paresis*, than *Aphesis*, than *Gods named*, than Fathers in the flesh, than an addition of drunkenness to that of hunger, than mystical explanations of parables, histories, prophecies, &c.

Bibl. Univ. To. 5. p. 115.

I will

I will ſtop here; theſe expreſſions, which ſhew more of a depraved mind, and of fanaticiſm, than of Chriſtian Religion, make very little or nothing to my ſubject; but I will ſay, that ſince the Anabaptiſts, the Mennonites, the Remonſtrants, and the *Cocceians*, without entring into particulars concerning ſome other Sects, are tolerated, maintained, and countenanced in Holland, it muſt therefore be owned, that the Socinians have a full and entire liberty of conſcience to propheſy, ſpeak, teach, write, and perform alſo the exerciſes of their Religion.

I back my concluſion with what thoſe perſons ſay of Holland, who have a perfect knowledge of it.

I ſhall begin with what Mr. de Viſé has told us of it; a man ſo known in the world by his many changes in Religion, a man who has been known to be a Catholick, a Proteſtant, a Calviniſt, a ſtanch Socinian and Arian, and at laſt a Catholick again. Noel Aubert de Viſé.

I ſay a ſtanch Socinian and Arian: And it is he himſelf who tells us ſo. He owns, that whilſt he was within the pale of the Roman Church, he could never be ſatisfied in his mind upon the points of the TRINITY, and of a GOD incarnate, and that he was not ſorry to have been obliged, by a ſtorm raiſed againſt him, to quit that Church, and retire into Holland, where he could freely and publickly profeſs an opinion which he could neither hide nor diſſemble without great pain, and many ſcruples of conſcience. This opinion is that of the Socinians. Antiſocinian, p. 10.

"By this (they are his own words) I do not mean the error "particular to Faſtus Socinus; namely, that JESUS CHRIST is meer "man according to his ſubſtance, and that he began to exiſt no other-"wiſe than by the birth he received of Mary. It is true that I have "been of this opinion, but I can affirm, that I did not long conti-"nue in it, finding it impoſſible to convince myſelf of it. By So-"cinianiſm, continues he, I mean, the Hereſy of all ſuch who at "this time of day reject the myſtery of the TRINITY, and cannot "believe that JESUS CHRIST is the eternal SON of GOD, born "of his own proper ſubſtance before all ages, and together with him "and the HOLY GHOST, making but one ſingle, and identical na-"ture, one only and identical power, glory, and majeſty.

This Hereſy is that of the antient Arians; Aubert de Viſé then was a true and real Arian, after having for ſome time been a real Socinian.

It is during that time he writ ſome Books againſt the myſtery of the TRINITY, and the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST; and particularly thoſe entitled, *The pacifick Proteſtant, and the tomb of Socinianiſm:* Books, by his own profeſſion, prophane and dangerous to the Catholick Doctrine; and which he undertook the refutation of, as well as of the reaſons he had to turn Socinian and Arian, by another Book entitled, *The Antiſocinian, or a new Apology for the Catholick Faith againſt the Socinians*, at Paris 1692, which he compoſed and publiſhed by order of the Clergy of France, from whom he received a penſion, in order to give the world proofs of the ſincerity of his return to the Roman Church.

All his Acquaintance are not agreed as to the ſincerity of this return; there are ſome who ſuſpect it, and others who aſſure us of it. Some of a pretty general Acquaintance in the world, and who converſed with him, have affirmed to me, that he never was a good Catholick, but died at Paris, ſpreading abroad his Socinian Doctrines to ſuch as would give him the hearing, and when he imagined he ran no riſque by ſo doing: But on the other hand, others, whoſe ſincerity and probity I cannot in the leaſt queſtion, and who often converſed with him, and during ſeveral years adminiſtred the Sacraments of the Church to him, and particularly the Communion at Eaſter, have aſſured me, that they never perceived any thing in him capable of making them in the leaſt doubt, that ſince his converſion, which laſted at leaſt twenty years, he ever gave into Socinianiſm, though they have often had diſputes with him upon thoſe points in Religion, which the Calviniſts conteſt with us, and that he died in the pariſh of St. Bennet, with all the ſigns of a true Roman Catholick. I think we ought to hold to this latter teſtimony as the ſurer.

Antiſocinian, p. 12. Aubert de Viſé, after relating his motives for retiring to Holland, in order the more freely to profeſs his Socinianiſm there, begs his Readers to conſider, that ſuch of the Proteſtant Churches of Holland, which the moſt heartily declared againſt Socinianiſm, are now-a-days full of an infinite number of perſons, who openly profeſs to tolerate it, which has produced that party among them called Tolerants, together with that great quarrel which at preſent divides the Reformed: That this party ſeems to be a little low at preſent; but that the truth is, that it is the moſt powerful and numerous, and that if death had taken off ſome particular men of the contrary ſide, and

who

who now make the moſt noiſe againſt Toleration, and Tolerants, and yet who are look'd upon but as paſſionate and ſeditious people, of whom the falſe Prophet Jurieu was the Chief, the Tolerants would be the uppermoſt. And we may add, that they are ſo; GOD has delivered Holland and the World from that falſe Prophet.

Beſides this, continues he, there are large Communions of Proteſtants, who not only openly declare for the Toleration of Socinianiſm, as for example that of the Remonſtrants, with which the Church of England very much ſympathiſes, but which alſo make profeſſion of Socinianiſm; as for example, the famous Anabaptiſt Congregation of the Phyſician Galenus, who is ſtiled the learned, the eloquent, and the skilful, and who openly profeſſes Arianiſm; and likewiſe that of the Quakers, as well in Holland as England, where it is allowed to believe any thing, provided you affirm ſeriouſly and ſtrongly that it is the ſpirit of GOD, and his inward light that illuminates you.

We need go no farther than this evidence, ſeeing that the Sieur Aubert had a perfect knowledge of the Churches of Holland: He was a Miniſter there, and had intimate friends amongſt the Remonſtrants, the Antiremonſtrants, the Anabaptiſts, the Quakers, the Arians, &c. and had even the confidence of one of the moſt curious men of thoſe Provinces. I mean Chriſtopher Sandius the Son, for they both lived long enough together at the houſe of the Elzevirs.

However, as a ſtronger confirmation, I will add others who ſtill appear to me of greater weight, and who ſtill go farther: The firſt is Monſieur Baillet. After telling us that Holland has drawn upon herſelf the jealouſy of other nations, by the merit and reputation of ſeveral learned men who have retired to her, and who have excelled in almoſt all parts of human knowledge, he adds, "But if on the one "hand we cannot without grief ſee the loſs of ſo many good ſub- "jects, whom the Schiſm of Hereſy has made obnoxious or uſeleſs "to the Catholick Church, we cannot, on the other hand, but feel a "reſentment and indignation againſt Holland, which ſuffers with im- "punity, not only *Socinians*, Anabaptiſts, and Mennonites, to "creep in amongſt her writers, but alſo Deiſts, and even profeſſed "Atheiſts. Jug. des Sav. To. 1. p. 281.

This is not a particular Complaint confined to Mr. Baillet, it is almoſt univerſal. There are few who have travelled into Holland, and

converſed with their Miniſters, Profeſſors, and men of learning, who do not ſay the ſame thing.

Bibl. choiſie, To. 24. p. 318. Mr. Le Clerc ſays enough upon this fact to convince us, that things are juſt as Mr. Baillet has repreſented them. After telling us, that Mr. Bayle did his utmoſt to introduce Atheiſm and Pyrrhoniſm into Holland, he adds, "Others have endeavoured to introduce Spinoſiſm amongſt us, under the ſpecious name of the moſt rigid Orthodoxy, and it is certain, that many have ſuffered themſelves to be infected with it. And had men oppoſed this diſguiſed Orthodoxy, continues Mr. Le Clerc, as Jaquelot, Bernard, and others did, perhaps the Progreſs of it might have been ſtopped. We ought therefore to conclude, that it has not been ſtopped; nor ought we to be ſurprized at it: It is thither that the principle of Toleration in matters of Religion, ſo well maintained and purſued in Holland and England, of neceſſity leads mankind, together with the Hollanders natural lightneſs and inconſtancy of temper, who cannot long remain firm to one Belief.

Bibl. choiſie, To. 11.

Hubert. To. 3. rerum in orbe geſtarum, &c. Upon this occaſion a Writer obſerves, that ſince the Entrance of the Reformation into the united Provinces, Religion has never continued upon the ſame foot above thirty years. Religion, ſays he, ſubſiſted upon the ſame foot whereon it was ſettled by thoſe called Leaguers, from the year 1572, to the year 1602; at which time Arminianiſm began to make a noiſe, and which took up thirty years in its growth and declenſion: But the diſputes upon Predeſtination, and thoſe points thereon depending, growing cool, the profeſſion called Voëtianiſm was ſeen to ſpring up, which in its growth and declenſion has taken the ſame time. We have ſeen *Cocceianiſm* ariſe, which has not been in vogue any longer a time; and we may add, that whilſt the greateſt part of the Dutch fell into the Sects, others declared for *Socinianiſm*, Bohmiſm, Labadiſm, Commenianiſm, Hobbiſm, Spinoſiſm, and many others called Seekers of Religion, Latitudinarians, Tolerants, &c.

Jug. des Sav. To. 1. p. 403. So that it may be ſaid, that the Religion of the Dutch is a real *Syncretiſm*, or *Syncratiſm*, that is, a confuſed jumble of all ſorts of Religions, or an union of all the Sects ſeparated by Schiſm from the Roman Church. And indeed Kempius, ſpeaking of Holland, calls it a ſecond Africk, teeming with fanatick monſters, where new ones every day ſpring up as to Religion, which ought never to change.

Chariſma. Triad. ſeu Biblioth. Angl. p. 350.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

France unjuſtly accuſed of SOCINIANISM, *and defended.*

AS the accuſations againſt France in regard to Socinianiſm are unjuſt, falſe, and groundleſs, and known to be ſuch by all who have any idea of the State of this Kingdom, I ſhall be very brief upon this head; nor would I have entred into it at all, did it not appear by ſome writings, that not only the whole Kingdom in general is accuſed of Socinianiſm, but ſome Catholicks and Reformed Societies, and ſeveral particular perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, by their writings, their faith, and their piety.

They who accuſe France of Socinianiſm are the Proteſtants of Germany, deceived into it by the writings of Father Zachary de Lizicux, which they take for the plauſible Truths of *Petrus Firmianus*, and upon no better grounds have publiſhed in their writings, that France, and in particular that the City of Paris was filled with Atheiſts; that there were even Colleges and Academies of them; that the Aſſemblies of theſe new Doctors were held at night only, and that they already had more than fifty thouſand Proſelytes from the year 1653. Jugem. des Savans To. 1.

The Calviniſts diſguſted with the Conduct of the King's Council, and of the Clergy of France, in regard to themſelves, have made uſe of the ſame fictions in order to perſuade the world that there was a formidable party of Deiſts and Socinians in France. Polit. du Clergé.

The ſame Author (it is Jurieu) in a Book he has entitled *the Spirit of Mr. Arnaud*, wherein he has ſet all the world together by the ears, pretends that Monſieur Huet, Biſhop of Avranches, had publiſhed the ſame thing, and that he has ſaid in the Preface to his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, that France was full of Deiſts and Libertines; that there was a great number of thoſe unhappy Free-thinkers; that impiety was advancing, and made a great havock at Court, and throughout the kingdom, and even that it was the general Spirit of all ſuch who pretended to ſhew themſelves men of parts and diſtinction. Tom. 7. P. 194. N. 2, &c.

To theſe general, ſtrained, and furious accuſations, it may be anſwered, that the Proteſtants of Germany are unacquainted with M. Baillet Refutation.

France,

France, and have given into the wild imaginations of a man who thro' exceſs of Zeal, tho' without judgment, has carried things beyond all bounds; that if it has been ſaid, and written that in 1563, there were above fifty thouſand Atheiſts, Deiſts, and Libertins, this is an accuſation which ſhould rather fall upon the Reformed at that time there, than upon the Catholicks, ſince Calviniſm bears a much nearer affinity to Socinianiſm and Deiſm than the Roman Catholick Religion. That as to Monſieur Huet, Jurieu charges him falſly in favour of the French Calviniſts, whilſt with his ordinary malice he endeavours to have it believed that that learned Prelate ſpeaks only of the Court and Clergy of France, though what he ſays of Deiſts and Libertins is ſpoken in general of all the Kingdoms in Chriſtendom, without any particular application.

But Jurieu goes ſtill farther with his accuſations; he ſays there are entire Congregations of Prieſts, from which the Gallican Church ought to fear every thing. They profeſs, ſays he, to believe that the Roman Church is the true Church, that we ought inſeparably to adhere to it, and never ſeparate from it; and yet they have no affection for its doctrines, nor reſpect for its worſhip. Never were thoſe people ſo numerous in this kingdom. There are ſome of them who carry their incredulity ſo far as to call in queſtion the moſt important truths of Chriſtianity. They are Socinians, and neither believe the TRINITY, nor Incarnation. I am acquainted with ſo many particulars upon this head, as to make no doubt of it; but I will not enter into them, that I may not ſhock you; and what is ſtill more horrid is, that this is the Religion not only of our young Abbés, but the Divinity of ſeveral grave, wiſe Societies, who make a great ſhew of the purity of their manners, and of their Attachment to the Catholick Faith.

Politique du Clergé de France p. 90.

We may grant Jurieu this, that there may be in France, even among the Abbés, ſome perſons ſo impious as not to believe in the TRINITY, or Incarnation. But we muſt inſiſt, and with reaſon, that ſomething more is requiſite to be able to ſay, without being guilty of a notorious Calumny, *that it is now-a-days the Religion of our young Abbés.* One ought to be ſure that there is at leaſt a great number of them who are of no other Religion: And how could he come to the knowledge of it? Would ſuch people be ſo mad to open themſelves to the firſt comer, and thereby expoſe themſelves to

Apology pour les Cathol. p. 2. c. 4.

what they might justly apprehend from such a confession? And above all, can such a madness be so epidemical, as to entitle a man to say, without passing for an impostor, that it is the Divinity of our young Abbés: And yet he has the effrontery to suppose it a thing so well known, as to be only his prelude for countenancing a blacker calumny, viz. that some grave, sage Societies, which are very regular in their manners, and pass for Catholick, no more believe the TRINITY, nor Incarnation, than those Abbés. This is beyond all Impudence to father not only upon particular men, but upon whole Societies of men; not upon one single Society, but upon some Societies, to which he gives the greatest praises, the not believing the chief mysteries of the Christian Religion, and to suppose that such a thing can be without any of those who might put a stop to so abominable a disorder, knowing it; or knowing it, that they should suffer it; and in short, to imagine that the world should be foolish enough to believe so incredible a thing upon the single assertion of a worthless fellow, who in a book without any name to it, says, *I am acquainted with so many particulars upon this head, as to make no doubt of it*, and to add with a poor pitiful evasion, *but I will not enter into them, that I may not shock you.* One is surprized, and can scarce conceive that his boldness in calumniating could be carried to such an excess; but one ceases to be surprised, when one considers it is Mr. Jurieu who talks in this manner.

The last accusation I shall mention is that of an Anonymous Author, who in a small treatise entitled, *Important questions upon the Jansenists*, &c. carries his accusation still farther than Jurieu. This Writer says the Jansenists do not believe that JESUS CHRIST is GOD, and that not believing him to be GOD, they do not believe he has a power of turning his body and blood really and substantially into both the kinds of bread and wine which the Priests consecrate. He goes farther, and says, that their design is to reduce Religion to the belief of one sole GOD, without Incarnation of the Eternal Word, without Redemption of mankind, without Sacrament, Church, Pope, or invocation of Saints; in a word, without Christian Religion.

In order to prove his Charge against the Jansenists, of rejecting the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, he begins with their * Translation of the new Testament, and endeavours to prove that the sense they

* *Generally called the Mons translation.*

they have given to ſeveral paſſages of it are Socinians: As John c. x. 29. 1 Cor. c. xv. 22. Acts c. x. 34. Rom. c. ii. 11. Rom. c. v. 6. 1 Theſſ. c. v. 9. Coloſſ. c. ii. 14.

But the Tranſlators had been ſo far from giving into Socinianiſm, by their interpretation of thoſe paſſages, that all of them are explained in the ſame manner as the antient Verſions, Fathers, and Interpreters have rendred them. And as we cannot, without doing violence to Juſtice and Reaſon, accuſe thoſe Verſions, Fathers, and Interpreters, with favouring Socinianiſm; ſo neither can we the Janſeniſts in this Tranſlation, by their explanation of thoſe Texts in conformity to them.

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